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THE

ABORIGINES OF VICTORIA:

WITH

NOTES RELATING TO THE HABITS

OF THE

Natives of other Parts of Australia and Tasmania.

COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES FOR

THE GOVERNMENT OF VICTORIA

85543

R. BROUGH SMYTH,

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MELBOURNE, 13th November 1876.

SIR,

I have the honor to lay before you the work I have compiled on the Habits of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria.

It is not altogether confined to this colony. There is much in it that treats of the customs observed in other parts of Australia, and some information respecting the race that formerly inhabited Tasmania.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. BROUGH SMYTH.

The Honorable John A. MacPherson, M.P.,

Chief Secretary, &c., &c.

PREFACE.

THE character of the following work requires that I should mention the circumstances under which I undertook the compilation of it.

When, sixteen years ago, I was appointed Secretary of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines, it seemed to me to be my duty to collect information respecting the customs of the people who had formerly owned the soil of Australia, and to make accurate drawings of their weapons and ornaments. I did not know then that I was commencing a work which would engage all my leisure for many years, and entail upon me a large amount of labor in correspondence alone. I had no idea, indeed, in the beginning, that the work would be a large one; but even if it had been possible to have foreseen that, and to have anticipated the difficulties I have had to contend with in tracing various customs from one point to another, and in verifying by a number of examples statements that, unsupported, appeared at the first view highly improbable—still I should, on account of the interest of the questions that presented themselves, and from a sense of duty, have labored earnestly in performing the task.

For the proper and efficient treatment of such subjects as I have attempted to deal with, the mind should be wholly devoted to the consideration of them—unembarrassed by other onerous duties—or free, at least, from the anxieties that are inseparable from an official position in a new country. And this compilation should be judged rather as a series of sketches, written in such intervals of time as were available, than as a scientific work pretending to completeness.

All that I have done in connection with it is founded on information furnished by gentlemen who have had frequent and favorable opportunities of observing the habits of the natives. When I commenced to figure and describe the native weapons, I asked the late Mr. William Thomas, who had held the office of Protector or Guardian of Aborigines for nearly twenty-

five years, to write down under separate heads all that was known to him respecting the Aborigines; and thus have been preserved numerous interesting facts that would otherwise have been lost. The Rev. John Bulmer, Superintendent of the Aboriginal Station at Lake Tyers in Gippsland, has contributed many valuable papers, and has constantly assisted me, and has made special enquiries into various questions, whenever he has been asked, with a kindness and alacrity which deserve my warmest thanks. Mr. John Green, for many years Superintendent of the Station at Coranderrk, has also furnished a number of papers, and obtained many facts of singular value. He has always responded to every application made to him. The late Dr. Gummow, who was resident on the Lower Murray for some time, favored me with much help, and undertook investigations that few but himself could have made with success.

Mr. Alfred W. Howitt, F.G.S., Warden and Police Magistrate at Bairnsdale in Gippsland, has not only undertaken the compilation of several papers, but has been in constant correspondence with me in reference to the habits of the natives, and has always taken the warmest interest in this work from the very first. His notes on the Aborigines of Cooper's Creek, and his paper on the System of Consanguinity and Kinship of the Brabrolong tribe—which is but a fragment of a more extensive work that, jointly with the Rev. Lorimer Fison, he was to have prepared—are contributions to science that will necessarily be highly valued by ethnologists.

Mr. Philip Chauncy's notes and anecdotes relate to many important subjects; and as this gentleman has had perhaps as large an experience of the native character as any one now living, his remarks are entitled to great weight. He has written a thoughtful and valuable paper; and I esteem myself singularly fortunate in having perhaps by my efforts to preserve some remnants of the history of the Australians secured his co-operation.

Mr. Albert A. C. Le Souëf has recorded some of the many curious facts observed by him during the long period he has resided amongst the natives; and he has likewise furnished information respecting the weapons in use in various parts of the continent.

From the late Mr. John Moore Davis, who was well acquainted with the habits of the Aborigines of the southern parts of Australia, I received a paper containing accounts of events that transpired in the early times of the settlements. Mr. Davis was remarkably well informed on all the

subjects referred to in his paper, and he voluntarily gave up much of his time in preparing his sketches for this work.

The Rev. William Ridley, M.A., of Sydney, whose name is foremost amongst those connected with Australian philological researches, has, with extreme kindness, contributed a paper in which he relates a few of the most remarkable traditions that have come under his observation—selecting, as he informs me in a letter, those that seem most emphatically to silence the long-current assumption that the Aborigines of Australia are a race destitute of all ideas concerning the unseen world and of all imagination and hope. No one who has perused the published works of the learned author of the paper which appears in this compilation will need to be reminded that he is the highest authority in Australia on all matters that relate to the Aboriginal natives.

I have received ready assistance also from the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer, the Superintendent of the Aboriginal Station at Lake Wellington in Gippsland; the Rev. A. Hartmann, the Rev. F. W. Spieseke, and the Rev. Horatio Ellermann, of Lake Hindmarsh; the Rev. Amos Brazier and Mr. Joseph Shaw, of Lake Condah; Mr. H. B. Lane, of Warrnambool; Mr. Goodall, the Superintendent of the Aboriginal Station at Framlingham; Mr. Charles Gray, of Nareeb Nareeb; Mr. J. A. Panton, Police Magistrate and Warden at Geelong; the late Mr. W. H. Wright, Sheriff; the late Mr. A. F. A. Greeves and Mr. M. Hervey; Mr. N. Munro; the Rev. H. P. Kane; Mr. A. Sullivan, of Bulloo Downs; Mr. Alfred Telo, Mr. Sydenham Bowden; Mr. F. M. Krausé, Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray, and Mr. Norman Taylor, Geological Surveyors in Victoria; the Honorable Frederick Barlee, M.P., Colonial Secretary in West Australia; Mr. H. Y. L. Brown, Geological Surveyor; Mr. George Bridgman, of Gooneenberry, Mackay, Queensland; the Rev. S. McFarlane, New Guinea Mission, of Somerset, Cape York; Capt. Cadell; Mr. W. E. Stanbridge, Daylesford; Mr. F. M. Hughan; Mr. John W. Amos, Surveyor; Mr. J. Cosmo Newbery, B.Sc.; Mr. Suetonius H. Officer, Murray Downs; Mr. Ronald Gunn, F.R.S., Launceston; Mr. Hugh M. Hull, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Hobart Town; Mr. J. W. Agnew, Hon. Sec. of the Royal Society of Tasmania; Miss E. M. a'Beckett, who was so good as to make a drawing of a characteristic Tasmanian plant; and others whose names are mentioned in the work.

In conclusion, I have to refer to the great help and encouragement I have received from Professor McCoy, of the Melbourne University, who has

taken much trouble with the papers that have been sent to him from time to time, and has constantly assisted me with his advice. It is impossible for me to say how deeply I am indebted to him.

The Honorable John Madden, LL.D., M.P., Minister of Justice, has very kindly lent aid whenever I have had to make demands on his time.

Baron von Mueller, C.M.G., the Government Botanist, has furnished information respecting the vegetation of the colony, and has made suggestions, also, in relation to other researches.

My obligations to Professor Halford, of the Melbourne University, are very great. His notes containing the results of his examination of the skulls of the natives are especially interesting.

Mr. G. H. F. Ulrich, F.G.S., was good enough to examine the stone implements, and I was glad to avail myself of his assistance, because of his accurate knowledge and large experience as a mineralogist.

Lastly, my thanks are especially due to Mr. John Ferres, the Government Printer, whose high attainments are already everywhere acknowledged; to Major Richard Shepherd, for the care and skill bestowed by him in preparing the greater number of the drawings; and to Mr. F. Grosse, the engraver, for the like attention given to the drawings and the wood-cuts.

Melbourne, 13th November 1876.

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INTRODUCTION.

THROUGHOUT Australia the natives exhibit a general conformity to one pattern, as regards features, color, and mental character. A man from Southern Gippsland would be recognised as an Australian by the inhabitants of Port Essington, and a native of King George's Sound would be surely known if taken to York Peninsula. The race, however, is not pure in all parts. The people of the islands of Torres Straits and the natives of New Guinea visit the mainland, and Australians cross the straits to New Guinea. They intermarry, and the half-breeds mix necessarily with their southern neighbours, and this may account for the appearance, as low down as the latitude of Wide Bay, of men with thrum-like hair.

Cape York is distant no more than ninety miles from the shores of New Guinea, the straits are studded with islands, and the coral reefs offer so much protection that the sea is usually as calm as the waters of a pond. The natives easily traverse this smooth sea in their large canoes; and there is consequently regular traffic between the peoples of the mainland and the smaller and greater islands.

The infusion of Papuan blood may not have entirely changed the character of any tribe, but it is there; and it is apparent where the Papuans have never been. This affects the people of the north-eastern coast. On the north the Australians mix occasionally with the Chinese.

There have been found on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria "earthen jars, bamboos, lattice work, remains of hats made of palm leaves, pieces of blue cotton, boats' rudders, a wooden anchor, and other articles."* On the north-west they have been visited periodically, for how many years no one can tell, by the Malays. The Malays go thither during the season of the trepang fishery, and Capt. King found on the beach of Vansittart Bay a broken earthen pot belonging to them.†

Stokes, too, mentions his finding a broken jar on Turtle Island, which it was supposed had been left by some of the Macassar people, who are occasionally blown in upon that part of the coast.‡

Such influences as these have been at work probably for ages, and yet the effects are scarcely perceptible, either in the appearance of the natives themselves or in their arms or in their works of art—save perhaps over a limited

* *Australian Discovery and Colonization*, p. 336. † King, vol. I., p. 320.
‡ *Discoveries in Australia*, vol. II., p. 180.

area on the north-east coast, where the Australians build and sail canoes altogether different from those known elsewhere.

The Australian type is well marked. The Australian differs from the Papuan in form and in color—from the Tasmanian less perhaps in the features of the face than in the form of the body, in color, and in the hair. Still less does the Australian show any resemblance to the Polynesian, the Malayan, or the Chinese. He is darker, and his eyes are horizontal. If he has not a better head, he has probably, from what is known of him, a brain of a different quality. In his myths, his tales, and his superstitions, he differs from the Polynesians, the Malays, and the Chinese. If he is not a poet, he has in him the elements of poetry; and in many of his legends there is much that is not unlike the earlier forms of poetic conceptions that distinguish the Aryan race from other races that were subject to the same local influences but derived from them no such inspirations as the ancient Sanscrit peoples embodied in their traditions.

The natives of Australia dislike labor; and their muscles and their hands are those of sportsmen or hunters. It would be impossible to find in a tribe of Australians such hands as are seen amongst the working classes in Europe. An English ploughman might perhaps insert two of his fingers in the hole of an Australian's shield, but he could do no more.

The Australian can endure fatigue, but he is not one to bear burdens, to dig laboriously, or to suffer restraint. He likes to exert himself when exertion is pleasurable, but not for ulterior purposes will he slave, as the white man slaves, nor would he work as the negro works, under the lash.

He is courageous when opposed to a mortal enemy, and timid in the darkness of night when he believes that wicked spirits are abroad; he is cruel to his foes, and kind to his friends; he will look upon infanticide without repugnance, but he is affectionate in the treatment of the children that are permitted to live; he will half-murder a girl in order to possess her as a wife, but he will protect her and love her when she resigns herself to his will. He is a murderer when his tribe requires a murder to be done; but in a fight he is generous, and takes no unfair advantage. He is affectionate towards his relatives, and respectful and dutiful in his behaviour to the aged. He is hospitable. He has many very good qualities and many very bad ones; and in the contrarieties of his mental constitution there is much to remind us of the peculiarities of the people of our own race.

As may be supposed, there were no insane persons and no idiots amongst the Australians, and suicide was unknown when they were living in their wild state.

As soon as the white man established himself on the rich pastoral lands of Victoria, and the natives were driven first from one spot and then from another, in order that the cattle and sheep of the invaders might feed peaceably and grow fat, tribes that perhaps had never met before were compelled to mingle. The ancient land marks were obliterated, the ancient boundaries had ceased to have any meaning, and the people, confused and half-stupefied by the new and extraordinary character of the circumstances so suddenly forced upon

them, almost forgot the duties their tribal laws imposed upon them when they were brought face to face with strange blacks. They speared the cattle of the settler, stole his stores, murdered his shepherds at lonely out-stations, and, unable to combine and offer determined resistance to the invaders, they were undoubtedly in many cases the more savage and cruel when they succeeded in getting the whites into their power. These offences compelled the settlers to make reprisals—to take measures in short to retain possession of the country; and many of the stories told of the olden time are not much to the credit of the Europeans. Neither the rifle nor the pistol, however, was so effectual in destroying the natives as the diseases and vices introduced by the pioneers. Arms were used, and perhaps very often in righteous self-defence; but it was the kindness of the civilized immigrant that swept off the native population. His spirituous liquors, and his attentions to the black man's wives, soon made havoc amongst the savages.

Very different estimates have been made of the numbers of natives who were living in that part of Australia now known as Victoria when the first white settlers arrived. Sir Thomas Mitchell saw very few natives, and in the parts he explored—amounting in the aggregate to about one-seventh of the continent—he believed there were no more than 6,000 Aboriginals. This estimate is too low. Mr. E. S. Parker thought there were 7,500 in Victoria, Mr. Wm. Thomas 6,000, Mr. Robinson 5,000, and my own estimate, from facts I have collected, is 3,000. The mean of the whole, including Sir Thomas Mitchell's low estimate, is 4,500.

It must not be forgotten that long prior to the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell the native population had suffered severely from a horrible disease which, there is every reason to believe, was introduced by the whites. Small-pox had destroyed large numbers; and it is not probable, even after the lapse of forty years, when Sir Thomas explored the Darling and the tributaries of the Murray, that the several tribes had recovered the losses they had sustained by the terrible affliction that first made itself manifest at Point Maskeleyne.

In Gippsland there were certainly more than one thousand natives; now the number is about two hundred. The two Melbourne tribes numbered in 1838 two hundred and ninety-two, and at the present time there are perhaps not twenty left. The Geelong tribe, when the first settler built his hut on the banks of the River Barwon, was composed of one hundred and seventy-three persons at least; in 1853, about twenty years after, only thirty-four remained; and I believe there is now not more than one alive. The "petty nation"—the Jajowurrong, consisting of seven tribes—that once occupied the basin of the Loddon and the country towards the west, has been dispersed, and there are very few of that sept to be found anywhere. The Goulburn tribes, that of Omeo, and many of those that formerly inhabited the banks of the River Murray, have disappeared. There are remnants of nearly all the tribes, however, in various parts of the colony, or persons who by birth are nearly or remotely connected with the extinct tribes; and because of the exertions of the noblemen and gentlemen who have at various times held the high office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, much has been done to ameliorate

the condition of the natives that survived the first contact with the vices and contaminations of the whites.

And the Government of Victoria has done much to benefit them. The Parliament of Victoria has been liberal in its grants of money, and stations have been formed, schools established, and lands reserved for the use and for the improvement of the blacks. Missionaries—able, earnest, and thoughtful men—have given their time, their energies, and their abilities to work they believe will have fruitful results. Some of the gentlemen in Victoria—clergymen—who have education and abilities that would place them in the first rank in their profession, have voluntarily sacrificed all hopes of preferment, and have devoted their lives to the task of ameliorating the condition of our native population, knowing that, whatever measure of success may follow on their labors, no reward will be theirs, and perhaps not even a grateful memory of their services will survive.

The natives of Victoria were under the protection of guardians during the period extending from the 1st July 1851 to the 18th June 1860, and the aggregate sum expended under that system was £14,181 8s. The results were not such as to satisfy the colonists. The blacks wandered from place to place, and everywhere readily obtained the means of purchasing intoxicating liquors. There were few children, and the condition of the people generally was deplorable. In 1858 a select committee of the Legislative Council was appointed, on the motion of the Honorable T. McCombie, to enquire into their state, and to suggest means for alleviating their wants; and a report containing many very interesting statements from colonists in all parts of Victoria was printed in February 1859. On the 18th June 1860 a Board was appointed for the Protection of the Aborigines, and on the 11th November 1869 an Act was passed providing for their protection and management.

The moneys expended under this system amount altogether to more than £100,000.

Savages and barbarians are kind to their offspring. When a child is born in Australia, and it is determined by the parents that it shall not be destroyed, every care is taken of it, and the mother also receives for a brief period all those attentions which are proper under the circumstances.

The mother usually carries her infant in her opossum rug, which is so folded as to form a sort of bag at her back; and this is not at all an inconvenient position for the infant, as it enjoys all the comforts which the young of the kangaroo is entitled to when in the marsupium. In the northern parts of Australia—in Arnhem Land—where the natives do not make rugs, the infant's legs are placed over the shoulders of the mother; she holds the legs in her hands when necessary, and the little creature grasps with its small hands her abundant hair.

It is worthy of remark that the practice of placing infants born near the sea-shore in hot sand, from which all sticks, stones, and rough materials have been removed, is known not only in Australia, but also in New Guinea; and adults, on the northern coast, sometimes scoop holes in the sand, cover themselves, and sleep there.

The Australian mother has no great reason to rejoice when a babe is born. As soon as she can move about—perhaps after the lapse of twenty-four hours or more—she is obliged to resume her duties in the camp. She is the servant of her husband; and sometimes she is compelled to carry, as well as her baby, heavy loads, and to march with the tribe as it seeks fresh hunting-grounds or repairs to old-established cooking-places.

The Australian child is precocious. It begins to look about for food almost as soon as the young of the kangaroo. A child has a little stick placed in its hands, and it follows the example of older children, and digs out small roots and the larvæ of insects.

Its education begins at an early age. Like the natives of Africa, of Fiji, of Borneo, and other parts where civilization, as regards some of the tribes, is yet unknown, games of skill, so contrived as to exercise the children in useful arts, are played. The males amongst the Australians are taught to throw the spear and to use the shield; and the females are instructed in the art of weaving cord and making baskets.

That the children are sometimes neglected is true, but as a rule they are kindly treated.

The parents do not use any of those contrivances for producing distortion which are common in other countries.

When, for reasons that are satisfactory to themselves, they decide to kill a newly-born infant, they are often unnecessarily cruel; and though infanticide amongst savages is probably a custom which has its origin in the peculiarity of the conditions under which they exist, and not in its nature a crime as it is in civilized communities, yet the details which are given by various observers make one forget this, and regard their deeds with the same abhorrence as those so constantly presented to notice in the daily records of the life of races that possess all the advantages of culture and refinement.

Young mothers kill the first-born child because it is a burden, because it is weakly, perhaps because it is deformed. She has to find food, to build her husband's miam, to fetch water, and to be ready at all times to obey the commands of her protector; and the temptation to follow the custom of her tribe would not always be overcome by the maternal instinct.

In the laws known to her, infanticide is a necessary practice, and one which, if disregarded, would, under certain circumstances, be disapproved of; and the disapproval would be marked by punishment, not so degrading perhaps, but nearly as severe as that inflicted by the lower class of whites when their wives displease them. Instead of the hob-nailed shoe, the Australian uses a weapon of war—a waddy.

It is curious to find that the ancient custom of naming a child from some slight circumstance that occurs at its birth is common throughout Australia. Like the nomadic Arabs and the Kaffirs of Africa, they look for a sign; and the appearance at the time of birth of a kangaroo, or an emu, or the event happening near some particular spot, or under the shelter of a tree, decides by what name the infant shall be called. This name is not the one by which a man will be known in after-life. Another is given on his initiation to rank in the

tribe; and if his career should be marked by any striking event, he will then receive a fitting designation, and his old name will be perhaps forgotten. Or, if he has had conferred on him, on arriving at manhood, a name similar in sound to that of any one who dies, it is changed by his tribe.

There is no kind of formality used when a child is named. Up to the age of two or three years it is called "child," or "girl," and then, when it can walk, the name that has lived in the memory of the father or mother, or the people of the tribe, is given to it.

The Rev. Mr. Taplin refers to a curious custom. It appears that in some families it is usual for the father or mother to bear the name of a child, and in such cases the termination *arni* for father, or *annike* for mother, is added.

Nick-names are given; and the natives are often peculiarly happy in choosing designations that aptly describe eccentricities, peculiarities of face, or ways of walking or speaking.

As soon as the whites settled in Victoria, the Aborigines gave nick-names to the invaders, and some of these have been preserved.*

It is said that in Gippsland the word *Bungil* is one of respect, and is equivalent to "Mister." It is borne only by the old men.

The ceremonies attending the coming of age of young men and young women are in Victoria simple, and easy to be borne, compared to those which young persons have to submit to in other parts of the continent. The mysteries of *Tib-but* and *Mur-rum Tur-uk ur-uk* one can regard as merely painless follies, after perusing Mr. Schürmann's descriptions of the rites as practised by the Parnkalla—where a youth of the age of fourteen or fifteen enters the first degree, and is enrolled amongst the *Warrara;* after the lapse of one or two years the second, when he is circumcised, and becomes a *Pardnapa;* and the last when his skin is scarred, and he is named afresh, and made a *Wilyalkinye.*

Mr. Samuel Gason's accounts of the tortures that have to be endured by the rising generation at Cooper's Creek would lead the reader to suppose that the Aboriginal race in that area must soon become extinct. They are horrible; and greatly contrast the comparatively harmless exercises of the natives of Gippsland when a youth is made *Jerryale.*

The interesting descriptions given of these ceremonies, as practised in the central parts of Australia, near the mouth of the Murray, in various parts of New South Wales, near Sydney, and on the Macleay and Nambucca Rivers, are exceedingly valuable. The practices are different not merely in details, but in essentials.

Women are not allowed to witness the savage scenes attendant on these ceremonies; and if one intruded on the occasion of initiating youths to manhood, she would probably be killed at once. They are forbidden to see or hear anything connected with the events, and indeed it would be impossible for the men to continue the tortures if women were present. Warriors shed tears, and evince pity at certain stages; and women would, by their weeping and wailing,

* *See* Vocabulary compiled by C. J. Tyers, Esq., in 1842.

utterly unnerve the candidates, and discompose the principal actors in the performance.

In Africa, where similar customs are observed, the fetich-man blows a kind of whistle made of hollowed mangrove wood, and the sound is probably a signal to those not privileged to keep away; just as the *Witarna* is used for this purpose in Australia.

The practice of mutilating the body prevails in all parts of Australia. In New South Wales, the women, at an early age, are subjected to an uncommon mutilation of the two first joints of the little finger of the left hand. The operation is performed when they are very young, and is done under an idea that these joints of the little finger are in the way when they wind their fishing lines over the hand. This amputation is termed *Mal-gun.**

Knocking out the teeth, boring the septum of the nose, cutting and scarring the skin, and circumcision, division, perforation, and depilation are practised—some in one part and some in another—throughout the continent. In all these strange customs, as used by them, the natives do but follow the habits of savages and barbarians in other parts of the world; and one is made to believe and to repeat that man, spring from what race he may, will, under the same set of circumstances, and under like conditions of food and climate, originate and adopt similar practices. The mutilation known as *Mal-gun* is not confined, it is believed, to New South Wales. Knocking out the teeth is an ancient custom, and has spread widely. Dampier observed it amongst the natives of the north-west coast, and it is perhaps the most common of all their superstitious observances.

Circumcision and other similar mutilations are, it has been suggested, of modern date, and may have been derived from intercourse with the Malay trepang-fishers. The custom, as observed by the most ancient amongst the peoples of the earth, is, and was some thousands of years ago, a religious rite, and differs altogether from the practice of the blacks, who in this merely endeavour to test the powers of endurance of a candidate for admission to a certain rank in the tribe. In considering the effect, however, of this and other practices that are mentioned, one may believe that they are really indigenous, and that they have originated either in consequence of a peculiarity of climate or from the necessity of limiting the population.

It is undoubtedly true that some customs that could have originated in no other manner than in the pressing necessities of their mode of existence are exactly similar to many that have been regarded heretofore as peculiar to ancient forms of civilization, and it is unwise and unphilosophical to decide hastily that even such a rite as that of circumcision is not born of the circumstances of the people.

The savage, in many things, is—as it were by nature—cruel. What, for instance, could be more dreadful than to seize an unsuspecting youth, drag him from the camp, and subject him to hunger and cold for days and nights, knock out a tooth with a piece of wood, scar his skin, and compel him to submit to

* *The English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804.

other frightful mutilations? Some, among the weaker, die in consequence of their sufferings under such ordeals, and others have implanted in them the seeds of diseases which ultimately prove fatal.

When a young man has undergone all the ceremonies which are necessary to his attaining the rank of a warrior, he may look out for a wife. If he is the child of a distinguished man, perhaps because of the influence of his father, a girl may have been promised to him, and his wedding may cause but little trouble; but, as a rule, he must steal a girl, or elope with one, or exchange some girl over whom he has control as brother, uncle, or relative in some other degree, for a girl of a neighbouring tribe. Exogamy, it is perhaps true to say, is universal. A tribe is in fact but an enlargement of a family circle, and none within it can intermarry. A man must get a wife from a neighbouring tribe either by consent, or by barter, or by theft.

If a man steals a girl, there is sure to be a quarrel of some sort. It may be settled amicably, or the culprit may be required to stand in front of those he has wronged by the abduction, and allow them to hurl their spears or boomerangs at him. A trial by combat may result in various ways. The lover may prove victorious and win his bride, or he may be wounded and beaten and lose her; or, as not seldom happens, either in the ordeal, when spears are thrown, or when two are fighting with club and shield, the old men may interfere, if enough has been done to satisfy justice, and declare a verdict. On some occasions, but seldom, a general fight occurs, and one or two may be killed.

From the evidence that has been gathered, it would seem that very often love—in our sense of the word—prompts the young people to seek each other's society, and it is certainly true that the husband and wife, in some cases, evince the strongest affection towards one another; but marriage—if the word can be properly used in reference to such unions—is usually a matter in which love has no part. The bride is dragged from her home—she is unwilling to leave it; and if fears are entertained that she will endeavour to escape, a spear is thrust through her foot or her leg. A kind husband will, however, ultimately evoke affection, and fidelity and true love are not rare in Australian families. A widow will die of grief on the grave of her husband, and a widower will mourn and refuse to be comforted until death also claims him. Such instances cannot be otherwise than few. A widow, under ordinary circumstances, has by law another husband as soon as the first dies; and a widower deprived only of one wife may have already too many—perhaps three, or the deprivation may allow of his taking another—and he may rejoice instead of giving way to grief.

All arrangements connected with marriage cause trouble in the tribes. Even before a child is born a promise may be given that if it be a girl it shall be the wife of some warrior; and nearly all the girls are betrothed at a very early age. And any young warrior who casts kind looks towards a dark beauty, or any young woman who favorably regards a painted youth as he returns from an expedition; is sure to give rise to jealous suspicions.

Women are regarded almost as so much property which may be exchanged for better goods, or given away as friendly presents, or abandoned when not wanted. A child may be betrothed to a man, and that man may die, but his

heir succeeds, and the girl goes with the other possessions of the deceased. Contrary to received opinions, it is shown in this work that the children of the native women are often numerous, some having as many as thirteen, and twins are not rare. It is also proved that the Australians are really human beings, and not creatures of another species, as so many have represented them in their works. Numerous cases are mentioned which fairly dispose of the theory so long maintained that they are—regarding man merely as an animal—different from Europeans.

The customs of the natives of Australia are so like, in many respects, those of other existing savage or barbarous races and those of the people of ancient times, that one feels more and more the necessity of a classification, in which would appear every known custom and the place where it is practised, exactly after the manner that the geologist elaborates his system of the classification of rocks.

In Australia, the mother-in-law may not look upon her son-in-law, and the son-in-law hides himself if his path be crossed by his mother-in-law. The Kaffir places his shield before his eyes and shuns the mother of his wife, and the same strange fear of meeting or seeing a mother-in-law has been observed in South America and amongst savages in other parts of the globe. What may have given rise to this rule can only be guessed, but that it is recognised and obeyed under circumstances which must necessarily prove most embarrassing is beyond doubt.

Marriages between black men and white women are, as may be supposed, not common. Invaders invariably regard the women of the country invaded more or less favorably, and they are chosen as wives or concubines; but the men who lose their country lose also their influence, and it is not often that they can obtain wives from the stronger race. But sometimes, under favorable conditions, an Australian black marries a white woman. Nothing is known to the writer of the results of such unions.

The restrictions on marriage, as they exist in Australia, certainly invite enquiry; and a complete knowledge of these, and the exact meaning of such native words as are usually but not accurately translated as mother, father, sister, brother, step-mother, step-father, aunt, uncle, &c., would be of the highest value, and enable the ethnologist to unravel many intricate and complex lines in relationships amongst savages. A man knows that his mother's sister is not his mother, and that his father's brother is not his father; the exact relationship is known to him; and it is highly probable that, in addition to the nomenclature which points to a time when the intercourse between the sexes was different from what it is now, there are also terms which express correctly the relationship that exists. If such terms do not exist, it is plain that the growth of the language has not kept pace with the requirements of their condition as it advanced from a lower to a higher state. It is not disputed that the terms as translated very nearly express the meanings commonly assigned to them, nor that the enquiries into this branch of ethnology are of the greatest importance, nor is it doubted that the results will ultimately far more than repay the labors that have been bestowed on such investigations; but when a son tells you that

he "calls" his father's brother "father," he asserts merely that he follows a custom; and the system which gave rise to the custom being no longer in existence, it may surely be supposed that he could indicate distinctions and find words to express his meaning. It is highly desirable to ascertain the ideas that are in the mind of the savage as well as the words in common use when he speaks of his aunt, his uncle, or his cousin. The facts, as regards the nomenclature in Australia, disclose, according to the Rev. Lorimer Fison, the characteristic peculiarities of the Tamilian system, which would support the theory of the migration southward of the progenitors of the native race that occupies Australia, if we did not find the same system amongst the Indians of North America. The theory of migration rests on other grounds; and the likeness in the nomenclature as applied to people akin only shows how from the communal marriage system have arisen gradually other systems under which in-and-in marriages were, if not interdicted, made less numerous, and those between brother and sister absolutely prohibited. The enquiries instituted by the Rev. L. Fison, the Rev. W. Ridley, and others, and the careful summary of the facts collected by them which is contained in Mr. Lewis Morgan's works, show clearly how the tribes are governed in intermarriage by a kind of sexual classification. But all the facts are not known. The statements made in his letter to me by Mr. Bridgman, of Queensland, and the peculiar arrangement under one and the same division, as ascertained by Mr. Stewart, of Mount Gambier, of things animate and inanimate, show that much is yet to be learnt respecting the principles which guide the natives in placing in classes all that comes within their knowledge. The two classes of the tribes near Mackay in Queensland are *Youngaroo* and *Wootaroo*, and these are again subdivided, and marriages are regulated in accordance therewith. But the blacks say alligators are Youngaroo and kangaroos are Wootaroo, and that the sun is Youngaroo and the moon is Wootaroo. Strange to say, this, or something as nearly like this as possible, is found at Mount Gambier. There the pelican, the dog, the blackwood-tree, and fire and frost are *Boort-parangal*, and belong to the division *Kumite-gor* (*gor* = female); and tea-tree scrub, the duck, the wallaby, the owl, and the cray-fish are *Boort-werio*, and belong to the division *Krokee*. A *Kumite* may marry any *Krokee-gor*, and a *Krokee* may marry a *Kumite-gor*. And Mr. Stewart says a man will not, unless under severe pressure, kill or use as food any of the animals of the division in which he is placed. A *Kumite* is deeply grieved when hunger compels him to eat anything that bears his name, but he may satisfy his hunger with anything that is *Krokee*. These divisions and subdivisions have an important influence in all arrangements between natives, not only as regards marriage, but also in revenging injuries, in imputing witchcraft, and in the fights that so constantly occur.

The funeral ceremonies of the natives of Australia are perhaps in some respects unlike those of the savages of other parts of the world, but the modes of disposing of the bodies of the dead are similar. The common practice is to inter the corpse; but some are placed in the hollows of trees, some in the beds of running streams, some in caves, some on artificial platforms made of

branches of trees, some in trenches lined and covered with flat stones, and some are burnt.

When death is imminent, it is usual to remove the dying man to a spot at some little distance from his miam, and his relatives and friends prepare all that is needful for his interment even before dissolution. Much attention is shown to him, and when finally he breathes his last breath, arrangements are made for the disposal of the body. The facts which are given in this volume show that savages are not indifferent to the solemn events which amongst civilized peoples give occasion for pageantry. The natives are serious and decorous around the graves of their warriors; and the mourners cut themselves and lament after the manner of the ancients.

The body is not placed at full length in the grave. The grave is usually four or five feet in length; and the corpse is bent and doubled so as to admit of its being laid in a small space. A warrior is usually wrapped in his opossum rug, tied tightly, and buried with his weapons and all his worldly possessions. Amongst the southern tribes of Victoria the body was not touched by hands. It was so moved and carried as to prevent the contact of the living with the corpse, and the utmost care was taken in interring it to protect every part of it with a covering. Amongst the people of the west and elsewhere no such feeling seems to have prevailed; the body was sewn up, it was greased and rubbed with red-ochre, and handled apparently without repugnance.

Sometimes a long speech is delivered over the grave by some man of consideration in the tribe. Mr. Bridgman, of Mackay in Queensland, states in a letter to me that on one occasion he heard a funeral oration delivered over the grave of a man who had been a great warrior which lasted more than an hour. The corpse was borne on the shoulders of two men, who stood at the edge of the grave. During the discourse he observed that the orator spoke to the deceased as if he were still living and could hear his words. Burial in the district in which Mr. Bridgman lives is only a formal ceremony, and not an absolute disposal of the remains. After lying in the ground for three months or more, the body is disinterred, the bones are cleaned, and packed in a roll of pliable bark, the outside of which is painted and ornamented with strings of beads and the like. This, which is called *Ngobera*, is kept in the camp with the living. If a stranger who has known the deceased comes to the camp, the *Ngobera* is brought out towards evening, and he and some of the near relations of the dead person sit down by it, and wail and cut themselves for half an hour. Then it is handed to the stranger, who takes it with him and sleeps by the side of it, returning it in the morning to its proper custodian. Women and children who die, Mr. Bridgman says, are usually burnt.

It is the firm belief of the natives that no man dies but by witchcraft. Some sorcerer in a neighbouring tribe has compassed his death, they say, and they seek to discover in what direction their warriors shall go to avenge the murder. Usually they scrape up the earth around the dead body in order to find the track of some worm or insect, sometimes they watch the movements of a lizard, and again they will wait until cracks appear in the damp clay that covers the grave. Sooner or later the wise man of the tribe determines in what direction

the warriors must travel to find the sorcerer, and they go at once, and kill one or more, in expiation of the crime which has caused the death of their friend. It is curious to note the general similarity in the modes adopted by the cunning men to cause injury to neighbouring tribes when a death occurs, and also the differences in the modes. For instance, the Western Port tribe in Victoria, and the tribes near Perth in Western Australia, watch the movements of a living insect that may accidentally be turned up in digging the earth; the Melbourne tribe look for the track of a worm or the like; the Yarra blacks watch the direction which a lizard takes; at Cooper's Creek the corpse is questioned; the tribes at the mouth of the Murray and at Encounter Bay rely on the dreams of a wise man who sleeps with his head on the corpse; and on one part of the Murray they watch the drying of the damp clay that covers the grave, and see in the line of the principal fissure where they are to look for the wicked sorcerer who has done to death, by his charms, their late companion.

The natives believe that the spirits or ghosts of the dead remain for at least a little time near the spots that they loved when living, and it is to satisfy and appease the shades and ghosts that, when a warrior dies, they murder some of the people of a neighbouring tribe. If blood were not shed, the ghost of the departed would haunt them, and perhaps injure them. They believe that the ghosts depart and find rest in regions either towards the setting sun, or in the east, where he rises. Stanbridge says that the heaven of the Murray people is towards the setting sun; Wilhelmi says that the head of the corpse was placed at the west end of the grave, because the people of Port Lincoln believe that the departed spirits reside in an island situated eastward; Oxley found on the Darling a body laid with the head to the eastward; and Grey says that the face in West Australia is turned towards the east. The Goulburn blacks placed a fighting-stick at the east end of the grave. Buckley states that in his first wanderings he found a spear sticking in the centre of a mound of earth. It was the grave of one recently interred. He carried away the spear, and when the natives found him and saw the spear of their dead friend, they called him *Murran-gurk*—which was the name of the dead man. They believed that he had come to life again, and that he had taken the form of Buckley.

All the methods employed by the Australian savages in disposing of their dead are curious and full of interest. Though they have no such monuments as that erected by Artemisia in Caria, they have advanced beyond the state in which it is lawful for a sister to marry a brother; and they have sought to express by many ingenious devices their respect and affection for their deceased relatives and friends. On the swampy reed beds of the Aire River, in the Cape Otway district, are found even now the remains of the rude platforms on which the natives placed their dead; in the mirrn-yong heaps of the western plains are found interred the bones of departed warriors; and under the umbrageous pines of the north-west are seen here and there the mounds which they had raised over the relics that perhaps had been carried with them, and mourned over for many a day. These are respected by the old people, and they grow sorrowful as they approach them. Though the natives generally buried the body very near the spot where the death occurred, they had in some parts

appointed burial-grounds, where the surface was cleared of grass, and cut in the form of a spear-shield. Some seen by the first explorers occupied a considerable space, and were intersected by neatly-made walks, running in graceful curves; others consisted of well-constructed huts, thatched and secured with a net; and a few buried their dead in graves not unlike those in a modern cemetery.

The bodies of young children and persons killed by accident were usually placed in a hollow tree. The space was cleared of rotten wood and well swept, the bottom was lined with leaves, and the whole was covered with a piece of bark. And sometimes a rude coffin was made by stripping a sapling of its bark.

The manner in which bodies were burnt is fully described in this work. It will be observed that the pile is lighted, not by a priest, but by one of the women.

The Narrinyeri dry the bodies of the dead, and during the process they paint them with grease and red-ochre. They preserve the hair, which is spun into a cord, and the cord is wound round the head of some fighting-man. It gives him, they say, clearness of sight and renders him more active.

When the body is dry, it is wrapped in rugs or mats, and carried from place to place for several months, and is then placed on a platform of sticks. The skull, it is said, is used as a drinking vessel.

The natives in some parts of Queensland, when they burn the bodies, keep and carry about with them the ashes of their dead.

There is evidently a strong belief generally in the virtues communicated by rubbing the body with the fat of a dead man, or with portions of his singed beard, or by eating pieces of his fat or skin. It is thought that his strength and courage will be acquired by those who perform these ceremonies.

The blacks exhibit the greatest sorrow when one of their number is sick and near death. It is impossible for any one to stand by and see a native breathe his last without feeling the deepest compassion for those who surround the death bed. Both men and women exhibit acute anguish; they mourn the departed, and with such gestures and accents as betray the misery that is in their hearts. Some tear the flesh from the fingers until blood comes, others cut their cheeks with shells and chips, and many burn themselves with fire-sticks, all the while scattering hot ashes on their heads and on their bodies until the mutilations are dreadful to behold. And the grief of the friends of the departed is naturally increased when they know that his death was not due to natural causes, but to the vile arts of some sorcerer dwelling amongst wild blackfellows.

A sudden death is often the cause of fighting amongst men of the bereaved tribe. They will exhibit their grief by spearing each other; and men have been killed at such times. One case of this kind occurred on the River Darling. A man died suddenly of heart disease, and the men commenced to quarrel over his grave. The cause of the quarrel was not ascertained, but the results were fatal. One young man was killed, and he was buried in the very grave around which all had assembled for the purpose of paying respect to their dead relative.

The Murray blacks, Mr. Bulmer informs me, never keep the dead long. They are generally buried on the day of their death, or, at latest, the next day. In

this respect the Gippsland blacks differ from the people of the Murray. They will keep a body eight or ten days, or even longer. They will keep it until all their friends can be got together, so that the last duties may be performed with some pomp and ceremony. The Gippsland blacks differ from the Murray blacks in another matter. The blacks of the Murray never keep anything belonging to the dead—always burying the property of the dead man in the grave which they have dug for his body; the Gippsland people keep the relics of the departed. They will cut off the hands to keep as a remembrance, and these they will attach to the string that is tied round the neck. It is said also that they will sometimes keep the head; but this custom is not common.

When mourning for the dead, the women plaster their bodies and the men smear their faces with pipeclay. White is not always used. Black, and in some places red, indicate mourning. Ordinarily, a woman laments the death of her husband, and uses the clay appropriate to her condition for about six months; after the lapse of that time she may marry again. A widow on the Murray is called *Mam-ban-ya-purno*, and in Gippsland, *Wow-a-lak*.

On the Lower Murray and elsewhere the widows plaster their heads with a white paste made of powdered gypsum; and the white caps seen by Mitchell were discarded emblems of mourning.

When any one dies, his miam or wurley is pulled down, and the materials are often burnt. No one will inhabit a place where a death has occurred.

I have mentioned, in the chapter devoted to a description of the modes of burial common amongst the Australians, some few instances wherein their practices agree with those of other savages, but many more might be given; and here—as in their language, their modes of ornamenting their weapons, the treatment of their infants, their marriage customs, and their myths—there is so much which is undoubtedly truly indigenous, and arising wholly out of their condition and the physical forces by which they are moved, that is yet like what is seen in other parts of the world, that one has cause to regret again and again that no one has, up to the present time, placed the facts in order, and set down after a system and under proper heads all that is known of savages—in what respects they agree, in what they differ, and to what extent they resemble in their customs the people amongst whom civilization was born and nurtured, and to whom we owe the advancement which modern society so proudly regards as the results of its own efforts. Such a work—and it would not necessarily be at first a very large one—would do much to help towards a better understanding of man's actual duties and responsibilities; and let us hope it will be undertaken by some one who has the ability to construct a system and to use the details in subordination to it.

The encampments of the natives, and indeed all their movements, are ordered by the old men. They do not wander about aimlessly: there is order and method in what they do; and when several tribes meet, the sites for the miams are selected in accordance with rules, the arrangement generally being such as to show exactly from what direction each tribe has come.

In some parts of the continent their dwellings are large and well built; stout poles are used in their construction, and they are thatched with grass.

The people are governed by the heads of families, who settle quarrels and preserve order. The unmarried men have a place set apart for them, and they are not permitted to associate with the females.

They receive messengers and visitors at their encampments; and plenty of employment is found for all in hunting or fishing, or gathering roots and seeds, in cooking, in eating, and in fighting. They have many amusements—and a corrobboree is to them what a great ball is to the whites in a European city. The dancers have to paint themselves, and the women have to be in readiness to sing and to beat time. There are endless sources of enjoyment when a large meeting takes place; but on the whole the life of a savage is one of trouble. He is either very hungry or has eaten too much. He is often very cold, or suffering from the heat. He is never sure of his life. He may be speared by an enemy lurking in the bush—the *Nerum* may be in the hands of a foe at night; a sorcerer may have taken some of his hair, or a distant doctor may be arranging measures for securing his kidney-fat—and there are noises at night that terrify him. His wives, too, give him trouble, and his children need guidance.

He is, however, often a cheerful, merry fellow, willing to be amused, and finding amusement in childish entertainments.

I have given an account of his mode of life during the four seasons, of his methods of climbing trees, his manner of signalling by the smoke of fires; his fights, his dances, and of other matters that are of importance to him in his life in the forest; but his history is yet to be written. I am compelled by circumstances to present fragments only of a work that was intended to include all that relates to the habits of the natives.

The section of this work which treats of the several kinds of food upon which the natives had to depend for subsistence before the country was occupied by the whites has been prepared with great care. Many correspondents have rendered much assistance; and the facts that have been gathered together will be useful to settlers in all parts of Australia, and will, it is hoped, also prove interesting to the naturalist.

An attempt has been made to give as complete an account as possible of all the animals and plants that are eaten by the blacks; and there are now put in a small compass, in addition to what is new, many facts that the reader could not find without a laborious search, scattered as they are through books of travels, pamphlets, and scientific papers—some of which are now rare.

It was at first intended to restrict the descriptions to the products of Victoria; but as the southernmost part of Australia is deficient in many vegetables in the treatment of which the natives display remarkable skill, and as they practise in other parts of the continent methods of capturing animals that are here altogether unknown, it was decided to enlarge the section. Indeed it would have been unjust to the natives not to have mentioned some of the facts referred to by Grey, by the Jardines, by Thozet, and others. The extraordinary perseverance and skill exhibited by the blacks in hunting and fishing, their ready adaptation of the simplest means to accomplish any given purpose, and their power to combine when they find it necessary to construct such a work of art

as that described by Mr. Gideon S. Lang, must surely result in a change in the opinion that is generally entertained of their character and mental faculties.

In hunting the kangaroo the native employs various methods. He tracks him day after day and night after night until he secures him, or, hidden by an artificial screen of boughs, he spears him as he comes to drink at a water-hole; or he digs a pit for him, or catches him with other animals by setting fire to the bush in various places until the scared creatures are surrounded by a circle of flames, when they are easily speared or knocked on the head with a club.

Fastening the skin and feathers of a hawk to the end of a long stick, and uttering the cry of the hawk, he startles the wallaby, which at once takes refuge in the nearest bush, and is there speared. By the appearance of a hair or two, or a few grains of sand, or the faint scratch of a claw, on the bark of a tree, he knows whether or not the opossum is in his hole, and, if there, he rapidly climbs the tree and catches him. He works harder than a navvy when he is employed in digging out the wombat. In netting and noosing ducks, in swimming to a flock, either under water, breathing through a reed, or with his head covered with aquatic plants, he displays as much cunning as a North American Indian. Holding a few boughs in front of him, and carrying a long stick with a butterfly and a noose at the end, he walks up to a turkey and snares him.

The native makes a bower, and, using one bird as a decoy, he snares numbers of small birds during the course of a day. Holding a piece of fish in his hand, and lying as if asleep, he entices the hawk or the crow, and by a quick movement catches it. One black will approach a tree, on a limb of which a bird is sitting, and by singing and by strange motions of his hands and contortions of his body (always keeping his eyes fixed on the bird) so completely engage its attention that another black will be able to ascend the tree and knock the bird down with a stick.

He is active in the water. He will attack the green-turtle in the sea, and, avoiding the sharp edges of the shell, turn it on its back and drag it to his canoe. Like the people of the coasts of China and the Mozambique, he uses the fisher-fish—the *Echeneis*—in taking the hawk's-bill turtle, thus verifying the observation of Columbus. He catches and cooks poisonous snakes as well as the harmless frog. He has at least five different modes of procuring fish; and his hooks and nets are better than could be made by any European who did not practise the making of hooks and nets as a trade. His fishing-lines, made of any raw material within his reach, are strong and good and lasting.

He goes out in his canoe in the night and uses torches to attract the fish, exactly after the manner of the poachers of the North Tyne in England, who in their *trows*, and with lights burning and provided with *leisters* or spears, robbed that river of its salmon.* He uses the bident in the shallow weedy waters of the Murray, and follows the fish by the same signs as those that guided the ancient Egyptian when he pushed his papyrus punt through the broad leaves of the lotus in the lagoons and ponds that were filled by the waters of the Nile.

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* *Rambles on the Border*, 1835.

He builds, in the great rivers, weirs having crooked but continuous passages, and so contrived as to enable him to take the fish by hand. He kills seals, and catches the dugong; and when the whalers visited the southern shores of the continent, he was cunning enough to make signals so as to set many boats in pursuit of any whale that came near the shore, thus rendering the chances of its being stranded almost certain.

He followed the bee to its nest and took its honey, and found a plan of freeing the pupæ of ants from sand and dust so as to make of them a palatable meal. The grubs that are found in the wattle, the honeysuckle, and the gum, the worms that crawl in the earth, and the moths that crowd the granitic rocks of the mountains—each in turn were made to contribute to his support.

His vegetable food was various. The natives of Victoria had to depend mostly on the yam, quandang, currant, raspberry, cherry, the fruits of the mesembryanthemum, the seed of the flax, the sow-thistle, the roots of the flag, water-grass, geranium, and male fern, the pith of the dwarf fern-tree, the native truffle, the leaves of the clover sorrel, the gums of the wattle, &c. He gathered manna, and made sweet drinks of the flowers of the honeysuckle. In the north-western parts of Victoria, he gathered the seeds of the nardoo, and other seeds, and pounded them, and ate the flour either in the form of paste or cakes.

The kumpung, a bulrush almost identical with one found in Switzerland—a species of *typha*—is eaten during the summer either raw or roasted, and the fibres are used for making twine. In other parts of Australia there are the nuts of palms and the fruit of the *Bunya-bunya;* and in the more northern districts of the continent, many nuts, seeds, piths, and roots, some of which, though poisonous when gathered, are so treated as to yield excellent fecula and pastes.

The natives, belying the low opinion that has been formed of their intellects, show in many ways that they were not without foresight. They could see the necessity for making provision for the future. It has been shown that they could construct permanent works of art. Grey tells us how he came upon a store of *by-yu* nuts (fruits of the *zamia*) in West Australia; and Coxen relates the methods the natives employ in preparing and securing in bags, grass seeds, gums, and other food, in the north-eastern parts of the continent. It was their custom to burn off the old grass and leaves and fallen branches in the forest, so as to allow of a free growth of young grass for the mammals that feed on grass; they protected the young of animals in some parts so as to secure a natural increase; and if they did not actually resort to cultivation (in the ordinary sense), they were at least careful to see that harm was not done to vegetables that yielded food.

That there was a common property in at least some things, is beyond doubt. Many tribes, in other respects having nothing in common, resorted to the *Bunya-bunya* forest when the fruit was ripe; and the raspberry grounds mentioned by Gideon Lang were also freely given up to neighbouring tribes when the food they yielded was abundant. When a whale was stranded, notice was given, by sending up columns of smoke, that a feast was ready, and hundreds of natives —by right—assembled to share in the bounty of the seas.

They respected each other's rights. The person who first struck a kangaroo —whether boy or man, and whether the animal was killed or not by the stroke— was held to have captured him, and, when taken, the animal was his property. And then he had to divide the kangaroo into portions if any of those with whom he had covenanted, as regards kangaroo flesh, were present; and the division was always fairly made.

The account given by Thozet of the plants eaten by the natives of North-Eastern Australia is full of interest for the naturalist; and Mr. Gason's lists of the animals and plants which afford food to the natives of Cooper's Creek, though not likely to raise this people in the estimation of Europeans, containing as they do the names of many creatures which are abhorred in civilized communities, are still curious, and certainly worthy of attention.

Victoria, like other parts of Australia, presents diverse physical features; in one area the larger animals are numerous, in others rare. In some parts the natives had to depend for their means of subsistence mainly on fish; in other parts mainly on the kangaroo; in well-timbered tracts opossums were numerous, and on the plains they caught the emu, the turkey, and the native companion. In and on the margins of the forests they took the bear, and in the volcanic tracts wombats multiplied. Many of these animals, the larger weighing as much as 150 lbs., were not very difficult to capture; and the black, with his family, lived in comfort as long as the flesh of these was procurable.

It is not at all probable that the natives penetrated the tracts covered with scrubs or thick timber. The dense forests of South-Western Gippsland and Cape Otway were not often entered, if at all; and the blacks who fished on the shores at the mouth of the Parker had probably no communication with their near neighbours, the natives of the Gellibrand; and it is almost certain that the Cape Otway blacks never travelled through the forest to Colac. The road is now open and easily trodden; but before the advent of the whites, before the scrub was cut and the huge trees hewn, before it was known what was beyond the coast, it was a tract having an aspect that would naturally deter the native from encroaching on it, even if his duty, directed by superstitition, required that he should traverse it.

There is nothing in the records relating to Victoria respecting the use of any earth for the purpose of appeasing hunger; but Grey mentions that one kind of earth, pounded and mixed with the root of the *Mene* (a species of *Hæmadorum*) is eaten by the natives of West Australia.

The only plants that are known to be used as narcotics are pitcherie, small dry twigs, which the natives chew; and the leaves of a species of *Eugenia*, which the people of the north-east smoke when they cannot get tobacco.

Excepting the abstinence from food, which perhaps was common during the period of initiating youths to the privileges of manhood, it is almost certain that voluntary fasting was unknown to the natives of Australia. The priests and sorcerers appear to have been able to exercise their arts without having recourse to any such painful ordeals. On the contrary, they reserved for themselves the best of the food, the wild-fowl, and the sweetest and most tender parts of the larger animals; and, on account of the influence they possessed, they were

able to prevent the young and strong men from enjoying the fruits of their own exertions. Unlike the Cherokees, the Flatheads of Oregon, and the medicine-men of the Rio de la Plata, they dreamed their dreams after fully satisfying their appetites, and no doubt would have regarded a suggestion to refrain for even a short time from eating and drinking as an impertinence to be resented by the use of the strongest "charms" in their possession.

As much information as could be obtained is given relative to forbidden food. The laws administered by the old men were numerous. Women might not eat of the flesh of certain animals, and certain kinds of food were prohibited to young men. These customs—the origin of which is unknown, and the reasons for following them not to be discovered—are, however, not confined to the savages of Australia. They are known in Africa; but the old men of the tribes in Australia seem to have enlarged, for their own advantage, a system that probably originally grew out of the superstitition that evil would befall him who should eat the flesh of the animal that is the totem of his tribe. The most obvious effect of the operation of these curious laws was certainly not injurious to the interests of the people. It enabled the old men who were not equal to the fatigues incident to the hunting of the larger game to remain in comfort in their camps, where they employed their time in all those arts which they had perfected by experience. They made nets, spears, shields, and boomerangs; and taught the boys the use of weapons and implements. They maintained order when the warriors were absent, and they took care to require that all the observances proper to the occasion of the arrival of a messenger or a visitor were duly maintained.

If, on the other hand, the old men had had to depend on their own unassisted exertions for a supply of animal food, they would have had no leisure for such pursuits; the character of the weapons and tools would have deteriorated, and the knowledge of some arts would have been lost.

The custom of youths arranging, and maintaining through life, a kind of joint ownership in certain sorts of food, so that, for instance, when a kangaroo was killed, each, according to right, would receive a particular portion, is, it is believed, peculiar to the Australian people. How it originated, or for what purpose it was continued, will probably never be known. Indeed the natives can give no information respecting their customs and laws.

Their aversion to the fat of swine is well known, and it can scarcely have arisen from the circumstance that swine are unclean feeders, and liable to certain disorders. It rests probably on the influence exercised over their minds by the strange superstitions that seem inseparable from the savage state. Their refusal to eat pork is perhaps due to the fear that they might in doing so violate a law. It is not lawful for a young man to eat the fat of the emu until a certain ceremony has been performed; and when they see the fat of an animal strange to them, it may be supposed that they view it with doubt and fear.

The laws relating to food made by the natives stand in curious contrast to those mentioned in Deuteronomy (chap. xiv.). The blacks interdict to women and young men such of the food as they consider good; and there are no prohibitions against eating creatures that are generally regarded by civilized races

as unfit for food. And yet the fact that there are such laws amongst the Australian people and other savage peoples gives a glimpse into the history of the past which is of singular interest.

The natives inhabiting the sea-coast and the banks of the larger rivers had often to depend for subsistence on shell-fish, and consequently both on the coast and inland there are large heaps of shells, mixed in some places with the bones of animals, and concealing stone tomahawks and bone-awls. The large heaps on the banks of the Murray and the Darling are composed of the shells of the freshwater *unio*. In lat. 29° 43′ 3″ S., Sir Thomas Mitchell found on the banks of the Gwydir numerous fires of the natives and heaps of mussel-shells, mixed with the bones of the pelican and the kangaroo; and the like occur in various other parts of the area drained by the Murray and its affluents.

On the coast of Victoria there appear in various parts, what at first sight one would suppose to be raised beaches, and if only a slight examination be made of these, their true character is not discovered. But instead of lying in regular and connected layers, they occur in heaps, beyond high-water mark, and they are always opposite to rocks laid bare at low water. Moreover, they are found to consist mainly of one kind of shell—namely, the mussel (*Mytilus Dunkeri*), with a small proportion of the mutton-fish (*Haliotis nivosa*), the limpet (*Pattella tramoserica*), the periwinkle (*Lunella undulata*), and the cockle (*Cardium tenuicostatum*). These accumulations resemble in many respects the "kjök-ken-möddings" of Denmark. With the shells are stones bearing distinctly the appearance of having been subjected to the action of fire, and there are also numerous pieces of charcoal imbedded in the mounds. They are visible all along the coast where it is low, but never in any other position than that described; and when opened up are seen to be formed of heaps not regularly superimposed one on the other. Those that have been frequented most recently exhibit clearly the mode of accumulation, and one can trace the old heaps upwards to the last, which is generally found on the highest part of the mound. The area covered by some of the largest of the mounds exceeds an acre in extent; and the shape of the heaps of shells composing them, which are separated by layers of sand, indicates their origin. The enormous period of time during which the natives have assembled on the shores to gather and cook the shell-fish accounts for the great number and extent of the mounds.

The mirrn-yong heaps in the inland parts of Victoria, composed of earth, charcoal ashes, and the bones of animals—the cooking places of the tribes—are also large and numerous.

On the wide open plains, where there is little or no timber, the natives set up stones, principally it is believed for shelter; but they would be used too, in all probability, when it became necessary to conceal from the women their manner of performing certain ceremonies. In what light we are to regard the regularly-built stone monuments which Sir George Grey discovered in North-West Australia is a matter for speculation. His descriptions and drawings would lead one to suppose that, if they were the work of the natives, they had borrowed something from the Malays, who it is known have long had inter-

The methods of cooking the animals they caught do not tend to raise the character of the natives. Neither as regards fish, flesh, or fowl were they as careful as they might have been, nor as clean. They were indeed, to speak the truth, dirty in their habits. They ate portions of animals that well-bred people universally reject; and they cooked some that Europeans would eat raw, and ate raw very many that would be palatable only when well cooked. Like the Romans, they were fond of moths (*zeuzera*); but they consumed also earth-worms and other small creatures whose names are not usually mentioned. Their ovens for cooking large animals, or a number of small animals, were formed of stones. The stones were heated and placed in a hole in the ground, grass was thrown on them, and the animal to be cooked was laid on the grass, and covered with grass, and other stones heated in the fire were piled on the top. The whole was covered with earth and left until the process was complete. Sometimes they made holes in the oven with sticks and poured in water so as to steam or parboil the animal, but in general it was left to the operation of the heated stones. A bird was sometimes covered with clay and broiled in the embers of the fire, and this method, if certain precautions be taken, is excellent, and the gourmet would delight in the result.

Sir George Grey describes also a manner of cooking fish and the flesh of the kangaroo which he thinks is worthy of being adopted by the most civilized nations. It is called *Yudarn dukoon*, and the fish and other meats so cooked are said to be, and indeed must be, delicious.

Other writers have a high opinion of some of the native methods of cooking. The natives of the Macleay River, it is said, always clean and gut their fish, and cook them carefully on hot embers.

They are not able to boil anything. They have no pottery, and they have not even attempted to form any vessels that could be placed on the fire, which they might have done by covering their closely-woven baskets with clay.

Mr. Tylor states, on the authority of Mr. T. Baines, that in North Australia the natives immerse heated stones in water, poured into holes in the ground, and boil fish, the tortoise, and the smaller alligators; and that they may, therefore, in these times at least, be counted as "stone-boilers." With this practice the natives of the south were not acquainted, if recorded observations are to be trusted.

In broiling or roasting or in stewing in ovens the native was not, according to our notions, a good cook, and not being a good cook, any advance in civilization was nearly impossible. The proper nourishment of the body is of more importance than many other things recommended as indispensable to the improvement of savage and other peoples.

It cannot be denied that cannibalism prevailed at one time throughout the whole of Australia. The natives killed and ate little children, and the bodies of warriors slain in battle were eaten. They did not feast upon human flesh, however, like the natives of Fiji. They appear to have eaten portions of the bodies of the slain in obedience to customs arising out of their superstitions, and very rarely to have sacrificed a human life merely that they might cook and eat the

flesh. This, however, was done under some circumstances. When tribes assembled to eat the fruit of the *Bunya-bunya*, they were not permitted to take any game, and at length the craving for flesh was so intense that they were impelled to kill one of their number in order that their appetites might be satisfied.

It is creditable to them that they are ashamed of the practice. They usually deny that they ever ate human flesh, but as constantly allege that "wild blacks" are guilty of the crime. It is sad to relate that there are only too many well-authenticated instances of cannibalism; and the fact is apparent, too, that not seldom the natives destroyed the victim under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. It was not always done that they might comply with a custom, or that by eating portions of a body they might thereby acquire the courage and strength of the deceased. They undoubtedly on some occasions indulged in the horrible practice because they rejoiced in the savage banquet.

Unlike many other offences with which they are justly charged, but which because of their ignorance or because of the pressure of their necessities cannot be called crimes, this one in general they knew to be wrong. Their behaviour, when questioned on the subject, shows that they erred knowingly and wilfully. That they were not so bad as the men of Fiji and New Zealand is undoubtedly true, and so much perhaps may be said in their favor.

The Rev. John Bulmer, the Rev. A. Hartmann, the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer, and Mr. John Green, furnished, at my request, some years ago, statements as made by the blacks relative to the habits of some of the native animals, and their accounts are on the whole accurate. The blacks do not like to be questioned respecting matters in which they take no interest; they are also suspicious, and it is often impossible to obtain from them such information as they undoubtedly possess. The statements are, however, not without interest, though they are less valuable than might have been anticipated.

The diseases to which the natives were subject prior to the arrival of the whites were ophthalmia, caused by the heat and the flies—and Dampier rightly called them "the poor winking people of New Holland," when he saw them in the height of summer, on the north-west coast, maintaining an unequal fight with these pests; colds, owing to their careless mode of living and their habit of sleeping near a fire without a covering; hydatids in the liver and lungs, due probably to the imperfect cooking of their food; and eczematous diseases, caused by their living, in some places, principally on fish, and generally by their want of cleanliness. The latter diseases are in some cases of a very severe character, and the depilous people of parts of the interior have probably suffered from them. The late Mr. Thomas says that dogs, cats, and opossums that were kept as pets by any people having the more severe forms of skin disease were also affected and lost their hair.

The small-pox, supposed to have been introduced by the whites in 1788, was the cause of numerous deaths amongst the natives, and the pictures I have given in illustration of the ravages committed by this scourge are painful to contemplate. The blacks could not bury their dead, the father was separated from his family, and children fled from their parents. Tribes, it is believed,

were so reduced in numbers that they sought companionship with others with whom they had formerly been at enmity, and dread and suffering were amongst them everywhere.

There is a kind of sickness that affects the natives who live amongst the whites, or on the stations where they are required to labor, which appears to be peculiar to them. They mope, they sit stupidly over a fire, and at length the lungs or some other parts of the body are attacked, and they die. The Right Reverend Dr. Rosendo Salvado and others have noticed this melancholy and the sickness that follows. It does not usually yield to treatment by European doctors. But medical officers find much difficulty in managing the blacks when they are sick. They are impatient of control; they follow the habits they have acquired amongst their own people, and even with the utmost care many die that, if they had followed advice and taken the medicines prescribed for them, would have lived.

The native doctors are, I think, everywhere much trusted by the blacks. They like their modes of cure, and they believe in them. A man with failing sight will gladly subject himself to treatment by a native doctor, who, after some incantations and mummeries, will pretend to extract straws or pieces of wood from the eyes; and after these things are done the patient is supposed to recover, unless some stronger magician in another tribe has interfered injuriously with the doctor's operations. Their vapour baths and their decoctions are more in accordance with our notions of treating diseases; and these, we may suppose, did not arise out of their superstitions, but were the results of experience.

It will be observed that in some cases females are employed as doctors, and that their power to heal is believed in.

The natives rapidly recover from wounds. Such injuries as would be fatal in the case of Europeans are accounted as nothing amongst the blacks. A spear through the body, a broken skull, or ghastly wounds inflicted by the boomerang, are quickly cured. And they are very patient. A man pierced by a barbed spear will carry the barbs in his body until suppuration ensues and such a destruction of the tissues as to admit of the wood being pulled out.

This is scarcely consistent with the theory of a low vitality. In his native state the black is probably as healthy and has a body in all its parts as capable of repairing injuries unassisted as the animals that live with him in the forests. Under circumstances different from those natural to him—in the artificial life which the whites have forced upon him—he is not always very strong nor very healthy. The process of selection which nature has employed in fitting him for the haunts he loves is one which renders him a ready victim to the diseases that are the results of the kind of civilization now existing; diseases which would be unknown were civilization based on natural laws, and not crippled by old superstitions nor held in bondage by vicious inventions.

The dresses and personal ornaments of the natives of Australia, as may be supposed, are simple. The climate does not require any thick close clothing; and the habits of the people forbid the use of many personal decorations within their reach. The opossum cloak, the strips of skin worn around the loins, and

the apron of emu feathers, are their clothing. All else that they use is put on rather for ornament than because it is necessary. Their cloaks, their aprons, their necklaces, their nose-bones, the hunger-belt they tie round their bodies, the extraordinary head-dress of feathers worn by the natives of the north—resembling the masks of the Ahts of Vancouver's Island, the *Momo* of New Caledonia, and the circlets of feathers with which the men of Guiana deck their heads—and the manner in which they paint themselves, are shown in the descriptions and figures in this work.*

The cloaks are made of the skins of the opossum. These skins they neatly sew together, using for thread the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo. The rug is ornamented with various devices, and whether the outside or the inside is presented, it is a work that every one likes to look at, because it is strong and durable and honestly made, and never in the lines drawn on it exhibiting the unpleasing forms that are invariably chosen by our own people when they attempt decoration.

The apron of feathers used by maidens, and the skirt, kilt, or fillibeg, made of strips of skin, with which the men clothe themselves, resemble in form the African apron of thongs, the grass dresses of Fiji and New Caledonia, and the feather aprons of tropical America.

The fillet worn round the head reminds one of a similar ornament used by the people who dwelt on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, of that of the Persians, of the band tied over the hair that the Greeks and Romans affected, and the modern fashion of tying the hair with a ribbon.

They bored the septum of the nose, in this repeating the custom of the Sachet Indians of De Fuca's Straits and the pre-Columbian inhabitants of North America.

Their necklaces, simple as they are, have their representations now in the rich and costly adornments which the females of Europe delight in placing on their necks.

The hunger-belt of the Australians is like that of the Moors of Africa and the Red Indians of America. The specimens in my collection are beautifully wrought.

Their practice of distinguishing by an article of dress, such as the apron of emu feathers, the females who were not yet matrons, finds even now its equivalents in many modes of attire amongst civilized peoples; and indeed it is difficult to name any of their customs that are not apparently the germs of varying phases of fashion that exist at the present day, the origin of which, unless we seek it in the habits of savages, is hidden from us. The wearing of armlets and anklets, the ear-rings which no woman dislikes and many men are glad to exhibit, the tattooing that the sailor more especially rejoices in, and even the crown that sovereigns are compelled to assume, are all

* The head-dress of feathers (*Oogee*), obtained by Mr. J. A. Panton from North-Eastern Australia, is somewhat like that described by Jukes in the narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Fly*. When visiting Darnley Island or Erroob, *Duppa*, a native, appeared with a fillet crossing over his head from which proceeded a semicircle of large white feathers, vandyked at the edges, and radiating round his head like a glory.

derived from the simple decorations of savage peoples. This reflection may appear to some humiliating, but in truth it is ennobling. It shows that man advances, improves, and invents; and such steps, though the dates of them cannot be recorded, as surely mark the stages of his progress as the discovery of the art of printing, the use of steam in locomotion, the application of electricity to the working of telegraphs, and the contrivances by which secrets are won from nature in analyses, in light-painting, and in the wonderful apparatus which enable us to pierce the further heavens and tell of their mysteries.

Nearly all their work is good and strong and lasting, and often much ingenuity is shown in arranging the knitted work of their head-bands and sashes.

It is not a custom of the natives to use flowers for the purpose of personal decoration, though it is said that girls when dancing have been seen so adorned. Neither do they make necklaces of shells like those of the natives of Tasmania; but fragments of shells are sometimes fastened to the pendant of the necklace of reeds. They do not pierce the ears. They tie bunches of leaves round the ankles or round the legs above the knee when performing in the corrobboree, and these make a strange noise as they move rapidly to and fro. It is believed that the people of New Guinea adopt the same method when they dress themselves for their dances.

The colors used by the natives for painting themselves are red, yellow, white, and black, Blue is not used for painting the body, and indeed it is questionable whether that color was known to them prior to the advent of Europeans. The so-called blue that is seen in the cave paintings is probably a mixture of black and white. White paint is nearly always adopted for the corrobboree dance, and is also generally the color of mourning. The brighter colors have quite a metallic lustre when carefully applied; and on important occasions the men take great pains in painting their bodies. They apply white in streaks and daubs in such a manner as to appear at night by the light of the corrobboree fire like a crowd of skeletons. The natives travelled long distances to procure red-ochre and other paints; and some tribes could get their favorite color only by barter. Whether because it was difficult to obtain, or because it was not generally approved of, it is certain that yellow-ochre was not as much used in the south as in the north. A great many weapons from the north are daubed with a yellow pigment; and I have not seen one so colored amongst those made by the natives of Victoria.

The men and women did not always paint themselves in such manner as whim or fancy dictated. It appears that on occasions of mourning they adopted certain styles of coloring, according as they were near or distant relatives of the deceased; and perhaps, even when they appeared in their most grotesque adornments, they acted as directed by custom or superstition, and presented to their tribe pictures which were understood by them. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that savages act as a rule on impulse, without guide, and without control.

In ornamenting the skin they had to conform to rules. They raised cicatrices after a pattern common to the tribe. One form, at any rate, had to

appear, whatever latitude might be permitted in regard to others. None of the people of Australia practise the art of tattooing as it is known in the Tonga Islands, in Samoa, or in New Zealand. Their elevated scars are like the large punctures or ridges, some in straight and others in curved lines, which Capt. Cook observed on the bodies of the natives of Tasmania, and which are seen also among the men of New Guinea, where are used red-ochre to paint the body, and a piece of bone in the septum of the nose. This method of ornamentation has no doubt been gradually improved by the brown race until it reached its highest development in the Marquesas. The women of Brumer Island ornament the skin with zigzag markings, but they are also frequently elaborately tattooed, and there, perhaps, may be found the art in a transition state. The figure of a native of Queensland, in this work, shows a very curious set of scars, and it is wonderful how he could have endured the pain of the operations necessary to this kind of embellishment.

The natives of Australia embellish their weapons with incised lines, using the band, the herring-bone, the chevron, St. Andrew's cross, and detached circles. Many of these are so combined as to form geometrical patterns that have an excellent effect. They do not use coils or scrolls; and there are rarely seen, except in their pictures, figures of animals or vegetables. It is true that they represent in rude lines forms of animals, such as the iguana, on their shields; but these, like the lines on the same weapons showing rivers and lakes—the boundaries of their lands—are intended to convey to others the name or place of their tribe.

They roughly carve their weapons with the stone tomahawk and stone chisel, but the ornamentation is effected by a very neat tool, formed of one side of the under-jaw and tooth of the opossum. This, when fixed to a wooden handle, is a most useful cutting instrument.

The patterns carved on the shields and clubs figured in this work have been faithfully copied. All the lines are repeated, and thus there are preserved lasting records of the native art of this people. I cannot discover, except as regards the devices on the shields, that there is any difference in the modes of ornamentation amongst the natives of Victoria. They used the same figures, but it is almost certain that particular forms were preferred to others in some localities.

Their shields, their clubs, their throwing-sticks, and their cloaks, are often profusely ornamented. In the south their spears are not ornamented, while in the north they are marked much after the pattern used by the natives of the South Sea Islands in embellishing their arrows. The natives of West Australia appear to have but one rather remarkable pattern for their shields, and they do not in any way ornament the throwing-stick. Some of their spears, however, are ornamented, the colors used being black and white.

Implements made of bone are not, as far as I know, decorated in any way. Neither the ancient nor modern bone tools or ornaments in my possession are marked at all.

The boomerang is not ornamented anywhere, I believe, except on the north-east coast and in the east.

A remarkable form of shield is in use on the north-east coast. The style of ornamentation differs from all others on the continent, and there is a boss in the centre. The people who carve this weapon use colors, also, in combinations that are not generally seen elsewhere.

The geometrical figures carved by the natives of Australia much resemble those of the Fijians. I have given some examples, and others might be given, showing almost line for line (though the patterns are complicated) an exact resemblance between the modes of ornamentation adopted on the north-east coast and by the natives of Levuka. But the Fijians use also forms that are unknown to the Australians.

On the other hand, the natives of New Zealand in all their forms of decoration greatly contrast those of Australia. There the broken loop-coil and peculiar shell-like patterns prevail, and the lines are not tangential, as those carved by the Australians almost invariably are.

The reader need not be reminded of the similarity that exists in all the forms adopted by the savages of Australia and those that are seen on the ancient urns dug out of the earth in Britain, and how often they are repeated in the architecture of the races from which we have derived civilization. Nearly as much will be taught by a careful study of all the forms of art-decoration used by the peoples of the past and those now in use by savages as perhaps by investigating the structure of the languages of those now living. It is a work that will undoubtedly be undertaken at some future time, and the results will be of the highest value to mankind. All the short steps which were taken in the march towards a higher state of existence cannot be measured, but some can be scanned by the light which existing practices throw on those of the past; and there is neither reason for doubt nor hesitation as regards the exceeding value of rigid research in a field that is almost untrodden. Savages, when they attempt ornamentation, appear to have the greatest difficulty in emancipating themselves from the control which geometrical figures exercise on the mind. They cannot, without an effort, make a large circle or a large curve. A snake drawn by an Australian is angular; and the neck of the emu is angular. Perhaps it is correct to say that wherever curved lines prevail in the decorations of a race there is an approach to a state, as regards art, somewhat higher than that of the savage. It may be that of barbarism; but still the use of the curve indicates a higher culture than that known to races who have exclusively geometrical patterns. It was only in the so-called bronze age in Scandinavia that the continuous loop-coil was so prominent in the decorations of the people of that part of Europe, and though such forms are used also by tribes that are unacquainted with the use of metals, such exceptions would perhaps be as instructive in unfolding the history of the past as the occurrence in Australia of animals and plants whose congeners are found in Europe in Secondary and Tertiary formations.

Without culture, without refinement, the Australian is an artist. He paints in caves, in places where he has access to caves; and, where there are none, he bends a sheet of bark, smokes the inner surface until it is blackened, and then

depicts with the nail of his thumb or a bone-awl, pictures of birds, and beasts, men, and scenes in his life.

He decorates the smooth rocks that front the sea, and finds in the representations that have been made by others and in his own efforts the same kind of delight that fills the mind of the civilized man when he sits before his easel.

Throughout Australia the practice of painting pictures in caves and on rocks, of inscribing strange devices on the barked trunks of trees, and of cutting away the grass so as to make figures on the ground, is common; and it is but just to repeat the observation of one well acquainted with their works, and say that nowhere is any trace of indecency to be seen.

The figures that are given in this work sufficiently answer the oft-repeated statement that the blacks of Australia are unable to understand a picture when they see it. They are fond of pictures; and one thing that has astonished Europeans is the care they take, when partially civilised, to decorate their huts with wood engravings and colored pictures. There is probably not a little child at any of the Aboriginal settlements that would not at once recognise a photographic portrait of any well-known person who regularly visited the station.

It is of great importance to ascertain with certainty the steps that have led to improvements in their arms and arts, and it is to be deplored that little information is available on a subject so interesting. There is some reason to believe that inventions have crept down gradually from the north. The longitudinal lines on some of the weapons of the West Australians are similar to a style of ornamentation common on the north and north-east coast. The Port Lincoln blacks are not equal to the natives of the Murray in fashioning their weapons, and there is little doubt that the natives living on the shores of Lake Eyre are far behind the men of the Murray and the Darling in many devices. They wind long strings round the body instead of the woven sash; and it is said the boomerang is in some parts of that district unknown. The bone fish-hook it is believed was used by only a few of the tribes of Victoria; and it is by no means certain that message-sticks were in common use amongst the people of the southern parts of Australia. Their shields, their spears, their nets, their hooks, indeed all they possess, appear to have been derived from the north; and some things—as, for instance, the closely wrought wicker bottle or basket made by the natives of Rockingham Bay—have not yet come very far southward. That they were gradually, very slowly—before the coming of the whites—adopting new contrivances leading to some improvement in their condition is I think certain, but their wandering habits as hunters and fishers, and the bonds formed of their superstitions, forbade the possibility of any rapid changes in their mode of life. It is only amongst the foremost nations of the earth that inventions and improvements advance by leaps and bounds.

The offensive weapons of the natives are neither few nor simple. Some of them are but little known; and probably but for the descriptions given in this volume all knowledge of such of those as are very uncommon would have been lost. A mere catalogue of the weapons I have collected would occupy much space.

Probably the first weapon used by the blacks was the *Worra-worra* or *Nulla-nulla*. A young tree was pulled up and rudely fashioned into a club, the root forming the knob. The end was sharpened, and it could be used as well for striking an enemy as for digging up roots, and for making holes so as to enable the native to catch animals that burrow. It would be used also as a missile, and the kangaroo, the opossum, and the native dog and birds would be killed with the instrument. By-and-by other forms grew out of this very simple weapon. With the axe and the cutting tools made of teeth or chips of basalt they carved clubs out of solid wood, nearly always selecting, however, a tree or a branch that was somewhat like in form to the weapon that was desired.

The *Kud-jee-run*, the ordinary club or waddy of the natives of the Yarra, the *Koom-bah-mallee* and *Moonoe* of the Murray tribes, and the *Mattina* and the *Meero* of the north-east coast, are all weapons of the same kind; they are clubs, however much they differ in form and in the way in which they are ornamented. They are sharpened at the lower end, and each can be used as a missile. The double pointed *Nulla-nulla* of the north-east coast is employed, however, most commonly in the same way as the *Kon-nung* of the Victorian natives. It is either thrown at the enemy or used to pierce him in close combat. The *Kon-nung* is not a club, but a fighting-stick. It is sharpened at both ends, and, whether used as a missile or a dagger, is a dangerous weapon.

The *Kul-luk* of the Gippsland natives, the *Bittergan* of the north-east coast, and the large sword made by the people of Rockingham Bay, were no doubt in their earlier forms like clubs, but they are to be classed rather with the *Li-lil* and the *Quirriang-an-wun* than with the *Kud-jee-run*. The *Li-lil* is not so often used as a missile as to strike at and cut the enemy, and may indeed be properly called a wooden sword. It is made of very hard wood, and it has a fine sharp edge. It is a better instrument than any of the wooden swords made by the natives of the north. This, like all the rest, was sometimes used as a missile, and also in defence to guard blows aimed by the enemy.

Many of the clubs of the Australian natives are neatly made, and curiously ornamented, and as specimens of art are scarcely inferior to those of the Fijians. The Fijians usually ornament that part which is grasped by the hand. The heads generally are smooth—though some, those belonging to the chiefs, are elaborately carved. The head of one in my collection, of a globular form, is spiked, and the spikes curiously arranged in lines, reminding one of the flower of the dahlia.

Though the woods used by the natives for their clubs are heavy and hard, their weapons are smaller and lighter than those of the Fijians. The larger Fijian clubs in my collection vary in length from thirty-six to forty inches, and they weigh from eighty-four to one hundred and eighty ounces. The larger Australian clubs weigh no more than forty ounces, and some less than twelve. But the large wooden club or sword used at Port Darwin weighs seventy-two ounces.

The natives of the south and west of Australia use generally lighter weapons than the men of the north.

Many of the spears made by the natives of Victoria are ruder in form, though perhaps not less effective in war or in the chase than those seen in the northern and north-western parts of the continent.

The double-barbed spear (*Mongile*) made by inserting pieces of quartz, quartzite, or black basalt in grooves cut in the wood; the double-barbed spear, formed by cutting barbs out of the solid wood; the *Nandum*, having barbs (also cut out of the solid wood) on one side only; the reed spear (*Tir-rer*), with a piece of hard heavy wood for a point; the barbed spear (*Ko-anie*); the bident (*Gow-dalie*); the trident (*Wormegoram*); the simple wooden spear (*Ujie-ko-anie*), having both ends sharpened, and one brought to a fine point; the eel-spear; and the *Koy-yun* (one of the favorite spears of the southern blacks)—are all occasionally used—and some exclusively—as weapons of war. Some are described as spears for fishing, but not one of them would not be used if a fight occurred; and it is as difficult to distinguish their weapons from their implements as to determine sometimes whether a club can be more properly called an offensive or a defensive weapon. A man will throw his spears and use his club as a defence, or throw his club, and use some other weapon to ward off boomerangs or other missiles.

The stone-headed spears of the north will, perhaps, be more interesting to scientific men than the wooden spears. The heads are as a rule not ground, but made by striking off flakes, and some in my collection are marvellous results of this art. Perfect in form, and thoroughly adapted to the purpose for which they are designed, they shame the more elaborate efforts of civilized men, who with all their appliances could not excel, and probably could not equal, the works of the untutored savages of the north. It is believed that stone-headed spears are common only in the north, but the system of exchange so general amongst the tribes may have brought these stone-headed weapons to the knowledge of the southern black. Mr. Officer says that the natives of the Murray claim to be acquainted with this kind of spear; but I have not found it anywhere in Victoria—nor have any of my correspondents, as far as I am informed—nor has Mr. Officer, as he tells me, seen a stone in his district which in any respect resembles the stone spear-heads of the north. As soon as one is acquainted with these stone-heads, as soon as the sight is accustomed to them, it is easy enough to distinguish them, and to decide whether or not they are the work of the natives. Their character is distinctly marked.

The rocks used for making spear-heads are black basalt and fine granular quartzite. I have not seen any made of quartz, which may be easily accounted for. The quartzite of which the spear-heads are made is almost like jasper; it is tough, and when properly fractured gives a fine even edge, which quartz does not, and it is not brittle. The natives had their choice of rocks in the north, and invariably they chose the best for their purposes. If they had not had quartzite, they would, like many of the tribes of West Australia, have used quartz.

The lever used to propel the spear—the *Kur-ruk*, *Gur-reek*, *Murri-wun*, *Meera*, or *Womerah*, of the east, west, and south, the *Rogorouk* or *Wondouk* of the north—is the same in principle in all parts of Australia. In its rudest

form it is a stick with a tooth or a piece of hard wood fastened with gum at one end. In its best form the projection for the reception of the hollow at the ends of the spear is carved out of the solid wood. In the southern parts of Australia the woomerah used by the natives is about twenty-seven inches in length, but in the north they employ for propelling the long stone-headed spears an instrument about forty-four inches in length.

This, like the boomerang, is peculiar to Australia, and yet, the *Ounep* (a cord with a loop) of New Caledonia, used for propelling the spear, is almost identical in principle. The *Ounep* answers precisely to the *amentum* of the ancients.

The *Kur-ruk* enables the black to throw a spear to a great distance and with precision. He can kill a kangaroo at a distance of eighty yards.

The throwing-sticks of the northern, eastern, and southern natives are long and narrow, and are often much ornamented. Those of the western tribes are broad canoe-shaped weapons, not marked in any way, but highly polished.

The Aboriginal is careful of his spears and equally regardful of the *Kur-ruk*. His spears are to him what the fowling-piece or the rifle is to the sportsman or the soldier amongst our own people. He procures game with his spear, and it is the weapon on which he relies when overtaken by an enemy. He polishes and sharpens his spears from time to time, and if the wooden "tooth" of the *Kur-ruk* be broken, he mends it by inserting perhaps the tooth of an enemy slain in battle in the place where the wooden "tooth" was. This is easily done when he has ready at hand the strong sinews, got from the tail of the kangaroo, and such an adhesive gum as that yielded by the grass-tree. When hunting he will carry several spears, and also when hiding in rushes or scrub in the hope of intercepting some enemy.

He carries his spears, when in ambush, not in his hands but between his toes. He carries or drags them after him, and with lightning speed he throws them either by hand alone or with his *Kur-ruk*. When an enemy is struck with the jagged spear in the chest or abdomen, he is disabled, but his life is not despaired of by his friends. They drag the spear forwards through his body, the sufferer or his friends plug the holes with grass, and very often in an incredibly short space of time the warrior again appears, ready to battle with his foes.

The spears used for taking fish remind one, as already stated, of those in use now and in ancient times. The bident is the same as that employed by the Egyptians; and the account given by Dr. Gummow of the manner of fishing in the extensive flooded grounds that border the Murray is exactly like that of Wilkinson, and brings one again to the consideration of the similarities that exist between the customs of the savages of the South and those of races now scarcely otherwise known but by their monuments and their traditions.

The play boomerang (*Wonguim*); the war boomerang (*Barngeet*); and the wooden swords (*Li-lil* and *Quirriang-an-wun*) of the natives of the northern parts of Victoria are of uncommon interest; and it is believed that the facts now given will do away with much misapprehension that exists in the minds of many scientific men in Europe respecting the form and character of this class

of missiles. A number of weapons have been sent to Europe from time to time, and experiments have been made with them, and quite erroneous conclusions have been formed respecting them. Because a war boomerang will not return to the feet of the thrower, and because the play boomerang has been thrown both by blacks and whites with indifferent success, it has been assumed that this missile is uncertain in its flight, and its return to the feet of the thrower an accident.

Those who have seen a wonguim thrown by a native accustomed to its use need not be told that the statements published from time to time in the scientific journals in Europe are founded on imperfect information, or dictated in an unphilosophical spirit by a too great desire to prove that the Dravidian races of the Indian Peninsula and the ancient Egyptians belong to the Australoid stock, and that the boomerang was known to the Egyptians. All the facts that have been gathered up to the present time support Professor Huxley's theory of the origination of the Australian race, or at any rate tend to support it, and it is a pity that any mischievous error should be allowed to obscure what little has been revealed by the researches of Professor Huxley, the late Dr. Bleek, the Rev. William Ridley, the Rev. Lorimer Fison, and others.

There is nothing to show that anything like the wonguim was known to any other people anywhere at any time, and it is at least doubtful whether any weapon resembling the barngeet was known to the Egyptians.

The *Wonguim* and *Barngeet* are altogether different from the *Saparu*, or sickle-shaped sword, which is represented on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders as the weapon of Merodach or Bel.

All the mistaken notions respecting the Australian wonguim could have been at once disposed of if those who have been experimenting had referred to the statements made, nearly a quarter of a century ago, by one of the ablest and most conscientious observers of his time—the late Sir Thomas Mitchell. Speaking of the weapons of Australia, he says "The boomerang is one of the most remarkable of these missiles. Its flight through the air from the hand of an Australian native seems in strict obedience to his will. In its return after a very varied course to the foot of the thrower, this weapon seems so extraordinary, that a vice-president of the Royal Society, about twelve years ago, observed to me 'that its path through the air was enough to puzzle a mathematician.'"

Sir Thomas's remarks are strictly accurate; and any one may satisfy himself of the capabilities of the instrument who will take the trouble to make and experiment with the toy which is described in that part of this work which treats of the boomerang. It is almost useless for an adult European to seek to acquire the art of throwing the wonguim of the natives. Some of the wonguims one may throw very well, but others—and such are often the best—it is impossible to throw with success. The want of success, however, does not justify any one in stating therefore that the flight is uncertain. It would be just as reasonable for one who knows nothing of music to find fault with a flute or a violin.

Nothing is known of the origin of the wonguim. The *Barngeet* was probably in use for a long period prior to the discovery of the weapon which returns to

the thrower, and it is reasonable to believe that in making the *Barngeet* the right curves had accidentally been given to one of them. But even with a model in his hands it is almost impossible to guess how the Australian black was able to detect the slight peculiarities of form on which its flight depends, and to imitate them. There must have been many failures. It is not easy to throw a good weapon; and the first imperfect boomerangs must have caused as much trouble to the natives and raised in their minds the same doubts as the wonguims and the barngeets that have been the subjects of experiment by some of the savans in England.

The boomerang is not known in all parts of Australia. It is so stated by more than one. Mr. John Jardine, the police magistrate at Somerset, says that the boomerang is not known at Cape York. A correspondent at Cooktown (lat. 15° S.) makes the same statement; and another correspondent says, "I have doubts as to the boomerang being known, except by report, to the Narrinyeri (tribes of the lakes at the mouth of the Murray) as early as 1847. They certainly did not use it commonly at that time." And the wonguim, I believe, is not known by some tribes of the north who use the ornamented barngeet.

The facts indeed, as far as they are known, lead to the inference that the wonguim was first made by the people of the eastern coast; but the thinnest and finest of these leaf-like missiles are found in Western Australia. How did they get there? And why are they not used in York Peninsula? Is the boomerang of the West Australians, unlike in form that of the eastern and southern parts of the continent, an invention of that people? It is almost certain that the wonguim was not brought with them by the natives that first crossed the straits; and it had not become known to all the tribes when the first white settlers came to occupy the country. It is not a weapon that, its uses once discovered, would be discarded by any natives. This is a subject of the highest interest; and though perhaps it is now too late for any investigations to lead to such results as would have accrued if the matter had been taken in hand when the country was first colonized, it is possible yet to procure information from the natives of the north and the interior, and to ascertain, perhaps, how the knowledge of the wonguim was spread, and whether or not it had its origin amongst the tribes of the east coast. The wonguim has not been found in New Guinea, and the Tasmanians knew nothing of it.

Though the native would use anything that he might hold in his hand or that was within his grasp to ward off blows, or to protect himself against the boomerang or the spear, he had also very excellent defensive weapons. The shields of the natives of the east, south-east, and south are of two kinds. The *Mulga*—the wooden shield—is a defence when attack is made by the *Kud-jeerun* or *Leon-ile*, and though the general character of the weapon in all parts of Victoria is maintained, there are differences of form which show that the shield was being very gradually improved. The rather rude shields with a flat surface commonly in use, and designed only for warding off blows aimed by an enemy who was armed with the club, began to give place to shields with an angular face, which could be employed as well against the club as the spear. Numerous figures are given showing the forms of these weapons and the manner in which

they are ornamented. Many are heavy, weighing as much as fifty-six ounces; and the wives of the natives must have been sorely burdened in travelling from camp to camp when their warriors owned several of these weapons.

The aperture for the hand in all the specimens in my collection varies in length from three to three and a half inches, and when covered with the skin of the opossum the space is not more than sufficient to allow of a lady grasping the handle of the shield. The natives have long narrow hands, and all who examine their weapons and implements are astonished when they see the small spaces that are cut out for the hand. Some of the club-shields are very elegant in form, and are superior, I think, to the African shields, which in many respects they resemble.

The *Gee-am*, or *Ker-reem*, a thin, light, and broad canoe-shaped shield, is used as a defence against spears, and would be nearly useless in protecting a man against an enemy armed with a club. The specimens figured in this work fairly represent the character of these weapons. Care has been taken to give drawings of old weapons only—weapons made before the natives had become accustomed to use the knives and tools introduced by the whites.

The *Ker-reem* reminds one of the wicker shield (*Gerrhum*) of the Persians, the *Gerrha* of the Assyrians, and the γέρρον of the ancient Greeks—the square shield made of osier and covered with the hide of an ox.* The weight of the *Ker-reem* is usually not more than twenty-seven ounces. These shields are hard and strong and durable.

In some the place for the hand is cut out of the solid wood; but generally two holes are made, and a piece of the bough of a tree is bent, and the ends are inserted in the holes. Those with solid handles are old weapons, and are now very rare.

The *Goolmarry* of the natives of Mackay in Queensland, and the very remarkable shield with a boss, and ornamented with zigzag lines, from Rockingham Bay, are different altogether in form, and in some respects in ornamentation, from the shields used by the natives of the Namoi and the Peel, where weapons like those of the Murray and the Glenelg are common. I have in my collection a beautiful spear-shield from the Namoi, having a handle cut out of the solid wood, which in form and in ornamentation is exactly like the shields used by the natives of the Yarra.

The woods available for making shields are in the south very different from those of the north. A species of ficus which grows in the north yields a soft and light wood, which is admirably suited to the requirements of the native; and with this he has constructed a weapon which differs essentially from the heavy wooden club-shield and the lighter spear-shield of the men of the Murray and the Yarra.

The weapons and implements of the West Australian natives differ in some respects from those of the natives of the eastern and southern parts of the continent.

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* A wicker shield, usually covered with tappa, is found in use among some of the natives of the islands of the Solomon Group.

The *Kylie* or boomerang is a thin and paper-like missile, with very sharp edges, and capable of inflicting deadly wounds. Its form, too, is peculiar, presenting, as it does in looking at it as it lies flat, two angles. Whereas the boomerangs of the natives of Victoria weigh in some cases as much as ten ounces, the West Australian kylies are seldom more than four ounces in weight. Light as they are, it is very difficult for a European to throw them with precision. It is easier to manage one of the heavy weapons of the Victorian natives than this slight instrument; and yet in the hands of an expert its flight is extraordinary, and when properly thrown it returns invariably to the feet of the thrower, or very near to his feet. They are made of the wood of a species of acacia; and the colors of those in my collection are singularly beautiful—the rich reddish-brown streaked with dark-brown being usually bordered by a light-cream color.

There are at least five kinds of spears in use in West Australia, the most common being the *Gid-jee,* a wooden spear having a row of sharp chips on one side, which is thrown with the *Meero;* the light spear of very hard wood, sharpened at both ends; the double-barbed spear (*Pillara*), thrown with the *Meero;* the single-barbed spear, and the barbed four-pronged spear. The spears are very light; some weigh no more than six ounces and a half. They are generally coated with a gum or resin, and the gum of the grass-tree is used for fastening the stone chips to the wood. One kind of spear is ornamented.

The *Meeros* or *Womerahs* are of two kinds: one is a shield-shaped weapon, thin and light but very strong, and the other is a long narrow throwing-stick. One of the latter in my collection is about forty-two inches in length, and is used for propelling the long stone-headed spears that are in use on the north-west coast.

It is commonly stated that the long spears are always thrown by hand; but this is a mistake. All the very long spears from the north-west coast that I have seen are hollowed at the end for the reception of the "tooth" of the throwing-stick.

The shield of the West Australians—and it appears they have only one—is curiously marked, and differs from the shields of the natives of the east. It is usually colored red and white. It closely resembles the shields brought from Central Africa.

The stone hammer or stone axe (*Kad-jo*) is also different from those common in the south and east. It is said that they are often formed of two pieces of stone. The wooden handle is sharpened at the end, and is used to assist in climbing trees. The specimens sent to me are very rough. The stones are not ground or polished, but formed by striking off chips. They are composed of fine-grained granite, which, unlike greenstones, diorites, and metamorphic rocks, cannot easily be shaped by grinding.

The stone chisel (*Dhabba*) is like that made by the natives of the Grey Ranges; but the wooden handle is marked by incised lines, whether for ornament or to afford a better grip of the tool is not known. It is used in fighting, and also for cutting and shaping boomerangs, shields, clubs, and other weapons. The stone is quartz, obtained probably from veins in granite.

The meat-cutter or native knife is usually figured and described as a saw; and it much resembles a saw. Fragments of quartz are fastened to a piece of hard wood with the gum of the *xanthorrhœa*, very much in the same way as in making a spear, and a rough sort of knife is the result. It is used for cutting flesh.

These weapons and tools, and the native scoop or spade (*Waal-bee*), the waddy, the large war-club, and such implements as bone-needles or awls, complete the list of the instruments commonly in use on the west coast.

Nearly all the information respecting the West Australian weapons and implements has been communicated by the Honorable F. Barlee, M.P., the Colonial Secretary of West Australia, and by Mr. H. Y. L. Brown, who made a geological survey of a portion of the territory. Mr. Brown increased my collection by a valuable donation of spears, throwing-sticks, tomahawks, &c., and but for his assistance I should have been unable to give a description of many very interesting weapons.

Much ingenuity is displayed by the natives in plaiting and weaving grasses, flags, and sedges, and various vegetable fibres, into twine, bags, and nets. The leaves of the reed (*Phragmites communis*), a sedge-like plant (*Xerotes longifolia*), different species of *Carex*, and the common grass (*Poa Australis*), are plaited by the women. The leaves are usually split with the nail, a number of the strips are put together, without being twisted, and another strip is wrapped round the bundle thus formed. The strips are neatly interlaced; and sometimes a pattern is formed by varying the size of the strips or by using leaves of different colors.

Many of the bags are made of a fibre obtained from the bark of the stringy-bark tree (*Eucalyptus obliqua*). The fibre is twisted, and the twine is very strong and durable. The fur of the opossum or the native cat is sometimes used for making twine. None of the baskets made in Victoria are so closely woven as to hold water, and it is doubtful whether there are any such in Australia. The wicker bottle or basket from Rockingham Bay, figured and described by Mr. John McDonnell, may perhaps hold water. Indeed it is more like a water vessel than anything else.

It is a very amusing sight to see a group of native women employed in basket-making. Each has a heavy stone to keep the work in its place, and the plaiting is done by the hands, the band being looped over the large toe of the right foot. They chatter and sing continually as the business goes on, and they seem to enjoy the labor, and to pursue it as mechanically as an old woman knitting a stocking.

When the whites came the native women made variously-colored twine from the old shawls and other garments that were given to them, and with this they netted bags, both for their own use and for sale. Some of these are very pretty.

The vessels used for holding water are usually of wood. A gnarl of a gum-tree is cut off, and hollowed by fire and with the chisel or tomahawk. Some are large and heavy, and must have remained at the camp where they were made. Others are small, and could be carried with ease.

The water vessels in some districts are made of bark, in other parts they use the skin of an animal; and it is asserted that the natives of Encounter Bay fashion water vessels out of the heads of their deceased relatives. I have never seen any of these hideous drinking cups, and I cannot learn that they were ever in use amongst the tribes of Victoria.

Shells, as might be supposed, are occasionally made to serve for holding water.

Amongst the cutting instruments are the mussel-shell (*U-born*), wherewith they scraped and prepared skins for rugs, bags, and water vessels; and the *Leange-walert*, formed of the lower-jaw of the opossum, an excellent tool for carving designs on wood and for cutting and shaping the boomerang and other weapons.

The bone and wooden awls and nails (*Min-der-min*), still in use where European nails and needles are not to be had, are very ancient implements. The bone-awls are found in the long disused mirrn-yongs and shell-mounds with stone tomahawks and chips of basalt. They are not ornamented in any way.

The long stick (*Kon-nung*) carried by the women is a strong and rather heavy implement, having its point hardened by fire. It is employed in digging roots, in propelling the bark canoe, and for fighting.

The *Nerum* ought properly to be classed with the offensive weapons of the natives. The fibula of the kangaroo is sharpened at one end, and to the other is attached an elastic rope of some vegetable fibre. There is a loop at the end, through which the bone can be thrust. This instrument was in former times used ordinarily for strangling an enemy, but it was perhaps, when the owner was not looking for some victim, employed as a rope for keeping together spears and the like. I have seen only one specimen of the *Nerum*. Something very like it is described by Mr. J. Moore Davis.

The *Weet-weet* is a toy. It is formed of a piece of hard wood, the head being a double cone, and is generally used in sport, but a skilful native can throw it in such a manner as to seriously injure or kill an opponent—time and place being suitable. This small instrument can be thrown by the hand alone to an incredible distance. It is a wonderful projectile. Its weight is less than two ounces, but when the proper impulse is given by the hand of the native, it has great velocity, and force enough to wound at a distance of two hundred and twenty yards.

The corrobboree-stick (*Koorn-goon*) is merely a piece of wood, sharpened at each end. Woods that, when dry, are sonorous, are selected for this implement. They are beaten together, in time, during the corrobboree dance.

The message-sticks of the Australians are highly interesting. Two are figured—one from the east coast and one from the west. The natives appear to have had for a long period a method of communicating intelligence by a kind of picture-writing. Their sticks are certainly a better means of transmitting news than the quipu of the Peruvians, which was only a cord on which variously-colored threads were attached as a fringe. The Australians, according to the statements made by my correspondents and confirmed by the evidence I have produced, could really send messages, describe the events of a journey, and

furnish details of a kind likely to be useful to their friends. It is not without interest and importance that one of their message-sticks should have been produced in a court of justice in Queensland, and interpreted by a native trooper.

All the wonderful stories told of the Australians in the various works on ethnology, now becoming popular, are finally disposed of by the evidence of competent observers. The natives not only understand a drawing or a picture when they see it, but they themselves are tolerably good artists (probably much better artists than those who have represented them as little superior to monkeys or dogs), and they have invented, and probably have had in use for ages, picture-writing not inferior—indeed, as approaching a symbolical character, superior—to that of the birch-bark letter-writing of the Indians of America. There are, amongst some tribes, conventionalized forms, evidently; and it is of the utmost importance to ascertain to what extent these are used, and by what tribes they are understood. This subject and many others equally interesting were being investigated at the time when the results of my investigations had to be given prematurely to the public.

The information supplied by the Honorable F. Barlee, M.P., the Colonial Secretary in West Australia; Mr. Bartley, of Brisbane in Queensland; the Rev. Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers in Gippsland; and Mr. J. Moore Davis—is conclusive as to the practice of sending messages by the means above described; and this alone must serve to raise the blacks of Australia to a much higher position amongst the races of the world than that hitherto ascribed to them.

The boomerang, the womerah, the weet-weet, and message-sticks like theirs are not found amongst savages in other parts of the world; and they indicate a gradual advancement in knowledge and invention, which, in the long course of ages, if their country had not been invaded by the whites, might perhaps have resulted in civilization. Their supply of food, however, was always uncertain, and mainly dependent on their exertions as hunters and fishers; and only in those districts where the cultivation of indigenous or accidentally-imported roots and plants was practicable could they have emerged from their condition as savages.

The stone implements of the natives of Australia—the tomahawks, knives, adzes, the chips for cutting and scraping, the sharpening-stones, the stones for pounding roots and grinding seeds, those used in fishing and in making baskets, and the sacred stones carried by the old men, are all described with as much care as it was possible for me to employ.

The ordinary tomahawk of the natives of Victoria consists of a stone, in shape resembling many of the axe-heads found in Europe, Asia, and America, and a wooden handle bent over the stone and firmly tied with twine. Gum is used to keep the wood in its place and to perfect the union. When complete, it is a strong and useful implement; and a native with one of these can very quickly cut off a large limb from a tree, or make holes for his feet when he is climbing. There are found also in the mirrn-yong heaps and in the soil very large tomahawks of different forms which, it is said by the natives, were employed in splitting trees. One in the possession of Mr. Stanbridge is nearly

fourteen inches in length and five inches in breadth. It was found in a field near Daylesford, and may have been used, Mr. Stanbridge thinks, as a mattock for digging.

I have never seen any of these large implements in the hands of the natives of Victoria, but the blacks of the Munara district and those of some parts of the interior use very heavy tomahawks.

The natives of the northern tributaries of the River Darling do not in all cases attach handles to the stone-heads. Many use them in the same manner as the Tasmanians used their rough stone tools. The stone is held in the palm of the hand, and the top is grasped with the fingers and thumb.

The people of West Australia, as already stated, make their tomahawks of a fine-grained granite, and the cutting edge is formed by striking off flakes. They are not ground, and some it is said are formed of two pieces of stone. The mode in which they are fashioned is clearly shown in the figures.

The natives of the east used also for chisels and knives pieces of quartzite fashioned in the same manner; and the spear-heads of the north are made by striking off flakes.

If therefore all the stone implements and weapons of the Australians be examined, one set might be put apart and classed as the equivalents of those of the Palæolithic period of Europe, and another set as the equivalents of those of the Neolithic period. A man of one tribe will have in his belt a tomahawk ground and highly polished over the whole of its surface, and not far distant from his country the people will use for tomahawks stones made by striking off flakes. The figures given in this work sufficiently establish this fact, and would seem to press strongly against the theories of Sir John Lubbock, and to favor the views expressed by the Duke of Argyll.

But it would be unphilosophical not to use great care in applying such facts as those I have mentioned to the consideration of a question of so much moment. The classification made by Sir John Lubbock is confined by him to Europe, and it is based not alone in all cases on the forms of the stone implements, but also on the character of other remains that are found with them. It is beyond question that the Tasmanians used very rough stone implements, which were made by chipping, that their weapons and tools were few in number, and inferior to those of the natives of Australia, and that their condition altogether was lower than that of the Australians, amongst whom as a rule ground and polished stone axes are the implements commonly employed for cutting wood. It rests with Sir John Lubbock to consider these facts in connection with the classification he has employed. It is obvious that if all the natives of Australia and Tasmania had perished before the whites had had an opportunity of observing their customs, and if the only knowledge obtainable respecting them was that to be got from their implements of stone, some very curious results would have followed on applying Sir J. Lubbock's classification to them. The Tasmanian stone implements would have been regarded as of Palæolithic age, and some of the Australian specimens as of Neolithic age—that is to say if the evidence derivable from these was alone admissible; but as regards the stone implements of Europe, Sir John Lubbock adduces much more, and not

the least important is that which relates to the conditions under which the European stone implements are found. In the Palæolithic period, "man shared the possession of Europe with the mammoth, the cave-bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other extinct animals;" and with the remains of these are found chipped axes and other implements that appear to be characteristic of that period. The geologist does not necessarily suggest contemporaneity when he describes in different parts of the globe the Eocene, Miocene, and Pliocene deposits; and it is in a similar manner and with the like results that the archæologist should work. To bring into complete harmony the several stages of growth, whether ancient or modern, which have their records in the rocks or in the works of man, one must forget Time, and, in the first attempts at classification, viewing the whole earth, look for resemblances and differences in the things themselves, rather than seek to ascertain which of them were formed contemporaneously.

A careful consideration of the condition of savages in all parts of the globe tends rather to support the conclusions of Sir J. Lubbock, and to suggest their extension beyond the limits he has marked out than to invalidate them. He made undoubtedly a step of the highest importance in the advancement of a science that but yesterday—as it were—had no existence when he suggested the division above referred to; and a patient study of the evidence he has collected shows unmistakably that his method is but the beginning of a classification that will have results of the highest importance to mankind.

It is proper to call attention to the fact that no works of art have been found in the recent drifts of Victoria, and these drifts have been largely and widely explored by gold-miners. Was Australia unpeopled during the ages that preceded the formation of the gravels that form low terraces in every valley, and the beds of soft volcanic ash that yet cover grass-grown surfaces? If peopled, why do we not find some evidence—a broken stone tomahawk or a stone spear-head—in some of the most recent accumulations? Their stone implements are not found in caves or in the mud of lagoons with the bones of the gigantic marsupials, or any of the now extinct predaceans that have their living representatives in the island of Tasmania. The bones of the Tasmanian devil (*Sarcophilus ursinus*), the great kangaroo (*Macropus Titan*), the *Thylacoleo*, the *Nototherium*, and the *Diprotodon*, and those of a reptile (*Megalania prisca*) allied to the lace lizards of Australia, are found abundantly in mud flats in various parts of Australia; but nothing has been discovered to show that the continent was inhabited by man when these now well-preserved relics were clothed with flesh, and the animals were feeding on the plains and in the streams which were as well fitted then as now, as shown by the fruits and seeds that have been discovered, to afford the means of support to a savage people.

What was the condition of Australia when the flint implement makers of the drift period were living? Probably an unpeopled tract, where the then nearly extinct volcanoes shed at times over the landscape a feeble light, and the lion gnawing the bones of a kangaroo was watched with jackall-like eyes by the native dog, ready to eat up such scraps as his powerful enemy might leave

when his hunger was appeased. It is almost certain that during the period of the large carnivorous marsupials man was not there to contest with the lion the right to the proceeds of the chase.

Chips for cutting and scraping, fragments of tomahawks, and pieces of black basalt, are found on the low Silurian ranges near the rivers and creeks in all parts of Victoria; and wherever the soil is dug or ploughed over any considerable area, old tomahawks are turned up, thus showing the immense period of time that the land has been occupied by the native race.

The same fact is also strongly impressed on the mind when their quarries are examined. One quarry of diorite, near Mount William, in the parish of Lancefield, is of great extent, and the quantities of stone taken away by the natives must have been very great. Another near Kilmore occupies a large area; and there are besides numerous spots where black basalt was quarried.

The nets made by the natives of Australia are similar to those used in Europe. The twine is made strong or slight in accordance with their needs. Sometimes they use kangaroo-grass, and sometimes a fibre obtained from the bark of a tree. In the southern parts of Australia the fibre of the stringybark is usually employed.

The large net made of kangaroo-grass is provided with stone sinkers and bark floats. The hand net is stretched on a bow.

Some of the nets are very well made; and strangers are incredulous when told that they are the work of the natives.

Their fish-hooks, of shell or bone or wood, are all skilfully contrived.

It has been stated that the natives were unacquainted with fish-hooks prior to the arrival of the whites; but this is in all probability a mistake. Cook says "their fish-hooks are very neatly made, and some are exceedingly small," and Péron figures two shell fish-hooks exactly like the shell fish-hook from Rockingham Bay and the ancient bone fish-hook from Gippsland.

The very simple contrivance of wood or bone, described by Mr. J. A. Panton as having been used by the natives of Geelong to take fish, is, it is believed, unknown elsewhere. Something, however, somewhat similar, but barbed, is found in Queensland.

The barbed fish-hooks, made of shell and wood, employed by the natives of New Zealand and the South Seas, are of complex structure, but it is doubtful whether they are better adapted for the intended purpose than the simple shell-hooks of Australia.

The ordinary method of producing fire in Australia is by twirling with the palms of the hands an upright stick. One end is inserted in a hole in a flat piece of soft wood; and, if the operator is skilful, he quickly raises a smoke, and in a few moments a fire. Another, and perhaps a better method—but one practised in Australia, as far as I know, by the natives of the Murray only—is to cut a groove in a log, if there is not a crack that answers the purpose, to fill this with well-powdered dry leaves or dry grass, and rub a wooden knife across the groove. Fire is got very rapidly by this method.

The natives did not necessarily use the fire-sticks very frequently. The women carry fire when the tribe is travelling—a piece of decayed wood, a cone

of the *Banksia*, or a stick, is nearly always kept burning, and a fire for cooking is made quickly when needed.

The Australian method of producing fire, by twirling the upright stick, is perhaps the most ancient known amongst all the races of men. The Brahmins use it in their religious ceremonies, and it is certainly older than their religion; the Greeks had the *pyreia* and the *trupanon;* the Aztecs and Peruvians their fire-sticks; and the superstitious people of the north of Europe go back to the practices of their forefathers, and use *will-fire* when they believe that their cattle have been injured by witchcraft. And it is as widely known as it is ancient. It is practised in Africa, in America, in Tahiti, in Borneo, in New Zealand, in Java, and in Japan. Amongst savages the fire so obtained is not generally looked upon as in any way peculiar, but in the oldest forms of religion it is regarded as sacred; and the Brahmin using the Arani in a Hindu temple to-day is acting in obedience to a belief as to the manner in which fire was first procured from heaven that is not very different from that entertained by the natives of Victoria. We may well wonder how instruments so simple as those described came to be used for the purpose of procuring fire.

Perhaps the rubbing together of the branches of trees in a gale, which the Rev. Richard Taylor states has caused trees to take fire in New Zealand, may have suggested the use of wood; but it is more probable, I think, that in rubbing sticks together the black discovered that they rapidly heated, and, persevering, at last made them smoke, and finally adding dry grass or bark, produced a flame.

The natives of those parts of Australia which are not visited by the Malays or Papuans have so simple a method of constructing a canoe that the invention cannot have been derived from foreigners. It is, I think, undoubtedly their own; and though I have said that it is simple, a European, without instruction from a native, would probably fail in an attempt to make a bark canoe. Mr. Hamilton Hume attempted it on one occasion and failed.

When the natives have to cross a river, they strip a sheet of bark from a tree; if necessary, it is heated in the ashes of a fire, and moulded to a proper form. The ends are stopped with walls of clay, and it is then ready for use. This, however, is a temporary expedient. A better canoe is made by selecting bark which is thin enough and flexible enough to admit of the ends being tied with a rope of vegetable fibre, stretchers are placed in it and sometimes wooden ribs, and ties are used to keep it in shape.

When the women are fishing they place stones in the canoe, and keep a fire burning, so that they can cook the fish as soon as caught. They propel the canoe either by the long stick (*Konnung* or *Jen-dook*), or by a scoop-shaped paddle of bark.

The smallest bark canoes used in Victoria are not more than seven feet six inches in length, and the largest about eighteen feet. The former will carry two persons, and the latter six or more.

The barks of the mountain ash, the stringybark, the red-gum, the blue-gum, the white-gum of the valleys, the Snowy River mahogany, and that of other varieties of eucalypts, are used for making canoes.

The natives as a rule did not venture far from the sea-coast, even when provided with the better kinds of canoes.

At Twofold Bay and Jervis Bay, in New South Wales, they were, however, adventurous, and caught and brought to land very large fish. The men of that part of the coast seem to have taken readily to seafaring. Mr. Boyd, a settler at Twofold Bay, employed the natives many years ago as part of the crew of his yacht; and at one time they were constantly engaged in the boats of the whaling station, where their excellent sight rendered them extremely useful in seeing and harpooning the fish.*

The natives used the bark of trees for canoes because of the labor and difficulty of carving good canoes out of solid wood. If they had been mariners, they would have used the splendid trees that grow in many places very close to the water's edge in fashioning durable vessels. There are perhaps no trees in the world better suited for canoes than some of those growing in the Australian forests, but the woods generally are hard and difficult to work, and it is absolutely necessary, in order to get good sound wood, that they be felled at the right season. It is the belief of many that the Australian woods will not float in water, and that is the reason that the natives use bark. But iron ships float, and a canoe made of ironbark wood not only floats, but is buoyant. Even the large thick heavy wooden tarnuk, made of the gnarl of a gum-tree, is buoyant. The story generally believed, that Australian woods are unfit for canoes because they are not buoyant is like that told of the Fellows of the Royal Society of England. One at least did not believe that a vessel of water was not made heavier when a fish was put into it. He made an experiment, and convinced his colleagues that his heterodoxy was orthodoxy. And so, when the native woods are tested, they are found to be admirably adapted to single-trunk canoe building.

The means of transport by water on the north-east coast, and at Cape York, have been improved by the natives so far as to permit of their being properly called navigators. Some of their canoes formed of the trunk of the cotton-tree (*Cochlospermum*) are hollowed out. They are more than fifty feet in length, and each is capable of conveying twelve or fifteen natives. They are provided with outrigger poles, and are propelled by short paddles or sails of palm-leaf matting.

The canoes of the north-eastern natives differ altogether from the rafts or canoes seen by Dampier on the north-west coast, and the bark canoes found in the lakes of the interior by Oxley some sixty years ago, and by Mitchell nearly forty years ago. The bark canoe, it may safely be assumed, is Australian—as much as the boomerang or the weet-weet; but the hollowed log canoes of the north-east are imitations of the proas of the Malays and the Papuans.

A very interesting controversy arose about fourteen years ago respecting the canoes in use in Australia; and the letters of the late Mr. Beete Jukes, Mr. Brierly, and Sir D. Cooper, addressed to the editor of the *Athenæum*, contain so much that is interesting, both in consequence of the errors made originally and the rectification of the errors, that I have quoted

the letters. They are very valuable; and the editor, it may be supposed, will not object to a piece of history so important to Australians being transferred to these pages.

The superstitions and tales and legends of the Australian natives, the folk-lore of this people, have never until within the last few years engaged attention. A long time ago—long before it was anticipated that any such researches would have valuable results—I sought to gather together all the tales and legends of the natives of Victoria, and not without a certain measure of success; but it is believed the old people could have related many that are not recorded or mentioned in this volume. The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, the late Mr. Thomas, the Rev. Mr. Hagenauer, Mr. John Green, and Mr. Alfred W. Howitt, have furnished those which now appear; and scientific men who study comparative mythology will regard their contributions with the greatest interest. To the Rev. Mr. Hartmann I am indebted for a portion of an old native story, that of *Duan* (the squirrel) and *Weenbulain* (the spider). It is very valuable. It is a tale widely known and therefore ancient. A new story in these times is not often carried far, and is likely to be soon forgotten, and this it may be supposed had its origin with others, certainly ancient, which give an account of the performances of various beasts and birds when they were in the estimation of the savages the equals or the superiors of men.

Birds and beasts are the gods of the Australians.*

The eagle, the crow, the mopoke, and the crane figure prominently in all their tales. The native cat is now the moon; and the kangaroo, the opossum, the emu, the crow, and many others who distinguished themselves on earth, are set in the sky and appear as bright stars.

Fire was stolen. And this and all the legends of the natives remind one of the folk-lore of the Aryan or Indo-European race. The fables of the Australians and their references to the contests between the eagle and other birds are exactly like those known to the Saxons in every part of Europe. The eagle, the owl, the wren, the robin redbreast, the woodpecker, and the stork play nearly the same parts in European tales as the eagle, the crow, the mopoke, and the little bird with a red mark over his tail in Australian legends.

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* "Let us not think too meanly of the intelligence of our simple ancestors because they could regard brutes as gods. It was an error not peculiar to them, but common to all infant races of men. The early traditions of every people point back to a period when man had not yet risen to a clear conception of his own pre-eminence in the scale of created life. The power of discerning differences comes later into play than that of perceiving resemblances, and the primeval man, living in the closest communion with nature, must have begun with a strong feeling of his likeness to the brutes who shared with him so many wants, passions, pleasures, and pains. Hence the attribution of human voice and reason to birds and beasts in fable and story, and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. To this feeling of fellowship there would afterwards be superadded a sense of a mysterious something inherent in the nature of brutes, which was lacking in that of man. He found himself so vastly surpassed by them in strength, agility, and keenness of sense; they evinced such a marvellous foreknowledge of coming atmospheric changes which he could not surmise; they went so straight to their mark, guided by an instinct to him incomprehensible, that he might well come to look upon them with awe as beings superior to himself, and surmise in their wondrous manifestations the workings of something divine."—*Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-Lore.* by Walter K. Kelly. 1863.

There is much playfulness and sagacity apparent in the stories of the Aborigines. The injuries done to the bear are repaired after a curious fashion; and the wombat revenges the blow given him by the kangaroo in a manner that accounts sufficiently for the appearance he now presents.

Many of their tales recall to recollection the fables of Ovid, and others are, in character, not unlike some of those in the Pansiya panas jataka of the Buddhists.*

The account that is given of the manner in which Pund-jel made the first men somewhat resembles the work attributed to Tiki in the mythology of the New Zealanders.

The myths and tales now presented do no more than serve to show how much is yet to be done in Australia in this most interesting field of enquiry. There is not a tribe of natives anywhere that does not include in it old men and old women who are the depositaries of its superstitions; and from them could be obtained stories as valuable probably as any that are given in this volume.

The late Dr. Bleek labored in South Africa with marked success in gathering portions of the great store of Bushman traditionary lore, which but for him would in all probability have remained unknown; and here in Australia there is a larger field, and the results it is certain would amply repay the labors of any who could devote time to setting down, if possible in the native tongue, with an exact translation between the lines, all that the natives have to tell respecting the beings that, in their belief, formerly peopled the earth.

Unthinking persons treat all their tales with contempt; but it is to their myths one has to look in any attempt to discover to what stock the Australian belongs. To study the mind of the savage is not a worthless employment either; and his legends and tales and superstitions reveal the workings of his undisciplined intellect, show his perception, and enable one to observe to what extent his power of reasoning is developed.

The information I have collected illustrative of the languages of the colony of Victoria will no doubt be welcomed by philologists. Many of the papers have been written by gentlemen who were well aware of the importance of the work they were engaged upon, and they have carefully and conscientiously dealt with the several questions which I put to them.

There are in all twenty-three papers, and the names of the contributors comprise many of those in the colony who are most competent to deal with so difficult a subject as the native language. The vocabularies compiled by Mr. Bunce, Mr. Parker, the Rev. Mr. Hagenauer, and Mr. Green; the examples of the conjugation of verbs, the declension of nouns and pronouns, the explanations of the grammatical structure of the tongues spoken in Victoria, and the stories and sentences in the native language, written down exactly as spoken, and with interlinear translations, by Mr. Bulmer, Mr. Hagenauer, Mr. Hartmann, Mr. Spieseke, and Mr. Howitt; the native names of trees, shrubs, and plants; and the native names of the hills, rivers, creeks, and other natural features—will, it is hoped, be accepted as important and valuable contributions,

* *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*—1847

and such as are likely to assist towards a better comprehension of the peculiarities of the Australian languages.

The difficulties that beset the enquirer in attempting to unravel the intricacies of the dialects are great and very numerous. Changes have been effected in consequence of words being, for various reasons, from time to time tabooed, and thereafter falling into disuse. Ellipses are numerous, and are so used as to disguise the dialects; the sounds of words are altered for euphony as they take new terminations; many of the consonants are interchangeable, and the substitution of *b* and *d* for their cognates *p* and *t* alone is often embarrassing. These difficulties and the general absence of relative pronouns, the absence of gender (with certain remarkable and unexplained exceptions), and the use of the dual, render the study of the native tongues impossible to any but those who live with the blacks, hear their speech day after day, and keep continually on the alert to detect the meaning of obscure sentences.

Many of the words are onomatopœic in their origin, and a few examples are given in the text. They are made from sound; and if all the words thus formed could be collected, we should have a large number of root-words that would assist not only in elucidating the languages of Australia, but would be of essential service in the study of all the languages of the world. Still greater would be the profit if words formed from the sensations produced by taste, sight, smell, and touch could be eliminated. That words bearing relation to the senses, and naturally giving expression to them, have been made in the same manner (though necessarily not so easily discoverable) as those that are imitative of sounds, is, I think, beyond doubt. The words used by savages must, except in comparatively rare instances, have arisen out of their necessities; they are not the result of art or of accident; nor can they have been chosen arbitrarily.

One of the most thoughtful of modern writers has said that "the commonest words we use to indicate ideas are essentially metaphorical, bringing home into the world of mind images derived from material force, and carrying forth again into the outward world conceptions born of that mental power which alone is capable of conceiving;"* and this being true of the languages of races of the highest culture, it is easy to understand how other, not always unlike, directing and impulsive powers may have given a distinctive character to the dialects of the Australian natives, without, however, introducing material changes of structure.

The reduplications in the dialects of Victoria are very numerous. Such words as *Boorp-boorp*, *Bullen-bullen*, *Dong-dong*, *Bulk-bulk*, *Kalk-kalk*, *Mung-mung*, *Ghur-ghur*, *Woller-woller*, *Boolng-boolng*, and *Knen-knen*, occur frequently in all the vocabularies, the number per cent. being probably not less than four. If words that are not literally reduplications, the sounds being changed for euphony, are included, the percentage would be much higher, probably six; and the language is, so to speak, double in another way. The Rev. Mr. Bulmer has shown that the natives have two words for the same thing, and if one be like in sound to the name of any one who dies, it is dropped. It becomes *thambora*,

* *The Reign of Law*, by the Duke of Argyll (sixth edition, 1871), p. 41.

as the blacks of the Murray say; it recalls the memory of the dead, and must be no more used. The illusion of those who believe that the languages of savages is simple would be rudely dispelled if they addressed themselves to an examination of the dialects of any part of Australia. They are highly inflected, complex, and many of the sentences are so constructed as to make a translation impossible. It is as difficult to give the meaning in English of some of their phrases as it would be to translate into Greek or Latin the pigeon patois of Hong Kong.

Examples are given of the gesture-language in use amongst the natives of Cooper's Creek. It appears to be well understood, and of great use to them. It is referred to by Mr. Samuel Gason, who had on some occasions to have recourse to it.

It was believed for a length of time that there were several distinct languages in Australia—languages, that is to say, not belonging even to the same class. The works of Threlkeld, Grey, Teichelmann, Schürmann, Moore, and Moorhouse, and the investigations made by Bulmer, Hartmann, and Hagenauer, establish the fact of the unity of the tongues throughout the continent. The Australian languages, like those of the Indo-European race, are derived from a common source. The comparative tables in this work—imperfect as they are—confirm the conclusions of the more advanced among philologists; and it may be safely assumed that further researches will more distinctly prove the truth of the theory propounded by the gentlemen whose published works I have referred to.*

Large tracts, with well-marked natural boundaries, are peopled by "nations," each composed of many separate tribes, differing amongst themselves but little in speech, in laws, and in modes of warfare; and it is believed that the languages or dialects of the "nations" stand in a much closer relationship to the mother tongue than the Italian, French, and Spanish stand to the Latin. Messengers (*Gualla wattow*) find no difficulty in acquiring a complete knowledge of the languages and dialects of the neighbouring tribes; and men belonging to tribes far remote from each other are able to make themselves mutually understood after they have been together for a few hours.

The reasons for the belief in the unity of the Australian languages are as follows:—

1. Numerous words are nearly the same in sound, and have the same meaning in various localities throughout the entire continent. Amongst these are the words for eye, tongue, hand, teeth, blood, sun, and moon.
2. The words in use throughout the continent are of the same character and have a similar sound.

* "I have no hesitation in affirming that as far as any tribes have been met and conversed with by the colonists, namely, from one hundred miles east of King George's Sound up to two hundred miles north of Fremantle, comprising a space of above six hundred miles of coast, the language is radically and essentially the same. And there is much reason to suppose that this remark would not be confined to these limits only, but might be applied, in a great degree, to the pure and uncorrupted language of the whole island."—*Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language in common use*

3. The similarity in the personal pronouns.
4. The absence (generally) of gender.
5. The low level of the numerals, and the recurrence at many points far remote from one another of the same or nearly the same word for "two."
6. The use of the dual.
7. The use of suffixes.
8. The languages or dialects of a district as small as Victoria present, in some cases and in some respects, differences as great as those observed when the languages spoken at the extreme points of the continent are compared.

To these might be added the fact that reduplication is universal throughout the continent; but as this is a characteristic of the languages of savages generally, it has not much value. That they have usually two words for the same thing is, however, of a higher value; but it is not known whether this system is maintained in all parts of Australia.

If these facts stood alone, uncorroborated by other circumstances, there might still be room for doubt, as, for instance, if the physical aspect and constitution of the natives presented remarkable differences, and if their arms and modes of life were diverse; but they are not. They are one people—oneness having more force in regard to them and their language than it has when applied to the Aryan family of nations, whose languages are traceable to that of the tribes who dwelt on the table-land lying between the mountains of Armenia and Hindoo-Kush.

The vocabularies for Victoria seem to establish the fact that in this area at any rate there is one language with many dialects, or several languages so similar in words and grammatical structure as to satisfy the enquirer that they have had a common origin. Is it possible to gather from the character of the dialects any hint as to the manner in which the most southern part of the continent was peopled? After a careful study of the tables, I am inclined to believe that the tribes followed the course of the great rivers and the margin of the coast from the north towards the south. The language of the people of Yelta, on the Lower Murray, is that of the Cornu tribe, who inhabit the tract north of the River Darling, and differs in some respects from the language spoken by the people of the Upper Murray and those living on the banks of the streams which have their sources in the western slopes of the Cordillera. The tribes who first touched the north banks of the Murray and crossed the stream appear to have followed the rivers (its affluents), such as the Wimmera, the Avoca, the Loddon, the Campaspe, the Goulburn, and the Ovens, to their sources; and it is probable that these tribes came, not across the Cordillera, but

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amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia, by George Fletcher Moore, Advocate-General of Western Australia, 1842.

"It may indeed be asserted that the dialects of all New Holland, so far at least as they have been collected, from New South Wales to Swan River, constitute only one language."—*Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language spoken by the Natives inhabiting the Western Shores of Spencer's Gulf*, by C. W. Schürmann, 1844.

southwards, all the way from the western shores of York Peninsula. The tribes of the Murray have several different dialects; the people of the Wimmera district speak a language that is almost the same in all parts; the dialects of the tribes of the western plains and the coast seem to change much as they are followed eastwards; the Yarra tribes and the Western Port tribes are allied to the tribes of the great western plains; and Gippsland appears to have been peopled either from a stream coming southwards along the coast, or from the head waters of the Murray. Their affinities are rather with the tribe of the Kiewa than with the tribes of the western plains.

It is indeed but reasonable to suppose that the lakes of Gippsland were peopled by a tribe that travelled southward by way of Twofold Bay; but some families may have entered it by crossing the Alps, so as to reach the head waters of the Tambo; or the men of the Goulburn may have penetrated the country near the point where the Thomson has its sources. The natives of Gippsland are different from the people of the west, both in dialect and in physical character; but both the dialect and the physical character have undergone alterations, undoubtedly, in consequence of the isolation of the tribes of this tract and the conformation of the country.

Here in Victoria, as in Europe and Asia, we see the effects produced by the aspects of nature, by climate, and by the infrequency of intercourse with larger populations. The people inhabiting Gippsland, cut off in the winter season certainly from intercourse with neighbouring tribes, and dwelling in the summer months on the lofty heights that overlook the lakes, were stout and brave fighting-men, exhibiting certain slight differences in physiognomy and structure that set them apart from the tribes of the west, and caused them to be regarded as enemies more than ordinarily dangerous.

The origin of the Australian race is still hidden from us. We cannot yet penetrate the thick darkness of pre-historic times. It may be that the continent was peopled from Timor. The physical geography of the area, it might be said, suggests this; and some strength is lent to the supposition from the occurrence of Australian words in the languages of Ombay, Timbora, and Mangarei. But there was one stream from the north-east.

The Rev. Mr. Ridley seems to think that Australia was peopled by a race that came by way of Torres Straits, and that the native names for New Guinea and Australia favor this supposition. *Kai Dowdai*, the name applied to Australia, he believes means "Little Country;" and *Muggi Dowdai*, or New Guinea, means "Great Country." "To those," he says, "who live near Cape York, and pass to and fro across the strait, without any means of knowing the real extent of Australia or New Guinea, the low narrow point of land which terminates in Cape York must appear very small compared with the great mountain ranges of New Guinea. Regarding *dowdai* as a variation of *towrai*, a country, I think it probable that 'Little Country' was the name given by the Aborigines to Australia. It may be that those of the race of Murri who first came into this land, passing from island to island, until they reached the low narrow point which forms the north-eastern extremity of this island-continent, gave the name *Kai Towrai* (Little Country) to the newly-discovered land; and

as they passed onward to the south and west, and found out somewhat of the vast extent of the country, the necessities and jealousies of the numerous families that followed them forbade their return. The current of migration was ever onward towards the south and west; and therefore the north-eastern corner of Australia was always the dwelling-place of a people ignorant of the vast expanse beyond them, and willing to call it still *Kai Dowdai*, the little country." *

This suggestion, though perhaps based on a misconception of the use or meaning of the words *Kai Dowdai* and *Muggi Dowdai*, is well worthy of careful consideration. By what route soever the first men came to the continent, it is almost certain that the settlement was at first partial and gradual. There could have been no great wave of migration; and it is perhaps doubtful whether, if a canoe full of natives from some distant island had been stranded anywhere on the shores of Australia, they would have found subsistence. Yet savages have so much skill in hunting and fishing that they would easily support themselves where men accustomed only to the usages of civilized life would perish.

With the scanty vocabularies at present available, and lacking many important facts connected with the habits of the people of the north, their weapons, and their various modes of ornamenting these and the implements they use, it is not practicable to do more than offer mere conjectures as to the course taken by the natives who first set foot on the soil of Australia. It is probable that there were two streams from the Peninsula—one following the eastern coast southwards, and one taking a course along the western coast. The first, pressed onwards by tribes still migrating southward, may have advanced as far as Gippsland; and the second probably divided near the south-eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria—one section taking a course along the coast westward and southward to West Australia, and thence towards King George's Sound; and the other following the course of the rivers that flow southward to Cooper's Creek and the Darling. If there is any truth in these conjectures, many facts that are at present inexplicable have some light thrown upon them.

Eyre states that in his opinion it is not improbable that Australia was first peopled on its north-western coast, between the parallels of 12° and 16° south latitude; and that it may be surmised that three grand divisions had branched out from the parent tribe, and that from the offsets of these the whole continent had been overspread. The first division, he suggests, may have proceeded round the north-western, western, and south-western coast, as far as the commencement of the Great Australian Bight. The second or central one appears to have crossed the continent inland, to the southern coast, striking it about the parallel of 134° east longitude. The third division seems to have followed along the bottom of the Gulf of Carpentaria to its most south-easterly bight, and then to have turned off by the first practicable line in a direction towards Fort Bourke, upon the Darling. From these three divisions, Mr. Eyre supposes, various

* *Kamilaroi, Dippil, and Turrubul*, by the Rev. William Ridley, M.A., 1866.

offsets and ramifications would have been made from time to time as they advanced, so as to overspread and people by degrees the whole country round their respective lines of march; each offset appearing to retain fewer or more of the original habits, customs, &c., of the parent tribe in proportion to the distance traversed, or its isolated position, with regard to communication with the tribes occupying the main line of route of its original division; modified also, perhaps, in some degree by the local circumstances of the country through which it may have spread.

I have already mentioned that the natives north of the Darling speak a dialect like that of the people of the Lower Murray (in Victoria); the weapons of the natives of West Australia resemble those of the north-west. They have, as far as I can learn, but one shield, altogether unlike the shields of the south, and resembling somewhat that in use in Queensland; and their spears are like those of the people of the north coast. The natives of Perth ornament the wooden part of their adzes exactly in the same manner—with the like remarkable longitudinal grooves—as the people of Queensland.

The area within which the custom of circumcision prevails, and perhaps also the area within which the boomerang is not used, point also to such divisions of the streams of immigration as are suggested.

There is an impression in the minds of many, to which color is given by curious coincidences, that the languages of Australia—or rather the mother of the languages of Australia—may be supposed to have affinity with the languages of the Aryan family. Without raising in this place the more important question as to whether the Australians are the representatives, in the savage state, of a section of the ancient stock which gave civilization to Europe, one may glance at some of the facts which have been adduced. That these facts have any philological or ethnological value is questionable, but they are, to say the least, interesting. The words *Nau-wai*, a canoe; *Marai*, spirit; *Joen*, a man; *Cobra*, the head; *Tiora*, land; *Moray*, great; *Gnara*, a knot; *Kir-adjee*, a doctor; *Ury*, ear; *Yain*, chin; *Oura*, our; *Yai*, yes; *Yair*, air; *Keh-le-de*, brightness; *Kerreem*, a shield; *Urdin*, straight; *Manya*, the hand; *Yarra*, flowing; *Mah*, to strike; *Pilar*, a spear; *Kalama*, a reed; *Pidna*, the foot; *Yun*, soon; *Kurrin*, enquiring; *Poke*, a small hole; *Wirangi*, bad; *Multuwarrin*, many or much; *Trippin*, drenching; *Throkkun*, putting; *El*, will; *Trentin*, tearing; *Grawun*, burying in the earth; and *Kinka*, laugh—are similar to words with similar meanings in the languages of the Aryan family. It would be as wrong to dismiss these without remark as to lay stress upon them. A greater number of words showing the like resemblances might easily be given; and it is for the more learned amongst philologists to separate those exhibiting perhaps mere accidental coincidences of sound from those that may have been introduced by traders from the Malay Peninsula and the islands of the Pacific.

There has been compiled for this work, from information supplied by the Local Guardians of Aborigines, the Surveyor-General of the colony, and others, a list of the native names of the hills, streams, and other natural features of the colony. It is not only interesting to preserve the local names as used by the blacks, but information is often conveyed by them which hereafter may be

useful. There are necessarily repetitions in the lists, which in the whole comprise more than two thousand words, but these could not well be avoided without doing injustice to the contributors, and without undertaking the responsibility of deciding, perhaps erroneously, in cases where there are discrepancies.

Any one who will take the trouble to examine a map of Australia will see that the greater number of the natural features, as well as the counties, towns, and settlements, have received names that sufficiently indicate the class of persons who gave them; and it is really not easy to say whether those who sought to gain the favor of persons in power, or the bushmen who used such appellations as best conveyed their meaning to the minds of their associates, have made the worst choice. There is time yet to remedy the injustice that has been done to the interests of the colonists, and that can be effected by erasing from the map at least all those names which are similar in sound to those associated in the mind with the natural scenery and the cities and towns of Europe. Several names—supposed to be native names—have been mutilated or so altered as to be no longer of any significance; and if the information I have gathered helps in any way towards an amendment in these and a change in others, it will be a source of satisfaction to many.

The records which I have preserved of the native names of a number of the trees and shrubs of the colony furnish a large number of euphonious words, from which it would be easy to select those most appropriate to any given locality. From the manner in which the lists have been prepared, it is practicable to identify nearly all the plants. The naturalist will recognise the utility of a work of this kind; and any one who lives in the country and takes any interest in the indigenous vegetation will not be slow to avail himself of the help which he will derive from the pages that refer to this subject.

The names were written down exactly as the blacks pronounced them; and the botanical names were added by the Government Botanist. The portfolios in which the plants were placed when they were collected, the labels pasted on each cover, and the specimens, are all in excellent order and well preserved.

Hereafter this collection will be highly valued. All those who are living in parts of the country that are frequented by the natives could with ease make similar collections; and it is certain that the Government Botanist would gladly examine the plants and furnish information respecting them.

Much light might be thrown on the principles which guided the natives in naming localities if the native words for the trees, shrubs, &c., and for the natural features of the country, were written down; and it is in the power of every educated person who comes into contact with the blacks to aid in this work. In a very short time the older blacks who possess the requisite knowledge will have died, and it will be impossible to obtain any such records for other parts of Australia as those I have preserved for some portions of Victoria.

All the vocabularies and all the lists under the head of Language, except one, relate to Victoria. One is a short vocabulary, compiled by Mr. Henry Withers, of Wagga Wagga, in New South Wales, and it is inserted both

because it serves for comparison and because the information Mr. Withers collected and forwarded to me in manuscript should not be lost.

Wagga Wagga is situate on the river Murrumbidgee, and lies about eighty miles north of Barnawartha. Many of the words collected by Mr. Withers coincide with words of similar meaning in use on the Upper Murray, but are unlike those of the Lower Murray. Man at Wagga Wagga is *Gooen;* at Tangambalanga, *Gerree.* Hand at Wagga Wagga is *Murra;* at Tangambalanga and Barnawartha, *Murrah.* Foot, Wagga Wagga, *Geenong (Jeenong?);* Barnawartha, *Jennong.* Ear, Wagga Wagga, *Woother;* Barnawartha, *Mutha.* Eye, Wagga Wagga, *Mill;* Barnawartha, *Mill.* Teeth, Wagga Wagga, *Erong;* Barnawartha (mouth), *Erang.* Hair, Wagga Wagga, *Ourang;* Barnawartha, *Huran.* Blood, Wagga Wagga, *Goohun;* Tangambalanga, *Koroo.* Bone, Wagga Wagga, *Thubbul;* Barnawartha, *Thubal.* Night, Wagga Wagga, *Booroonthun;* Barnawartha, *Burandong.* Sun, Wagga Wagga, *Eri;* Barnawartha (day) *Erah.* Fire, Wagga Wagga, *Wing;* Barnawartha, *Wanga.* The native word set down in many vocabularies for "day" is really the word for "sun," and the word for "sun," in like manner, is often that which means "day" or "light" or "heat." There is seldom any mistake made in obtaining the right word for "night," that is to say for "darkness." I believe the natives have really no words exactly equivalent to "day" and "night."

The natives of Tasmania were darker, shorter, more stoutly built, and generally less pleasing in aspect than the people of the continent. Their hair was woolly and crisp, and some bore a likeness to the African negro. Their aspect was different from that of the Australians. In their form, their color, and their hair they were rather Papuan than Australian. Many words in their language, however, coincide with words in the dialects of King George's Sound, the Gulf of St. Vincent, and the south-eastern parts of the continent; and it might be assumed, therefore, that the connection between the inhabitants of the island and the continent was clearly established. But we must not overlook the Papuan affinities of the Tasmanian dialects. Many words are the same as those in the languages spoken in New Caledonia, in Mallicollo, and in other islands of the Melanesian division.

In all respects their condition was lower than that of the Australians, yet they were not altogether unlike in their habits to some tribes of the interior. They knew nothing of the boomerang, the throwing-stick, the shield, or the *Weet-weet.* Their weapons were rude wooden spears, and sticks used as clubs or as missiles. Their stone implements were chipped fragments of cherty rock, which were not ground or polished, nor were they fitted with wooden handles.

Like the natives of Cooper's Creek, they threw stones at their enemies.

In all their customs there was much to remind one of the practices of the Australians. There were some ceremonies attendant on the initiation of young males into the rights and privileges of manhood; there were some restrictions on marriage; they mourned their dead, and disposed of the bodies by interring them, placing them in trees, or burning them; and they had dances like the corrobborees of the natives of the continent. Their superstitions too, and one

or two of their myths, bear a resemblance to those of the Australians. Some kinds of food were prohibited; they had a strong objection to eating fat; they carried about with them the bones of deceased relatives; and they believed in and practised sorcery.

Their ornaments and their utensils, though few in number, were not inferior to those of the people of the mainland.

They were not altogether destitute of the power of invention. They produced fire by twirling the upright stick; and they constructed rude vessels, in which they could cross rivers and arms of the sea.

Whether Australia was once peopled by a race of which the Tasmanians were a remnant will probably never be known. Their stone implements, the only material evidences we could have of their presence, are of such a character as to be easily overlooked if found. They would be regarded, probably by even the skilful, as mere accidental fragments of rock. They differ but slightly from the implements of the West Australians; and these no one would recognise as the work of men's hands.

Mr. R. H. Davies thinks that there can be no doubt as to the origin of the Tasmanians. He believes that they were scions of the continental tribes; and he points to their habits and their weapons as proofs. He considers that the chain of islands extending across the extremity of Bass's Straits forms a comparatively easy means of communication. From the circumstance, however, of the name for water amongst the western tribes being similar to that used by the natives near Cape Leeuwin, it is, in his opinion, extremely probable that the latter furnished the first inhabitants for the western portion of Van Diemen's Land. And this, he adds, is rendered the more likely from the peculiar form of the south-western coast of New Holland, as a canoe driven to sea from the vicinity of King George's Sound would, from the prevailing winds and currents, be apt to reach the western part of Van Diemen's Land.

There is another theory propounded by one of the most distinguished of living philologists:—

Speaking of the vocabulary of the Louisiade, as compiled by Macgillivray, and its collation with lists of words from the Solomon Isles, Mallicollo, Tanna, Erromanga, and Annatom, and Cook and La Billardière's vocabularies of New Caledonia, Dr. Latham says that the latter, as far as the very scanty *data* go, supply the closest resemblance to the Louisiade dialects from the two New Caledonian vocabularies; and he adds, "New Caledonia was noticed in the Appendix to the *Voyage of the Fly* as *apparently* having closer philological affinities with *Van Diemen's Land* than that country had with Australia; an apparent fact which induced me to write as follows:—'A proposition concerning the Tasmanian language exhibits an impression rather than a deliberate opinion. Should it, however, be confirmed by future researches, it will at once explain the points of physical contrast between the Tasmanian tribes and those of Australia that have so often been insisted on. It is this—that the affinities of language between the Tasmanian and the New Caledonian are stronger than those between the Australian and Tasmanian. This indicates that the stream of population for Van Diemen's Land ran *round* Australia

rather than across it.' Be this as it may, the remark, with our present scanty materials, is at best but a suggestion—a suggestion, however, which would account for the physical appearance of the Tasmanian being more New Caledonian than Australian."

That the island was first peopled by some members of the dark-skinned populations of the north is beyond doubt; but what was the line of migration can, perhaps, be gathered only from the character of the language, and we may be misled by the only vocabularies now extant. They were written down long subsequent to the colonization of the land by the whites, and it may be supposed after the blacks had had communication with natives of other parts of Australasia and the South Seas.

We cannot say how it was peopled nor when it was peopled.

If Dr. Latham's theory be accepted, it may have maintained a population long anterior to the peopling of the continent.

There was probably several times, but certainly once in the later Tertiary period, a land connection with Australia.

The formations on the chain of islands, and the fossil and living fauna and flora of the island and the continent, furnish evidences of the changes which have occurred.

The *Thylacynus* and *Sarcophilus ursinus* both live abundantly in Tasmania, but neither of them has been discovered on the continent; where, however, their remains have been identified by Professor McCoy with certainty in the cavern deposits and Pleistocene clays mingled with those of the extinct *Diprotodon, Thylacoleo*, &c.

In the Pleistocene period, animals abounding in Tasmania with very restricted powers of locomotion or swimming were as common in Victoria as in Tasmania; but at the present day neither the *Sarcophilus* nor *Thylacynus* is found on the continent in the living state. The wombat of Tasmania is totally different from the living wombat of Victoria, and the Pleistocene wombats are different from both. The commonest Pleistocene kangaroos are entirely extinct species. It would seem that the smaller carnivorous mammals referred to became extinct on the continent long before the modern period;—the *Dasyurus maculatus* (a third abundant large marsupial carnivore) occurring very rarely on the continent, but abounding in Tasmania in the living condition with the other two at the present time. At the same (Pleistocene) period the great plant-eating *Diprotodon* and *Nototherium* lived in numbers on the continent, but apparently never reached Tasmania.

Some parrots, honey-eaters, owls, and several other birds with considerable powers of flight are restricted to Tasmania, and a large number of the insects found in the island are different from those of Victoria, while perhaps three-fourths of the living fauna seem to be identical.

Dr. Hooker tells us that the primary feature of the Tasmanian flora is its identity in all its main characters with the Victorian; and that in one part of Victoria—Wilson's Promontory—the vegetation is peculiarly Tasmanian. He refers also to the fact, clearly established on geological *data*, of Tasmania having once formed a continuous southward extension of Victoria, and that

as Britain was peopled with continental plants before the formation of the channel, so Tasmania and Victoria possessed their present flora before they were separated by Bass's Straits.

Was Tasmania peopled when there was a land connection between the island-continent and Tasmania? Not probably prior to that period. During the Pleistocene period, when the land connection existed, the forests and plains of the continent supported huge mammals, which seem to have disappeared some time anterior to the peopling of the southern parts of it. As already stated, no remains of native art have been found associated with the almost unaltered bones of these now extinct creatures; but if the continent had been inhabited by a race in a condition as low as that of the Tasmanians, they could have left no such traces of their wanderings as would be easily discoverable.

It is difficult to believe that the Tasmanians were scions of the continental tribes. Their physical character stands out prominently as an objection to the theory. If Tasmania was peopled from Australia, it was at a time when Australia supported a race that in feature, character, and language was Tasmanian; and we must, therefore, regard the race that now inhabits the continent as intrusive. What may be urged against this suggestion I know not. There is one error, however, to guard against—that is, to suppose that any land has necessarily been peopled by the route which appears to be the most obvious, the least difficult, and the shortest. And this brings us to the consideration of Dr. Latham's speculations, which have a greater value than perhaps he himself attaches to them.

The length of time during which the Tasmanians were entirely cut off from anything like communication with the people of the mainland is marked amongst them by no such improvements in arts and arms as have distinguished the Aborigines of Australia and New Caledonia. The former were apparently stationary, the latter to some extent progressive.

Physical Character.

VERY different accounts have been given by voyagers and explorers relative to the color and form of the natives of Australia. Some have represented them as coal-black, like the negro, with bottle-noses, spare limbs, and ferocious countenances; others as models of symmetry, having a complexion scarcely so dark as to conceal a blush; and the greater number regard them simply as "blacks," with such conformations generally as belong to the African.

They differ in appearance in different parts of the continent, and this may account, in a measure, for the different statements made by observers. They differ from one another in stature, bulk, and color probably as much and no more than the inhabitants of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy differ from one another. Those that have abundance of food are tall and stout, and exhibit well-developed figures; and such as maintain a precarious existence in the arid tracts which the larger animals do not frequent are small, meagre, thin-limbed, and most unpleasing in aspect.

I sought information, during the year 1870, relative to the height, weight, and chest-measurement of the Aboriginal natives of Victoria, and I have compiled the following tables from the figures supplied by the Managers of the several Stations in the colony:—

Height, Weight, &c., of Aboriginal Natives at Coranderrk, Upper Yarra, from information furnished by Mr. John Green:—

Name.	Age.	Height.	Girth.	Weight.	Name.	Age.	Height.	Girth.	Weight.
Men.	years.	ft. in.	ft. in.	lbs.	*Boys.*	years.	ft. in.	ft. in.	lbs.
Tommy Banfield	26	5 6½	3 9	214	Samson - -	15	5 4½	2 9	115
Wellington -	34	5 7	3 2½	150	Martin - -	16	5 5	2 8	115
Peter Hunter -	30	5 3½	3 0	145	M. Bell - -	16	5 2	2 9	115
Redman - -	40	5 6	3 4	134	McRea - -	16	5 6½	3 1	145
Dick - -	36	5 3½	3 4½	150	Willie Hobson	9	4 1½	2 1	59
Tommy Arnot -	28	5 5½	2 11½	126	*Women.*				
Donald - -	23	5 9	2 11½	125	Eliza - -	37	5 0	3 0	135
Johnny Philips -	25	5 5½	2 11½	127	Maggie - -	33	5 0	2 9	98
Avoca - -	36	5 6	3 0	130	Sally - -	50	4 10	3 2½	139
Harry - -	40	5 5	3 1	127	Borat - -	36	4 9	2 10	108
Jemmy Barker -	36	5 9	3 3	134	Norah - -	30	5 2	2 10	124
Simon - -	40	5 10½	3 4	148	Harriett -	36	5 2	3 0	132
					Annie - -	—	5 1	2 10½	110

Height, Weight, &c., of Aboriginal Natives at Lake Hindmarsh from information furnished by the Rev. A. Hartmann :—

Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.
BLACKS.—*Men.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.	BLACKS.—*Women.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.
Phillip	37	5 8	138	Diana	25	4 10¾	94
Thomas	27	5 6¾	134	Betsy	21	5 1	105
David	34	5 3	112				
Coyle	24	5 7	124	HALF-CASTES.			
Henry	24	5 5½	122	*Man.*			
Women.				Jackson	25	5 8¼	150
Elizabeth	19	5 0½	103	*Women.*			
Ida	16	4 11½	108	Rebecca	24	5 6	143
Susan	27	4 11¾	129	Topsy	22	5 2	104

Height, Weight, &c., of Aboriginal Natives at Lake Condah from information furnished by Mr. Joseph Shaw :—

Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.
BLACKS.—*Men.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.	BLACKS.—*Women.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.
Billy King	38	5 8	164	Susanna	32	5 1	112
John Green	33	5 6	138	Mary Robinson	28	5 0	100
Billy Govatt	32	5 5	138	Mary Gorrie	35	4 10	78
John Sutton	34	5 5½	133	Old Kitty	62	4 11	104
Jemmy Robinson	35	5 1	118	Old Fat Corner	60	5 0	115
Billy Wilson	37	5 4	134				
Jemmy Field	56	5 3	120	HALF-CASTES.			
Billy Gorrie	40	5 8	148	*Man.*			
Timothy	30	5 2	114	Johnnie Dutton	23	6 0	170
Old Jack	60	5 3	120	*Women.*			
Women.				Hannah King	26	5 5	193
Mrs. Wilson	30	5 0	100	Ellen Mullet	22	5 2½	120
Lucy Sutton	32	5 1	100				

Height, Weight, &c., of Aboriginal Natives at Lake Wellington, in Gippsland, from information furnished by the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer :—

Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.
BLACKS.—*Men.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.	BLACKS.—*Women.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.
Charles Foster	28	6 1	166	Jenny	25	5 1	131
Nathaniel Pepper	31	5 6½	128	Louise	19	5 4	142
Bobby Brown	26	5 4¾	157	Caroline	17	5 2½	148
James Clark	28	5 4	140	Ada Clark	16	4 11	102
Harry Stephen	16	5 5	138	Bessy	20	4 11½	133
Ngarry	53	5 6	130	Rhoda	21	5 0	112
Donald	20	5 8½	145				

Height, Weight, &c., of Aboriginal Natives at Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, from information furnished by the Rev. John Bulmer :—

Name.	Age.	Height.	Weight.
BLACKS.—*Men.*	years.	ft. in.	lbs.
Tommy Johnson (young man)	about 17	5 6½	134
Benjamin Jennings (young man)	about 30	5 6½	148
William McDougall (young man)	about 28	5 2	141
Toby (young man)	28	5 5¾	125
Charley Buchanan	36	5 3¾	119
McLeod	35	5 3	130
Charley Anderson	19	5 7½	143
William Flanner	35	5 3	133
Dick Cooper	30	5 8½	145
King Charley	35	5 9¼	144
Billy the Bull	30	5 8¾	178
Dan (old man)	50	5 5	130
Billy Jumbuck (old man)	50	5 5	130
Jackey Jackey	48	5 7¾	159
Charley Blair (young man)	28	5 7	120

It appears, from these tables, that the average height of forty-nine adult male blacks is 5 ft. 5¾ in.—the greatest height being 6 ft. 1 in., and the least 5 ft. 1 in.; and that the average weight is 137⅔ lbs. nearly—the greatest weight being 214 lbs., and the least 112 lbs.

The average height of twenty-five adult black females is 5 ft.—the greatest being 5 ft. 4 in., and the least 4 ft. 9 in. The average weight of the women is 114½ lbs. (nearly)—the greatest being 148 lbs., and the least 78 lbs.

The half-castes appear to great advantage, as compared with the natives of pure blood. Though the records relate only to a small number, they are nevertheless highly suggestive. The average height of the half-caste men is 5 ft. 10⅛ in., and the average weight 160 lbs.; and the average height of the women is 5 ft. 3¾ in., and the average weight 140 lbs.

These results are in accordance with what one sees in a large mixed assemblage of blacks and half-castes. The latter are invariably larger, better formed, and more fully developed than the blacks; and some of the boys—showing but little of the blood of the mother—are better formed and more pleasing in appearance than many children born of white parents. When they grow up, however, they usually become coarse and heavy.

It will be noted also, on examining the tables, that the height and weight of the men and women in Gippsland are greater than the averages; that the height and weight of the men at Coranderrk are considerably above the averages; and that the women at that station, though of average stature, are much heavier than the women of the western parts of the colony. The natives at Coranderrk, however, having been brought from all parts of Victoria, are not representative of any particular tribes, as are those at Lake Hindmarsh, Lake Condah, and Gippsland.

Dr. Strutt gives the following Measurements of Natives of the River Murray at Echuca :—

Name.	Weight.		Height.		Measures round the chest.	
	stone	lbs.	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
Daniel	10	0	5	7½	2	10
Johnny Johnny	10	0	5	5	2	10
Billy	8	0	5	4½	2	8
Jack	9	4	5	4	2	8½
Larry	10	10	5	8½	3	0¾
Billy Toole	10	0	5	4½	3	0½
Murray	10	0	5	6½	2	11½
King John	11	12	5	9¾	3	1
Flora	9	0	4	10½	3	2

He adds that "No other woman could be persuaded to be weighed or measured;" and that "they are a well-proportioned race." *

It is impracticable to obtain complete measurements of the bodies of the natives of Victoria. They are now clothed—and having regard to the circumstances under which they are living, it has been deemed unadvisable, even in the interests of science, to prosecute investigations which might raise in their minds feelings of disgust. I have therefore no very valuable information to give in regard to this part of the subject. Some measurements have been made from photographs of wild blacks with the following results :—

—	Man.	Man.	Man.	Woman.	Woman.
Ground to calf of leg (thickest part)	8¾	9	10	10	10
Ground to centre of cap of knee	14	13¾	13¾	14	14
Ground to fork	22½	22	*	22½	23
Ground to umbilicus	31	31	30½	30	*
Ground to chin	43	41	*	42¼	42½
Ground to tips of fingers (the hand being placed against the thigh)	*	*	*	17	18
Length of arm from point of shoulder to elbow.	11½	11	10¼	9½	9
Length of arm from elbow to tips of fingers	14½	14	13	14	14

In the spaces marked * measurements were not possible.

The body in each case is supposed to be divided into fifty parts, measuring from the ground to the vertex, and the proportions are represented by the figures.

Though the utmost care was taken in ascertaining the proportions of the several parts of the frame, and though the photographs were excellent, and the positions well chosen, these measurements cannot be regarded as strictly accurate.

* *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council*, 1858-9.

Measurements made in the same manner of two Europeans, one an adult male and the other a young man, give the figures following, namely :—

—	Adult.	Young Man.
Ground to calf of leg (thickest part)	10¼	10
Ground to centre of cap of knee	13	14½
Ground to fork	21½	25¾
Ground to umbilicus	29½	30¾
Ground to chin	43½	43¾
Ground to tips of fingers (the hand being placed against the thigh)	19½	19
Length of arm from point of shoulder to elbow	10¼	10
Length of arm from elbow to tips of fingers	13	13

These measurements, few as they are, seem to show that the arms and legs of the male blacks are longer than those of Europeans. Collins relates that Capt. Paterson found up the Hawkesbury natives who appeared to him to have longer legs and arms than those of the natives of Port Jackson and the coast, due, it was suggested, to their being obliged from infancy, in order to gain a living, to climb trees, hanging by their arms and resting on their feet at the utmost stretch of the body.*

Mr. William Skene gives the following measurements of three blacks living at Portland Bay, who, he thinks, are rather under the sizes of some tribes† :—

—	Jemmy.	Tommy.	Billy.
Age	25 to 30 years	50 years (about)	25 years (about)
Height	5 ft. 7¼ in.	5 ft. 6 in.	5 ft. 3 in.
Round the shoulders	44 in.	41 in.	*
From shoulder to palm of hand	33 in.	31 in.	29½ in.
Leg	32 in.	28½ in.	29 in.
Girth of thigh (above trousers)	19 in.	19 in.	20 in.
Girth of waist	32 in.	30½ in.	33½ in.

Color, Hair, etc.

The color of the natives of Victoria is a chocolate-brown, in some nearly answering to No. 41 of M. Broca's color-types, in others more nearly approaching No. 42; the eyes are very dark-brown (almost black), corresponding nearly to No. 1 in M. Broca's types; the "white of the eye" is in all cases yellowish, the tint being deeper in some than in others; the hair of the head is so deep a brown as to appear in many lights jet-black, and jet-black in some it is. The beard is black. The hair of the head is usually abundant, and waved or in large curls. The beard is full, and generally crisp. The brown color of the hair of the head is most often seen in that of the women and girls. The hair growing on the back of the boys and girls is very fine and soft, and in color brown (not very dark).

* *The English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804.

† *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council*, 1858-9, p. 227.

Mr. Cosmo Newbery, B.Sc., has made a number of careful microscopic examinations of seven samples of hair from the following individuals, namely:—Half-caste woman, "Ralla" (head); half-caste man, "Parker" (head); black man, "Wonga" (head); black woman, "Maria" (head); black girl (head); boy, aged seven years (back); girl, aged seven years (back); and he reports that, after having compared them with a number of samples taken from Europeans, he has failed to detect any special characters.

The bodies of some of the men and boys are said to be entirely covered or almost entirely covered with short soft hair.

Dr. Strutt, speaking of the natives of Echuca, says that the complexion is "a dark chocolate-brown, approaching to black; hair, black, rather coarse and curling, not woolly; black eyes; thick nose, rather rounded; lips rather thick, but not projecting."*

The late Dr. Ludwig Becker, an artist and a man of science, thus writes:—"The prevailing complexion is a chocolate-brown. Hair, jet-black, and when combed and oiled, falls in beautiful ringlets down the cheeks and neck. Beard, black, strong, curly; eyes, deep-brown, black, the white of a light-yellowish hue."

The hair of the head, in both men and women, is coarser and stronger than the hair of Europeans, and it is usually far more abundant.

I have never seen in any native of Victoria that peculiar bluish or leaden tint which in some lights appears so distinctly in the complexion of the Maori of New Zealand and the lighter-colored races of Polynesia. The eye and the skin of the Australian exhibit invariably warm tints, however deep may be the color.

Some children of full-blooded blacks are nearly of the same color as European children when born, and all of them are generally light-red.† As regards form, they do not differ very much from children of other races. But when they arrive at the age of two, four, six, or eight years, they are generally very dark, and in form differ much from Europeans. The head is generally well shaped and well placed, the eyes are large, and the body is well formed, though the limbs are long, and in some individuals thin, and the face is not agreeable. The under-jaw is large, and the lips are heavy and hanging. Some children are prognathous to such a degree as to present a profile anything but pleasing. The cheeks of both males and females are hairy in the places where the beard grows in man; and the neck and in some the back are covered with short hair, always thickest in those parts which in most Europeans are shown obscurely by streaks of hair coming down the neck from the head, and following the line of the vertebræ. The arms and hands exhibit a thin covering of coarse hair.

Little boys of five and six years of age show sometimes as much hair on the cheeks as a European of seventeen or eighteen, but the hair is not crisp and curly as the hair of a beard generally is, but straight and clinging closely to the

* *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council*, 1858-9.

† Mr. John Green says, "The baby is like a white when newly born, and pale; but in the course of a few hours it becomes dark; and in two weeks or so becomes as black as its parents."

face. It is of the same character as the hair on the arms or hands, but thicker and closer.* I am not acquainted with a single case of albinism amongst the natives of Australia.

Odour.

There is little doubt that there is a peculiar odour attached to the persons of the natives even when they are clean in their habits. Some have a most offensive odour, due to their want of cleanliness and to their sleeping in their clothes. It is a different odour from that of Europeans of filthy habits, and as strong, or perhaps stronger. Dr. Strutt says that several of the natives have no peculiar odour when well washed and clean; others, however, in hot weather have a very perceptible odour.

The late Dr. Ludwig Becker noticed a peculiar odour, not depending on want of cleanliness, and resembling that of the negro, but not so strong. It appeared to him "as if phosphorus was set free during the process of perspiration. It is very likely this odour which enables the horses to discover the proximity of Aborigines, and thus saving many times the members of exploring expeditions from being surprised. Leichhardt, Gregory, and others describe sufficiently the mode in which the horse shows its uneasiness."†

Cattle and dogs, as well as horses, exhibit alarm when they are approached by a black for the first time, and when his vicinity could be known only from the odour.

Senses.

The sight and hearing of the natives are excellent, but it is questionable whether as regards touch, taste, and smell they are the equals of Europeans. Short-sight is not known amongst the people of Victoria.

Many of the natives are skilful trackers, and their services are frequently required by the police, who speak highly of their quickness and intelligence. The native trackers have on many occasions rendered important services to the Government, and when any one is lost in the bush the whites rely with the utmost confidence on the sagacity and skill of the "black-tracker."

Capt. Grey relates how his watch was recovered by a native. It had fallen from his pocket when galloping through the bush. "The ground we had passed over," says Grey, "was badly suited for the purpose of tracking, and the scrub was thick; nevertheless, to my delight and surprise, within the period of half an hour my watch was restored to my pocket. This feat of Kaiber's surpassed anything of the sort I had previously seen performed by the natives."‡

"Their sight," says Collins, "is peculiarly fine; indeed their existence very often depends upon the accuracy of it; for a short-sighted man (a misfortune

* "Boys—full-blooded—begin to show a beard at the age of fifteen; and have a strong beard when nineteen. Half-castes show a beard at seventeen, and have not a strong beard until they are about twenty-four years old. There are several full-blooded children on the Coranderrk Station from six to ten years of age with hair on their backs one inch long and more, and as close as it can sit. There is also a third-caste white boy, about twelve years of age, with the same kind of hair on the back."—*MS., Mr. John Green.*

† *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council*, 1858-9.

‡ *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. I., p. 315.

unknown among them, and not yet introduced by fashion, nor relieved by the use of a glass) would never be able to defend himself from their spears, which are thrown with amazing force and velocity."*

Physical Powers.

Many of the natives have great strength in the arms and shoulders, and the manner in which they throw the spear, the boomerang, and the *woit-woit* shows that they can exert their strength to the best advantage. But their hands are small, and, as a rule, they are not capable of performing such heavy labors as a white man. They are soon fatigued; and the mind, in sympathy with the body, disinclines them to continuous labor of any kind.

In their natural state they were accustomed to the use of their weapons only; hunting and fighting were their employments. The women carried the burdens, and did the most of the work that was to be done.

They are good walkers, they can run very fast, and jump to an amazing height; but when they have to travel day after day, they soon show that in endurance they are not the equals of Europeans. This, at any rate, is the impression left on the minds of many who have had to travel on foot with the natives. No doubt a strong and healthy native would exhibit superiority to any untrained European, both as regards speed and endurance; but a strong white man, accustomed to walk fast and far, would soon outstrip the native.

They ride well and sit often gracefully, and manage a horse with temper and judgment; but it has been remarked by those accustomed to ride with the natives that they will never put a horse at a fence. Whether they are deficient in courage or whether it is because they find no pleasure in the exercise is not known.

Using the Feet and Toes.

The natives use their toes in dragging their spears, when they wish to conceal their weapons, and they use them also in ascending trees, in such a manner as to suggest that the joints of the great toe are more pliable and the muscles more under the command of the will than is the case with Europeans. The women also make use of the great toe of the right foot when they are twining rushes for their baskets, and it is believed there is some reason to suppose that the great toe is opposable.†

They use their feet, too, in many ways. A man will draw up his foot and use it as a rest when he is shaping a piece of wood with his hatchet.

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* *English Colony in New South Wales*, 1804, p. 359.

† "They are very expert at stealing with their toes, and while engaged in talking with any one, will, without moving, pick up the smallest thing from the ground. By means of their toes, they will also carry as many as six long spears through the grass without allowing any part of them to be seen. Some time after this I had an opportunity of testing the nimbleness of their toes. It was with a Murray black. I told him what I wanted to see, and he was very willing to display his cleverness. I put a sixpence on the ground and placed him by my side. Watching his operations, I saw him pick up the thin coin with his great and first toe, just as we should with thumb and forefinger; bend his leg up behind him, deposit the money in his hand, and then pass it into mine, without moving his body in the very slightest degree from the vertical."—*Flinders Land and Sturt*

FIG. 1.

BOOM-BUL-WA AND QUAR-TAN-GROOK, HIS WIFE.

To face page 9, vol. I.

Races.

Two natives of Gippsland—Boom-bul-wa and Quar-tan-grook, his wife (Fig. 1), are characteristic types of the natives of the eastern parts of Victoria. Boom-bul-wa was rather above the average height, and was a strong well-made man. Both the man and woman were full-blooded blacks.

The portraits shown in Fig. 2 are those of natives of different parts of the colony. The woman in mourning, and the woman and child, are natives of

FIG. 2.

the Western district (Hopkins River); the girl with the raised scars on her breast and shoulders, the boy to the left of the central figure, and the man and woman immediately below, belong to the river Yarra Yarra. The last-named—

Wonga, the principal man of the Yarra tribe, and his wife—are two well-known natives. Wonga has a mild disposition, and is always gentle and courteous. He is a good speaker, and has much influence with his people. The man to the right of the central figure is Nathaniel, generally regarded as highly intelligent. He was educated at the Lake Hindmarsh Station. The man holding a spear is Whyate, a black from the western coast. He is of a type that is by no means common. The central figure shows a native in ordinary attire.

The likeness in profile (Fig. 3) is that of a full-blooded black of the ordinary type. The form and expression are strongly characteristic of the natives of the south. The portrait of a woman (Fig. 4) shows the more marked features that are commonly found amongst the females of the Yarra. These portraits exhibit with sufficient distinctness the general character of the features of the natives of Victoria. The eyebrows are broad and prominent, overhanging deep-set and not very small eyes; the head narrows rapidly towards the vertex; the mouth is large, and arched, as if the corners were purposely drawn down; the lips are full. The under-jaw of the males is, in many instances, massive and square; in others, owing to the size and shape of the mouth and teeth, it is retreating. The nose is depressed at the upper part, and wide at the base, and in some the wings are elevated; the space between the nose and the mouth is great, and the alveolar process is much developed. The cheek-bones are high. The teeth are large and regular, and when set, meet closely, the cusps being usually worn off, owing to their modes of cookery and feeding. In many the neck is short and pretty thick, but thin necks are not uncommon.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

When in repose, the expression of the countenance is not pleasing. It is rather sullen than melancholy. But when anything occurs to arouse the curiosity of the native, his face lights up at once, and the sour, morose expression gives place to one that is far from disagreeable. He can indicate by his features discontent, dislike, hatred, affection, satisfaction, curiosity, and appreciation of humour, with unmistakable effect. In like manner he can show by his gait and his gestures fear, respect, obedience, courage, defiance, and contempt. Those who have lived long amongst the natives and are acquainted with their habits are not readier than those who see them for the first time in comprehending what is expressed by their attitudes.

The natives of Brisbane (Queensland) differ a good deal in appearance. The accompanying drawings (Figs. 5 and 6) represent the ordinary Australian type. That of the man was selected because of the extraordinary character of the scars on his back.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

I have seen some blacks from the north, and I never could detect any very striking difference in their aspect. Generally, they looked like Victorian blacks; but amongst the large number of photographs I have received of natives of the north-east coast, it is easy to put aside many that certainly bear no very close resemblance to the ordinary Australian native. The hair of some is frizzled, and the beard is scanty, appearing only as a small moustache, and a slight frizzled tuft on the chin. The eyebrows do not project very much, the nose is nearly straight, and not very broad at the base, and the brow is rounder and smoother than that commonly seen. The hair of some of the girls falls in long, very small ringlets; but the faces of nearly all the females are of the usual Australian type. The marked differences of feature appear only amongst the males.

It was intended that portraits showing the types of natives of all the islands adjacent to Australia, and those of the negro, and the natives of India, should have been given here, in order that the reader might have compared them with those of the Australians; but owing to the haste with which this volume has been completed, this part of my design is unfulfilled. A few portraits accompany those of the Australians; and as these, as well as the latter, have been carefully drawn from excellent photographs, it is hoped that these fresh materials for a proper study of the races they represent will be appreciated by ethnologists.

The Australian natives have been harshly dealt with in nearly all the works that treat of ethnology. In many their faces are made to appear as like those of baboons as possible; and though it must be confessed that, as a rule, neither the men nor the women have pleasing countenances, they are as thoroughly human in their features and expression as the natives of Great Britain.

At first they appear to resemble each other very much; and a stranger, even after seeing them frequently, is often unable to distinguish one man from another.

Though unlike the Australian natives in many respects, the Tasmanians still exhibit in their countenances a resemblance to them; and years ago, when it would have been possible to have made a selection from a large number, it is probable that some individuals could have been found not differing at all in features from the rather lighter-colored natives of Victoria. William Lanny, whose portrait is given here (Fig. 7), and who is described as the last of the Tasmanians, is not unlike many natives that are seen in the eastern parts of Australia. The eyebrows do not project much, the head is round, the hair is frizzled, and, but for the full beard, he might be mistaken for a native of the north-eastern coast.

FIG. 7.

At the time the photograph from which the wood-cut is drawn was taken, William Lanny was 26 years of age. He was a native of the Coal River tribe.

There are marked differences of form in the head and features of the two races in New Zealand—the *Maori*, and the *Pokerekahu* or black *Kumara*.* Hale, the ethnologist who accompanied the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838–42, seemed, however, to disbelieve in this distinction, regarding the yellow Polynesians and the so-called Papuans as the same; the one class being idle and luxurious, and the other workers, half-starved and ill-clad. That there is a striking difference in appearance is admitted; and though it is true that in many of the islands in the South Seas different modes of life largely affect the appearance of the natives—the chiefs being tall, well-made men, of a light complexion, and the workers smaller, thinner, and dark in color—it is conclusively proved by the Rev. Richard Taylor that the Melanesian preceded the Maori in the occupation of New Zealand.

The accompanying portraits of New Zealanders have been selected with the view of affording some information on this point. Fig. 8 represents a native chief, Tomati Hapimana Wharehinaki, whose family name was, he said, Tapuika, and that of the land he once owned, Maketu. When I saw him, in November 1870, he was about fifty-seven years of age. He is, I believe, now dead. His head was small, his forehead narrow, his eyebrows rather prominent, but, on looking at the full face, not coarse; his skin light-brown, and his eyes a not very dark-brown. His hair was soft, dry, and black in color. He was very talkative, and used odd little gestures to eke out his meaning. Though he had been an actor in a theatre, and had lived long with Englishmen, he spoke the English language with difficulty. Many words he could not pronounce at all; and though belonging to the better class of his people, he appeared to me to be far

* *Te Ika A Maui*, p. 13.

inferior to the Australian in the power of acquiring language, and in intelligence generally. In talking to a clever Australian native one feels that one is speaking to a person who has all the faculties (though undeveloped) of a European, and he is generally quiet and dignified in his manner; but the

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

Polynesian, the Malay, and some others, have always seemed to me to belong to races having little or nothing in common with the European.

Tomati Hapimana's skin showed in some lights the peculiar leaden-blue tint so characteristic of the Malayo-Polynesians.

FIG. 10.

FIG. 11.

The portrait of a man with a feather in his hair (Fig. 9) was sent to me as a specimen of the Indo-European type of the Maori; Fig. 10, as one exhibiting Mongolian features; and Fig. 11, as a man of the Papuan type.

The Mongolian features are better shown in the photographs of the women, some of whom are much like the Chinese females. The eyes are slightly oblique, but the cheek-bones are not high; and in some examples the face is oval and the contour almost beautiful.

The portrait (Fig. 12) is that of a son of a chief of the Island of Mauti or Mauke—one of the Cook or Hervey's Group. In appearance generally he resembles the Maori of New Zealand, but he is not tattooed. His face, when animated, exhibited a culture, intelligence, and refinement not usually seen, I believe, amongst the Maories. This young man, who wrote his name Tomanu, came on a visit to Melbourne. He could speak but little English—only a few words—but he had evidently been well educated by the Missionaries. The skin of his face was rough and coarse, his complexion a deep yellowish-olive, his eyes horizontal and dark-brown, the "whites" pretty clear; his hair black, with here and there a white hair; he had rather scanty indications of a beard, and a retreating forehead, but a not unshapely head.

FIG. 12.

His neck was strong, and he was a tall, large, rather heavy man. He may be regarded as a fine specimen of the Malayo-Polynesian. It is said that in the islands where he lives the lower classes are very dark, and inferior in stature and in appearance to the chiefs. He spoke with a slight lisp.

He gave me a few words of his native tongue. They are as follow :—

Head	*Mowk-ke.*
Eyes	*M'atta.*
Nose	*Put-i-u.*
Mouth	*Vah-vah.*
Teeth	*Ne-o.*
Chin	*Tangla.*
Beard	*Ob-roo-roo.*
Tongue	*Lillah.*
Hand	*Dimang.*
Feet	*Vah-veer.*
Fingers	*Mong-ah Mong-ah.*
Nails of Fingers	*Mikeah.*

I could not ascertain whether or not the numerals in his language went beyond five. He gave me the following only :—

One	*Kotti.*
Two	*Karoo-ah.*
Three	*Kaderooh.*
Four	*Ka-ah.*
Five	*Kerimang.*

One of the words for head in the language of the New Zealanders is *Makawe*: the word for eye in the dialect of De Peyster's Islands, the Marquesas, and

Cocos Islands, is *mata;* that for nose in the Marquesas and in the Kanaka dialect of the Sandwich Islands is *ihu;* and at Satawal it is *poiti.* Mouth in the Marquesas is *fa fa,* and tooth is *niho;* and in the Kanaka of the Sandwich Island the tongue is *lelo,* and the foot is *vae.*

In the dialects of Polynesia and Micronesia there are some words that have the same sound as words in the language of the Australians; but the meanings attached to them are not always the same. Such coincidences would point to conclusions of great importance if supported by other circumstances.

Rather a favorable specimen of the Chinese, who are numerous in Victoria, is represented in Fig. 13. His head greatly contrasts that of the Australian. The smooth rounded contours and the arched brow are characteristic of the race. Many of them have well-developed foreheads, but the oblique eyes, the laterally projecting cheek-bones, and the form and small size of the nose, make no very pleasing picture in the sight of a European. Very few have beards, and some show only a few scattered hairs on the upper lip and chin.

FIG. 13.

The Chinese in Melbourne—I speak only of the laboring classes—are fond of gambling and indulge in opium smoking; but they are otherwise sober in their habits and very industrious. They will carry very heavy burdens all through the hottest day of summer without appearing to be fatigued. They are good traders and most excellent gardeners. Many are married to European women, and their children exhibit, I think, invariably a stronger likeness to the father than to the mother.

It is not known from what part of China this person whose portrait is given here came.

The descriptions of the natives of Australia, as given by various observers, are instructive.

Mr. Stanbridge thus describes them:—"Unlike the Aborigines of Tasmania, whose color is black, with black woolly hair, those of Victoria have complexions of various shades of dark olive-brown, and in some instances so light that a tinge of red is perceptible in the cheeks of the young, with slightly curly black hair; but there are isolated cases of woolly hair amongst the men and dark-brown hair amongst the women. This difference in the color of the skin appears distinctly marked in the half-breeds, the Australian being invariably of a brown or gipsy tinge, while the only Tasmanian known to the writer was of a black or negro hue. They are straight-limbed, square-shouldered, slightly but compactly made; occasionally an individual of herculean proportions is met with. There are none amongst them who are deformed, except those who have become so by accident. The men vary in stature from five to, in a few cases, upwards of six feet. They have thick beards, high cheek-bones, rather large black eyes, protruding eyebrows, which make the forehead appear to recede more than it really does, as high foreheads are not uncommon amongst them; thickish noses, which are sometimes straight and sometimes curved upwards;

very large mouths and teeth; the size of the latter and the squareness of the jaw are probably caused by continually tearing food with the teeth, as young children have not that squareness of jaw, neither have boys who have lived almost entirely with white people. Their mode of whistling, which consists in drawing the lower lip with the finger and thumb tightly on one side, has its influence, no doubt, on the size of the lips. The men of the Coorong, who subsist almost wholly upon fish, have much smaller mouths and thinner lips; their eyebrows also are not so heavy. In appearance they much resemble the New Zealanders."*

Dr. Strutt says of the natives of the River Murray:—"The face is generally round, rather broad, chin round and well formed, mouth large."†

Mr. Taplin writes thus:—"There is a remarkable difference in color and cast of features. . . . . Some natives have light complexions, straight hair, and a Malay countenance; while others have curly hair, are very black, and have the features of the Papuan or Melanesian. It is therefore probable that there are two races of Aborigines; and, most likely, while some tribes are purely of one race or the other, there are tribes consisting of a mixture of both races."‡

Mr. Carl Wilhelmi observes that the "striking peculiarities in the appearance of their body are their miserably thin arms and legs, wide mouths, hollow, deep-sunken eyes, and flat noses; if the latter are not naturally so formed, they make them so by forcing a bone, a piece of wood, or anything else, through the sides of the nose, which causes them to stretch. They generally have a well-arched front, broad shoulders, and a particularly high chest. The men possess a great deal of natural grace in the carriage of their body; their gait is easy and erect, their gestures are natural under all circumstances—in their dances, their fights, and while speaking; and they certainly surpass the European in ease and rapidity of their movements. With respect to the women we cannot speak so favorably by a great deal; their bodies are generally disfigured by exceedingly thin arms and legs, large bellies, and low hanging breasts, a condition sufficiently accounted for by their early marriages, their insufficient nourishment, their carrying of heavy burdens, and the length of time they suckle their children, for it is by no means uncommon for children to take the breast for three or four years, or even longer."§ Mr. Wilhelmi adds, that there are considerable varieties not only of countenances and forms of body, but also of colors and skins. The skin of the tribes of the north is dark and dry in appearance, and that of the people of the south approaches a copper-color.

The Rev. Mr. Schürmann believes that the best fed and most robust natives are of the lighter colors.

Capt. Grey, writing of the natives of North-Western Australia, says:—"They closely resemble the other Australian tribes, with which I have since become pretty intimately acquainted; whilst in their form and appearance there

* *Tribes in the Central part of Victoria*, by W. E. Stanbridge, F.E.S.

† *The Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria.*

‡ *The Narrinyeri*, p. 84. § *Natives of the Port Lincoln District, South Australia.*

is a striking difference. They are in general very tall and robust, and exhibit in their legs and arms a fine, full development of muscle, which is unknown to the southern races. . . . . A remarkable circumstance is the presence amongst them of a race, to appearance totally different, and almost white, who seem to exercise no small influence over the rest. . . . . I saw but three men of this fair race myself, and thought they closely resembled Malays; some of my men observed a fourth." Grey, quoting Usberne, refers to the appearance of the people of Roebuck Bay:—"They were about five feet six inches to five feet nine in height, broad shoulders, with large heads and overhanging brows. . . . . Their legs were long and very slight. . . . . There was an exception in the youngest, who appeared of an entirely different race; his skin was a copper-color, whilst the others were black; his head was not so large and more rounded; the overhanging brow was lost; the shoulders more of a European turn, and the body and legs much better proportioned; in fact, he might be considered a well-made man at our standard of figure." *

Capt. Stokes gives the following account of the people of the north-west coast:—"The natives seen upon this coast during our cruise, within the limits of Roebuck Bay to the south and Port George the Fourth to the north, an extent of more than two hundred miles, with the exception that I shall presently notice, agreed in having a common character of form, feature, hair, and physiognomy, which I may thus describe. The average height of the males may be taken to be from five feet five inches to five feet nine inches, though, upon one occasion, I saw one who exceeded this height by an inch. They are almost black; in fact, for ordinary description, that word, unqualified by the adverb, serves the purpose best. Their limbs are spare and light, but the muscle is finely developed in the superior joint of the arm, which is probably owing to their constant use of it in throwing the spear. . . . . Their hair is always dark, sometimes straight and sometimes curled, and not unfrequently tied up behind; but we saw no instance of a negro or woolly head among them. They wear the beard upon the chin, but not upon the upper lip, and allow it to grow to such a length as enables them to champ and chew it when excited by rage, an action which they accompany with spitting it out against the object of their indignation or contempt. They have very overhanging brows and retreating foreheads, large noses, full lips, and wide mouths."†

The natives of King George's Sound are thus described by Péron:—"Ces hommes sont grands, maigres et très-agiles; ils ont les cheveux longs, les sourcils noirs, le nez court, épaté et renfoncé à sa naissance, les yeux caves, la bouche grande, les lèvres saillantes, les dents très belles et très blanches. L'intérieur de leur bouche paroissoit noir comme l'extérieur de leur corps. Les trois plus âgés d'entre eux qui pouvoient avoir de quarante à cinquante ans, portoient une grande barbe noire; ils avoient les dents comme limées, et la cloison des narines percée; leur cheveux étoient taillés en rond et naturellement bouclés. Les deux autres que nous jugeâmes être âgés de seize à dix-huit ans,

* *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. I., pp. 253–5.

† *Discoveries in Australia*, by Capt. Stokes, R.N., vol. I., pp. 88–9.

n'offroient aucune espèce de tatouage ; leur longue chevelure étoit réunie en un chignon poudré, d'une terre rouge dont les vieux avoient le corps frotté."*

Collins observed in New South Wales natives as black as the African negro, others of a copper or Malay color. Black hair was general, but some had hair of a reddish cast.†

Major Mitchell saw in some places "fine-looking men." Some of the men of the Bungan tribe had straight brown hair, others Asiatic features, much resembling Hindoos, with a sort of woolly hair. The natives of the Darling, however, were not pleasing. "The expression of their countenances," he says, "was sometimes so hideous, that after such interviews I have found comfort in contemplating the honest faces of the horses and sheep ; and even in the scowl of the patient ox I have imagined an expression of dignity, when he may have pricked up his ears, and turned his horns towards these wild specimens of the 'lords of the creation.' "‡

Lieut.-Col. Mundy found some well-made men amongst the natives of New South Wales. One man—the chief of a tribe, the only old man belonging to it—is thus described :—"He was of much superior stature to the others, full six feet two inches in height, and weighing fifteen stone. Although apparently approaching threescore years, and somewhat too far gone to flesh, the strength of 'the old Bull,' for that was his name, must still have been prodigious. His proportions were remarkably fine ; the development of the pectoral muscles and the depth of chest were greater than I had ever seen in individuals of the many naked nations through which I have travelled. A spear laid across the top of his breast as he stood up, remained there as on a shelf. Although ugly, according to European appreciation, the countenance of the Australian is not always unpleasing. Some of the young men I thought rather well-looking, having large and long eyes with thick lashes, and a pleasant, frank smile. Their hair I take to be naturally fine and long, but from dirt, neglect, and grease, every man's head is like a huge black mop. Their beards are unusually black and bushy. . . . . The gait of the Australian is peculiarly manly and graceful ; his head thrown back, his step firm ; in form and carriage at least he looks creation's lord—

'——— erect and tall,
Godlike erect, in native honor clad.'

In the action and 'station' of the black there is none of the slouch, the stoop, the tottering shamble, incident all upon the straps, the braces, the high heels, and pinched toes of the patrician, and the clouted soles of the clodpole white man."§

Many of the natives of the eastern seaboard, like those of the Murray in Victoria, are remarkably stout and strong. Mr. Hodgkinson found a fine specimen on the Bellingen, in Queensland :—"One man in particular had been pre-eminently remarkable (in outrages on whites) from his tallness and herculean proportions ; the sawyers up the Nambucca had distinguished him

* *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes*, 1800–4.
† *English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804.
‡ *Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Major (Sir Thomas) Mitchell, 1838.
§ *Our Antipodes*, by Lieut.-Col. Mundy, 1857, p. 46.

by the name of 'Cobbaun (big) Bellingen Jack.' I never saw a finer specimen of the Australian Aborigines than this fellow; the symmetry of his limbs was faultless, and he would have made a splendid living model for the students of the Royal Academy. The haughty and dignified air of his strongly-marked and not unhandsome countenance, the boldly-developed muscles, the broad shoulders, and especially the great depth of his chest, reminded me of some antique torso."*

Jardine gives no very flattering account of the natives of Cape York. "The only distinction," he says, "that I can perceive, is that they appear to be in a lower state of degradation, mentally and physically, than any of the Australian tribes which I have seen. Tall, well-made men are occasionally seen, but these almost invariably show decided traces of a Papuan or New Guinea origin, being easily distinguished by the 'thrum' like appearance of the hair, which is of a somewhat reddish tinge, occasioned, no doubt, by constant exposure to the sun and weather. The color of their skin is also much lighter, in some individuals approaching almost to a copper-color. The true Australian Aborigines are perfectly black, with, generally, woolly heads of hair; I have, however, observed some with straight hair and features prominent, and of a strong Jewish cast."†

Macgillivray says that the Australians of Cape York differ in no respect from those of other parts of the continent; but they do not, it appears, strike out the upper incisors, nor do they practise circumcision or any similar rite. Amongst the Aborigines of Port Essington he observed no striking peculiarity. The septum of the nose is invariably perforated, and the right central incisor—rarely the left—is knocked out during childhood. Both sexes are more or less ornamented with large raised cicatrices, on the shoulders and across the chest, on the abdomen and buttocks, and outside of the thighs. They wear no clothing; and their ornaments consist chiefly of wristlets, made of the fibres of a plant, and armlets of the same, wound round with cordage. They have necklaces formed of fragments of reed strung on a thread, or of cordage, passing under the arms and crossed over the back. Girdles of finely-twisted human hair are occasionally worn by both sexes. The men sometimes add a tassel of the hair of the opossum or flying squirrel suspended in front. A piece of stick or bone, thrust into the perforation in the nose, completes the costume. They paint themselves with red, yellow, white, and black, in different styles, appropriate to dancing, fighting, or mourning.

Speaking of the Papuans, which Macgillivray states includes, in his work, merely the woolly or frizzled haired inhabitants of the Louisiade, south-east coast of New Guinea, and the islands of Torres Strait, he says:—"They appear to me to be resolvable into several indistinct types, with intermediate gradations; thus occasionally we met with strongly-marked negro characteristics, but still more frequently with the Jewish cast of features, while every now and then a face presented itself which struck me as being perfectly Malayan. In general the head is narrow in front, and wide and very high behind, the face broad from

* *From Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, 1845.

† *Overland Expedition from Rockhampton to Cape York*, 1867, p. 82.

the great projection and height of the cheek-bones and depression at the temples; the chin narrow in front, slightly receding, with prominent angles to the jaw; the nose more or less flattened and widened at the wings, with dilated nostrils, a broad, slightly arched and gradually rounded bridge, pulled down at the tip by the use of the nose-stick; and the mouth rather wide, with thickened lips, and incisors flattened on top as if ground down. Although the hair of the head is almost invariably woolly, and, if not cropped close or shaved, frizzled out into a mop, instances were met with in which it had no woolly tendency, but was either in short curls, or long and soft, without conveying any harsh feeling to the touch. In color, too, it varied, although usually black, and when long, pale or reddish at the tips [caused perhaps by the use of lime-water]; yet some people of both sexes were observed having it naturally of a bright-red color, but still woolly. The beard and moustache, when present, which is seldom the case, are always scanty, and there is very little scattered hair upon the body. The color of the skin varies from a light to a dark copper-color, the former being the prevailing hue; individuals of a light-yellowish brown hue are often met with, but this color of the skin is not accompanied by distinctive features. The average stature of these Papuans is less than our own, being only about five feet four inches."*

In what manner the natives of Australia impressed the earlier voyagers is told by Dampier:—"They have great bottle-noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore teeth of their upper-jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out I know not; neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces: Their hair is black, short, and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The color of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal-black, like that of the negroes of Guinea."†

The French who accompanied La Perouse said, after visiting the coast of New South Wales, that in their whole voyage they nowhere found so poor a country nor such miserable people; and yet how rich is the country! and how interesting are the natives that once peopled it! Until the white man invaded their shores they were happy.

Half-castes.

Many of the half-castes in Victoria present peculiarities that are of great interest. The complexion of the females is generally a pale-brown (usually called olive), and they do not often show much red on the cheeks, though there are marked exceptions to this. The boys, on the other hand, have, as a rule, bright, clear complexions, with red cheeks; and some could not be distinguished from children of European parents. There are ordinarily patches of light-brown hair mixed with the dark-brown hair of their heads; but I have never seen any peculiarities of color in the eye. Amongst Europeans we see occasionally persons having differently colored eyes—the iris of one eye being brown,

* *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, by John Macgillivray, F.R.G.S., 1852.

† *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. i., p. 464.

with the "white" quite clear, and that of the other deep brown-black, with the "white" flecked and streaked with bluish and brownish colors.

The young half-castes partake in their form, features, and color more of the character of the male parent than that of the Aboriginal female. It is rare to see one that strikingly resembles the black mother. The nose is usually broad, the wings of the nose are in some elevated, the mouth is large, and the lips are thick, but seldom is any one feature very strongly or coarsely marked.

A few show finely-cut features, the delicate outlines of which greatly contrast those seen amongst the natives of pure blood. Their cheek-bones do not project; the superciliary ridges are not prominent; the eyes are large, liquid, and have a soft expression; and their aspect, though somewhat foreign, is not so much so as to excite comment. They are very like the people of Southern Europe, and many would be passed by without remark in a crowd of English children.

When the half-castes attain maturity they exhibit, however, the admixture of Aboriginal blood more strongly. They become fleshy and coarse, their countenances are heavy—and some are almost repulsive.

Both the males and the females deteriorate after they have passed the age of twelve or fourteen years.

The children of a half-caste female and a white man are not to be distinguished from children of European parents. What peculiarities they may display when they arrive at maturity is not known.

Some half-castes very quickly adopt European customs, and others prefer the society of the blacks—depending on the manner in which they have been situated in their youth. A half-caste young woman from the north was living for some time in a gentleman's family in Melbourne. She was educated, had been taught music, and appeared to be more than usually intelligent.

Mental Character.

It is not easy to convey correct ideas regarding the mental capacity and faculties of the Aborigines by any general statements. They differ from one another almost as much as uneducated Europeans differ from one another; but while in the latter the capabilities of improvement are very great, in the Australian black they are limited. With keen senses, quick perceptions, and a precocity that is surprising, he stops short just at the point where an advance would lead to a complete change in the character of his mind.

The adult wild native when brought into contact with the whites learns the English language quickly and easily, and all the words that at all resemble those of his own tongue are pronounced distinctly. Those which are harsh, or in which sibilants occur, he softens, and he keeps closely to the grammar of his own language.

Black children brought up in the schools learn very quickly, and in perception, memory, and the power to discriminate they are, to say the least, equal to European children. A Missionary, the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer, a gentleman of great ability, who has the control of the Aboriginal Station at Lake Wellington, reports that the examinations made by the Government School Inspectors show that the Aboriginal pupils taught by him are quite equal to the whites. In his last report he states that the whole of the fifth class in his school had passed the standard examination (that appointed for pupils in State schools), and that they had received certificates. Whether they will continue to advance as they approach maturity is another question. If they do not, under the guidance of a gentleman of education who has devoted himself to the work of ameliorating the condition of the natives from a sense of duty, it may fairly be assumed that the prevalent opinion regarding the mental constitution of the Australians is correct.

The following account of a native youth, as given in the reports of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines in Victoria, is similar in many respects to those recorded in other cases where attempts have been made to educate and civilize the natives :—

"Thomas Bungeleen presents all the marks of the pure Australian, and in mental capacity, disposition, and character, is probably a fair type of the race. Before the Board undertook the care of him, some attempts had been made to teach him drawing, and he had been occasionally employed in copying letters and in other clerical duties: but all the gentlemen who had kindly taken an

interest in his welfare, and endeavoured to teach him, concurred in stating that his want of application rendered any great improvement quite hopeless; he was found to be averse to labor, and all those inducements which operate on the European were wanting in him. He was brought before the Board and examined as to his qualifications; it appeared that he had obtained some little instruction; he could read with facility, write clearly, and seemed to possess some knowledge of arithmetic; he exhibited a quiet unembarrassed manner, and replied to every question calmly but promptly. Here, in the case of this young Aboriginal, an opportunity seemed to be presented to the Board of proving to the world that the Aborigines of Australia are degraded rather by their habits than in consequence of the want of mental capacity, and though the boy showed only an average ability, it was thought that, by careful education and instruction, he would probably become a good citizen, and of the highest usefulness as an agent in dealing with the Aboriginal race. With this view they sought admission for him at the Grammar School, St. Kilda road; admission was refused, and perhaps the interests of the school were best served by the refusal; but comment on this fact would not probably tend to place in the most favorable light the peculiar advantages which we derive from civilization. The Board then proposed to have him educated at the Scotch College; but this was abandoned, on the recommendation of Dr. Cairns, who suggested that he should be placed under the care of Mr. Robert Doig, a schoolmaster at Fitzroy square, who kindly took charge of him at once. After a short experience, it was found that ordinary means of coercion were quite ineffectual to compel habits of obedience and industry, and with great regret the Board had to abandon their scheme of educating Bungeleen in the manner first proposed. After being some time under the charge of Mr. Thomas, who has at all times exerted himself in a most praiseworthy manner in the boy's behalf, he was transferred to the S.S. *Victoria*, where, under the eye of Captain Norman, it is hoped he may be taught the duties of a seaman. The difficulty of educating and imparting instruction to an Aboriginal who, whatever be his natural good qualities, is yet not without many of the characteristics of the savage, is very great. Precisely those persons who, by education and character, are best fitted to teach and control him, are those who would be the least likely to undertake such a charge; and the discipline of an ordinary school would scarcely improve him, even if he could be made to attend it regularly. Bungeleen's mind, under proper treatment, may be so far improved as to admit of his receiving a higher education, and if he acquire habits of obedience and industry, improvement is certain. Nearly all the Aborigines are, however, prone to amusements, and they dislike work and restraint of every kind: of a happy, playful, kindly nature, it is questionable whether any of them are capable of sustained labor, such as is requisite to obtain knowledge to fit them for the business of civilized life."

In a subsequent report, that for 1862, the Board write as follows:—"This Aboriginal boy, of whose future career great hopes were at one time entertained, has been for some time in the C.S.S. *Victoria*, under the care of Captain Norman. He has made the voyage to Carpentaria, and has lived continually in the ship since he first joined, with the exception of one or two

brief visits to Melbourne. The Board regret to state that his conduct is most unsatisfactory. He is wholly deficient in the qualities which belong to a sailor, and equally unfitted for employment on shore. When, in consequence of gross misconduct, it is necessary to inflict punishment, Captain Norman states that he exhibits the mental peculiarities of some varieties of the African race—stolid indifference. He 'sulks'; and however severe the punishment might be, it would produce no effect. This characteristic, if joined to other qualities, would not be a mark of inferiority; but he lacks the *amour propre*, that personal pride and desire to be thought well of, without which mental progress is impossible. Thomas Bungeleen's misconduct on shore compelled the Guardian to make complaints, which were duly brought under the notice of Captain Norman. As it will be necessary to remove him from the *Victoria*, the grave consideration of the Board will be given to his future treatment. His case will not be considered hopeless until every available means to improve him shall have failed."

In the report for 1864 it is stated that—"Thomas Bungeleen is now under the care of the Secretary of the Central Board, and he is usefully employed in the office. He writes very well; he is generally attentive to the instructions given to him, and is making fair progress in learning. He has some knowledge of arithmetic, and he is gradually gaining a knowledge of the use of mathematical instruments: already he can plot from a simple field-book, and can draw plans tolerably well. He appears to like the work he has to do. Credit is due to Captain Norman, of the C.S.S. *Victoria*, for much of this. On board the *Victoria* he was very troublesome; but the discipline of the ship certainly has been beneficial to him. His temper is still peculiar, but less violent than it was when he was younger; and some hope is now entertained that he will lead a steady, reputable life. Every care will be taken to teach him useful knowledge, and to qualify him for a higher position than has yet been attained by any native of Australia."

He died in 1865:—"Thomas Bungeleen, an Aboriginal, who for some months was employed in the office in Melbourne, and gave evidence of some talent, is dead. A hope was entertained at one time that he would become a useful member of society; but, whether owing to defects in his early education or a natural propensity to evil, he became nearly as troublesome in the office as he was when on board the *Victoria*. He died of gastric fever at the house of Mr. Hinkins, Moonee Ponds, on the 3rd January 1865."

"Governor Phillip," says Bennett, "who had never relaxed in his efforts to benefit the Aborigines, took with him to England two promising young men of that unfortunate race: one of them was Bennilong, who had become much attached to him; the other was his companion, Yemmerawannie. They had acquired, from residing with the Governor, a knowledge of the usages of civilized life, and both were persons of more than ordinary sharpness and address. The latter died in England, but the former returned to the colony. He was, while in England, presented to George the Third, and introduced to most of the leading men of that day. He adopted the observances of society with remarkable readiness, and behaved on all occasions, while among strangers, with propriety and

ease; yet soon after his return he threw off his fine clothes, and the restraints of civilized life, as alike inconvenient and distasteful, and, in spite of all persuasions to the contrary, reverted to his old habits and his old haunts."*

The Australian native is kind to little children, affectionate and faithful to a chosen companion; he shows exceeding great respect to aged persons, and willingly ministers to their wants; he has great love very often for a favorite wife; he exhibits, at times, great courage; he is hospitable, and he can be generous under very trying circumstances. But he is also cruel, treacherous, mean, and cowardly. At one time he shows himself superior to the whites—at another he is as cunning as a fox and as ferocious as a tiger. Some tribes and families seem almost destitute of the better qualities, and others display on nearly all occasions, honesty, truthfulness, courage, and generosity.

The conduct of the natives of Victoria when Buckley was first discovered by them, and during the period of more than thirty years that he dwelt amongst them; the extraordinary kindness shown to the shipwrecked seaman Murrell, who lived with the wild blacks of Queensland for more than seventeen years; their behaviour to Thomas Pamphlet, when he was entirely at their mercy; the generous treatment of King by the blacks at Cooper's Creek; and the many instances of loyalty and integrity that are recorded of natives who have been well treated by settlers and explorers—are sufficient to satisfy the mind that all the higher instincts on which civilized men pride themselves are not absent in the bosom of the savage.

Though the natives at Cooper's Creek had no doubt been frightened by the explosion of the firearms, which the explorers discharged from time to time over their heads, to prevent them from carrying away the stores that were left, they were kind and compassionate to King. He says in his narrative:—"The same day one of the women, to whom I had given part of a crow, came and gave me a ball of nardoo, saying that she would give more only she had such a sore arm that she was unable to pound. She showed me a sore on her arm, and the thought struck me that I would boil some water in the billy, and wash her arm with a sponge. During the operation the whole tribe sat round, and were muttering one to another. Her husband sat down by her side, and she was crying all the time. After I had washed it, I touched it with some nitrate of silver, when she began to yell, and ran off crying out, *Mokow! Mokow!*—(Fire! Fire!)† From this time she and her husband used to give me a small quantity of nardoo both night and morning, and whenever the tribe were about going on a fishing excursion, he used to give me notice to go with them. They also used to assist me in making a gourley, or breakwind, whenever they shifted camp. I generally shot a crow or a hawk, and gave it to them in return for these little services. Every four or five days the tribe would surround me and ask whether I intended going up or down the creek; at last I made them understand that if they went up I should go up the creek, and if they went down I should also go down, and from this time they seemed to look upon me as one of themselves, and supplied me with fish and nardoo regularly."

* *Australian Discovery and Colonization*, 1865, p. 170.

† "Fire," in Mr. Gason's vocabulary, is *thooroo*. The word *mookoo* means "bone."

Yet the people of this district are thus described by Mr. Gason:—"A more treacherous race I do not believe exists. They imbibe treachery in infancy, and practise it until death, and have no sense of wrong in it. Gratitude is to them an unknown quality. No matter how kind or generous you are to them, you cannot assure yourself of their affection. Even amongst themselves, for a mere trifle, they would take the life of their dearest friend, and consequently are in constant dread of each other, while their enmity to the white man is only kept in abeyance by fear. They will smile and laugh in your face, and the next moment, if opportunity offers, kill you without remorse. Kindness they construe into fear; and had it not been for the determination and firmness of the early settlers, they would never have been allowed to occupy the country. The tribe is numerous, and if they knew (and it is feared they will eventually learn) their own power, the present white inhabitants could not keep them down, or for one day retain their possessions. They seem to take a delight in lying, especially if they think it will please you. Should you ask them any question, be prepared for a falsehood, as a matter of course. They not only lie to the white man, but to each other, and do not appear to see any wrong in it. Notwithstanding, however, what has been said of their treachery, and however paradoxical it may appear, they possess, in an eminent degree, the three great virtues—hospitality, reverence to old age, and love for their children and parents."

A correspondent has furnished me with a very interesting account of the behaviour of a native who accompanied a trooper and another person with despatches addressed to Burke, the leader of the expedition of which King was a member. When the two whites and the black were starving and reduced to the miserable extremity of feeding on one small snake a day, with the usual meal of nardoo, which did not satisfy their cravings, and when either of the white men, according to their own account, would not have shrunk from a crime in order to procure food, so weak were they from famine, the native displayed a resignation truly astonishing, and calmly took only such portions of the snakes as his white companions gave him, though it was the black that caught the snakes and cooked them. My correspondent thus concludes:—"The fidelity of the poor fellow was touching in the extreme. In the earlier portion of the period, when they were fruitlessly watching for 'something to turn up,' a band of natives, of which their companion's tribe was an offshoot, came across them, and their native friend stood by them, exhausting all his diplomatic powers to cause his dusky brethren to render the powerless trio assistance; and, to their credit be it said, that, although from the curious manner in which they gazed at the white skins there was sufficient proof that they had never seen a white man before, still they freely divided wild-fowl, &c., amongst them. Most tempting offers at last were made to the native to accompany them on their departure. He remained faithful to the end, when to remain with his comrades existed only the prospect of starvation, whilst to have gone with his countrymen he might have eventually had an opportunity of joining his Darling River tribe in safety. M——— states that when utter ruin stared them in their faces, he was struck with admiration when the poor creature offered, in his feeble

condition, to find his way back to the Darling—an exhibition of courage which made the white men ashamed of themselves. The poor fellow traversed hundreds of miles, and arrived at Menindie—not figuratively, but literally—with the skin off his feet. But language is totally inadequate to describe the toilsome, chivalrous, and perilous journey undertaken by the native to relieve his white friends—an act that shows even amongst 'the poor, half-witted natives of Victoria' (as some are pleased to term them) there are those to be found who in the hour of danger can put the most civilized persons to the blush by their courage and devotedness."

Mr. A. Porteous, a Local Guardian of Aborigines, makes mention of a native who was faithful, courageous, and honest. He says:—"The Aborigine who died on the 6th instant (May 1872) did an act, over thirty years ago, that might justly be recorded to his honor. At that early period the Aborigines knew nothing of civilization or the law of honor, but those not having the law are sometimes a law unto themselves. In the year 1838 the Mount Emu tribe was very numerous and warlike, and was a terror to many of their neighbours and also to the white man; every hut had two or three stand of arms. At one of the Mount Emu out-station huts the hutkeeper absconded (while the tribe was camped close to the hut), leaving the hut, with all it contained, in their hands. In the hut was a quantity of flour, sugar, tea, and meat, two or three stand of arms, bedding and clothing, belonging to two shepherds who were out with their sheep. A number of the tribe wanted to take everything that was in the hut and be off with it. When Billy heard what was proposed, he sprang into the hut and got a gun, and stood in the door, and told his companions that if any of them attempted to take anything he would shoot them, and ordered one of them to go to the home-station and tell the manager to send a white man to take charge of the hut; and Billy kept possession until the white man came. During the last thirty-one years that I have known Billy his life has been in accordance with this act, sterlingly upright and full of kindness; and I much regret to have to record his death."

Major Mitchell had a good opinion of some of the natives he met with in his several expeditions. He says, "My experience enables me to speak in the most favorable terms of the Aborigines, whose degraded position in the midst of the white population affords no just criterion of their merits. The quickness of apprehension of those in the interior was very extraordinary, for nothing in all the complicated adaptations we carried with us either surprised or puzzled them. They are never awkward; on the contrary, in manners and intelligence, they appear superior to any class of white rustics that I have seen. Their powers of mimicry seem extraordinary, and their shrewdness shines even through the medium of imperfect language, and renders them, in general, very agreeable companions."

At Fort Bourke, a strange black who saw Mr. Larmer (one of Major Mitchell's party) fishing, gave him a fish; and a black who was shot at and hit by the overseer in self-defence, ran off yelling, but on Major Mitchell's running after him with a green branch in his hand, the poor fellow threw away his

weapons and sat down. He was relieved by Major Mitchell, and showed great fortitude. He was quite a wild black.

Of their intelligence Major Mitchell gives an example:—"An opossum in a tree had baffled all the endeavours of himself (a friend of the king's) and some young men to get at it, when they 'cooyed' for the king. He came, climbed the tree in an instant, and after a cursory examination, dropped some small sticks down the hollow of the trunk, and listening, pointed, as by instinct, to a part of the trunk, much lower down, where, by making a small incision, the others immediately got the animal out."

Their modes of expressing defiance and contempt are well described by the same eminent explorer. One native and a boy refused to move so as to allow the sheep to be driven back, and when the shepherd held out a green bough to them, they also each took a bough, spat upon it, and thrust it into the fire. On Major Mitchell advancing to the native with a green bough in his hand, the black was not daunted; he shook a twig at him in quite a new style, waving it over his head, and moving it in such a manner as to indicate that they should go back. The black and the boy then threw up dust at them in a clever way with their toes. The man's expressions of hostility and defiance were unmistakable, and they could not conciliate him. He brought up his tribe subsequently, and Major Mitchell gives a vivid picture of the strange antics of these untamed natives. They approached the party of white men, holding in their hands boughs, but using them apparently as if they wished the party to go away. They waved the branches defiantly and spat at the men. They afterwards sang a war-song, jumping, shouting, spitting, and throwing up dust. They retired, dancing in a circle, and jumping, crouching, and springing, spear in hand. The same tribe was seen again the next day. With them was an old man of an odd and striking appearance, supposed to be a coradje or priest. They commenced a processional chant, slowly waving their green boughs, and approaching the forge of the blacksmith. None except the old man and several other ancients wore any kind of dress, and the dress itself consisted of a small cloak of skins fastened over the left shoulder. As they chanted their mournful hymn, the old man occasionally turned his back towards Major Mitchell and his party, touched his eyebrows, nose, and breast as if crossing himself, then lifted his arm towards the sky, and then laid his hand on his breast, all the time chanting with an air of remarkable solemnity. They proved to be thievish, endeavouring to steal all they could from the forge; and when the blacksmith gave one a push, the thief commenced again the chanting and spitting, throwing dust in the air, and making a motion as if he would use his spear. Major Mitchell says that he never saw such unfavorable specimens of the natives as these—"implacably hostile, shamelessly dishonest." The more they saw of the invaders' superior weapons, the more they showed their hatred and tokens of defiance.*

Collins's statements respecting the natives are accurate. "They are," he remarks in one part of his work, "revengeful, jealous, courageous, and cunning. Their stealing on each other in the night for the purpose of murder must not be imputed to them as a want of bravery, but as the effect of the diabolical spirit

* *Interior of Eastern Australia*, vol. I. and II.

of revenge, which is thus sought, to make surer of its object, than it could have done if only opposed man to man in the field."

He adds that the natives of New South Wales are splendid mimics. They were fond of attending church and noting the observances therein. After going away, they would take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner, laughing and enjoying the applause which they received.

Collins gives a very flattering picture of the women:—"The features of many of these people were far from unpleasing, particularly of the women; in general, the black bushy beards of the men, and the bone or reed which they thrust through the cartilage of the nose, tended to give them a disgusting appearance; but in the women, that feminine delicacy which is to be found among white people was to be traced even upon their sable cheeks; and though entire strangers to the comforts and conveniencies of clothing, yet they sought with a native modesty to conceal by attitude what the want of covering would otherwise have revealed; bringing to the recollection of those who observed them

'The bending statue which enchants the world,'

though it must be owned that the resemblance consisted solely in the position."*

In other parts of this work reference is made to the remarkable affection which men sometimes display towards children, and it is seen also in their behaviour to their relatives and friends.

"Another very common error," says Mr. Bunce, "is that there exists no settled love or lasting affection between the sexes; not only does the strongest feeling of affection exist between the male and female, but it is often exhibited between individuals of the same sex, as could be amply testified by witnessing the parting scene at an Aboriginal camp, when one of its members is about taking a long and dangerous journey. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more painful or affecting scene than is exhibited on such an occasion. The moment the time has arrived for the party to take leave, he rises and approaches his eldest male relative, with one hand extended and the other covering his eyes, the old man approaching in the same manner; on meeting, each clasps firmly the other's hand, when they elevate their arms to an angle a little above the hair of their heads; in this way they remain for the space of three minutes; and during the whole time genuine tears may be seen oozing through their fingers; at the expiry of the time mentioned they again lower their arms, and finish with three sharp jerks of the hand, and walk off in different directions, still continuing to hold down their heads, and avoiding the sight of each other again. This very affecting ceremony is only observed between relatives and those who are closely attached, but with others the three jerks of the hand only are given."†

The mental peculiarities of the natives can be best ascertained from their habits, their customs, and their arts; and the detailed accounts in this work exhibit them prominently.

The Aborigines are at one time impulsive, at another phlegmatic; they can exert themselves vigorously when hunting or fishing or fighting or dancing,

* *English Colony in New South Wales*, pp. 355, 357, 358.

† *Language of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria*, by Daniel Bunce, 1851.

or at any time when there is a prospect of an immediate reward; but prolonged labor with the object of securing ultimate gain is distasteful to them.

They are industrious and painstaking in fashioning things that they know are of value to them and to the use of which they have been accustomed; but they are slow in adopting the mechanical contrivances of the whites.

They love ease even more than pleasure. The natives hunt in order to procure food, not for the delights of the chase. Without being quarrelsome, they are always ready to fight—and, perhaps without premeditation, they are often cruel to the stricken foe.

They are superstitious, they are credulous, and they willingly surrender their reason and ignore their instincts when influenced by their doctors and dreamers. They believe in the existence of evil spirits, and are afraid to leave their camps in the night; but when they are impelled to avenge an injury, neither the dread of evil spirits nor the fear of darkness will hinder them.

As there are very few instances of bodily deformity amongst the natives*—so equally rare are any mental peculiarities that might be traced to aberration of intellect. Indeed it is perhaps strictly true to say that insanity is unknown amongst the natives who have not mixed with Europeans. Dissipation, and drinking the poisonous liquors that are vended in the low public-houses in the bush, have no doubt produced their usual effects in some cases; but the wild black is always sane.

There are, it is believed, no idiots amongst them; and deafness and dumbness are exceedingly rare.†

* Collins states that few deformities of person were noticed amongst the natives of New South Wales: once or twice the prints of inverted feet were seen on the sand. Round shoulders or humpbacks were never observed in any one instance. I cannot remember ever having seen a native with any deformity.

† Mr. Gason says that during nine years' acquaintance with the Dieyerie and neighbouring tribes he encountered only one woman and one man deaf and dumb. He conversed with them by using native signs.

Numbers and Distribution of the Aborigines in Victoria.

THE numbers that at the first coming of the white man occupied the area now known as Victoria cannot be ascertained nor even estimated with precision, but enough is known of Victoria and of other parts of Australia, some but lately explored, to admit of a rough estimate being made.

The late Sir Thomas Mitchell, whose accurate observations are justly valued by men of science, and whose works even now are the best to which reference can be made as regards Eastern Australia, formed a very low estimate of the numbers of the Aborigines:—"The native population is very thinly spread over the regions I have explored, amounting to nearly a seventh part of Australia. I cannot estimate the number at more than 6,000; but, on the contrary, I believe it to be considerably less. They may increase rapidly if wild cattle become numerous, and, as an instance, I may refer to the number and good appearance of the Cudjallagong tribe, near Macquarie Range, where they occasionally fell in with a herd of wild cattle."*

If the reader will cast his eye over the map of the vast extent of country explored by Sir Thomas Mitchell, this estimate will probably strike him with astonishment. That there should be more than forty-five thousand acres of land required for the support of one Aboriginal appears to be incredible; but when the character of the country is carefully examined, the vicissitudes of climate to which it is subject duly noted, and its natural productions observed—and when it is considered further that the number of the Aboriginal inhabitants must of necessity be governed by the conditions of adverse seasons, rather than by those of ordinary or favorable years—and that, as will be seen when the laws of this people are considered, there was no possibility of any singularly rich or productive area in which food was plentiful adding to the resources of any tribes inhabiting adjacent less highly-favored lands—the sparseness of the population will cease to excite astonishment, and more importance will be attached to the low estimate—certainly, as regards Victoria, the very low estimate—made by Sir Thomas Mitchell.

The late Mr. E. S. Parker, who was for many years a Protector of Aborigines, stated, when delivering a lecture in Melbourne in 1854, that he estimated the number of the Aboriginal population at the foundation of the colony at 7,500. He said:—"In the year 1843 I endeavoured to take a nominal census of the Aboriginal population in the district extending from the Goulburn on the east to the Upper Wimmera on the west, and from the Great Dividing Range between

* *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, vol. II., p. 345.

the coast rivers and the interior waters on the south and the Mallee country on the north. I found then and registered by name, in their respective families and tribes, about 1,100 individuals."*

The late Mr. William Thomas, who for more than a quarter of a century acted as Protector or Guardian of the Aborigines, and had in the discharge of his duty visited nearly every part of Victoria, undertook at my request, some years ago, to make a careful estimate of the number of the Aborigines at the time when they possessed the land; and he arrived at the conclusion that the total number could not be less than 6,000. From his statement it appears that "the Aboriginal population in 1835–6 of the counties of Bourke, Evelyn, and Mornington was 350." But he adds that one-half at least of one of the tribes inhabiting these counties had perished in 1834 in a war with the Gippsland and Omeo blacks, and that previous to the war the total number was certainly not less than 500.† Further, the three counties he selected were in his opinion but sparsely peopled as compared with some other parts of Victoria, that these lands are not the best suited for the support of an Aboriginal population, and that the rivers which their boundaries embrace are not stocked with fish as are the Murray and its affluents.‡ Now the sum of the areas of these three counties is nearly 3,000,000 acres, which gives 6,000 acres for each Aboriginal; and the population of the colony would have been, if the whole of it had been peopled in the same proportion, 9,200 nearly. In estimating the numbers in this manner it is necessary to take note of the geographical features of the colony.

Though the counties named by Mr. Thomas are not the richest in Victoria, yet the greater part of the country they include is available for the uses of a savage people. Though the lands near the ranges are thickly timbered, and the eastern parts of Evelyn are covered in places with dense scrub, an immense area was in former times lightly timbered. Fine open forests of gum and she-oak covered a great part of Bourke; in the county of Evelyn there is a fine river, with numerous perennial streams falling into it; and in Mornington there are

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* *The Aborigines of Australia: A Lecture;* by E. S. Parker, 1854, pp. 13–14.

† I give this statement as it was given to me. The native warfare generally does not result in the destruction of great numbers of the belligerents. One or two may fall in battle, never to rise again; but not seldom is a war concluded without actual loss of life. Mr. Thomas, in stating that 150 persons had perished in this war, merely repeated a story he had heard. During a protracted war—if the enemy followed the ordinary practices of the Australian savages—it is possible that a number of women and children might be carried away, and some warriors killed, not in open warfare, but treacherously by night—either strangled by the noose, or knocked on the head with the club; but a war resulting in the death of 150 persons is not certainly common amongst the blacks.

Mr. Thomas, in a note dated the 17th February 1864, states that, according to his observations, the Aborigines invariably adopted natural boundaries for their territories, as rivers, creeks, and mountains. The Wawoorong or Yarra tribe claimed the lands included within the basin of the River Yarra; all waters flowing into it were theirs, and the boundaries were the dividing ranges on the north, east, and south. The Boonoorong or Coast tribe claimed in the same way all the country lying to the south of the southern rim of the Yarra basin, eastwards from the Tarwin River to Port Phillip Bay, and southwards to the sea. In 1838 there were 205 members of the Wawoorong tribe, and 87 of the Boonoorong tribe.

‡ The Murray cod-perch (*Oligorus Macquariensis*), a large fish, often three feet in length, is found only in the River Murray and its tributaries. Black-fish, trout, eels, &c., are found in the rivers which flow from the southern and south-eastern slopes of the Great Dividing Range towards the sea.

many creeks and very large swamps. Moreover, the county of Mornington has an extensive and varied coast-line where fish and molluscs are plentiful and easily procurable. These things must be borne in mind when the physical character of the colony is attentively viewed and its capability for the support of a wandering people more carefully shown. It is necessary to describe first those parts of the colony which could not of themselves support throughout the year any tribe or family of Aborigines, and some of which, if the blacks resorted to them at all, would be used by them as occasional hunting grounds only. Other parts, it is well known, would never be penetrated by them. The thick scrub, the want of water, and the fear of these untravelled wilds, would keep them as effectual barriers, separating tribes from tribes.

In the north-western parts of Victoria there is a vast tract of sands and clay-pans of Recent and Tertiary age, which is covered with *Eucalyptus dumosa* and *E. oleosa*, the nature of which none but those who have endeavoured to penetrate it can have an accurate idea. Its area is not less than 14,000 square miles. The Richardson River, the Yarriambiack Creek, and the River Wimmera flow northwards through it towards the River Murray; but the waters of those streams are lost in the sands. The lakes are large and the swamps are numerous in the southern and central parts; but the tract is hot in summer and cold in winter, and much of it cannot be regarded but as "back-country" for the tribes bordering on it, to be used only at certain times during each season, when the productions which it affords might tempt the Aboriginals to penetrate several parts of it. This great, dense eucalyptus thicket is somewhat in the form of a triangle as it appears on the map of Victoria. Its base extends from the confluence of the River Lindsay and the River Murray on the north to Mount Arapiles on the south; and its southern boundary reaches from Mount Arapiles in a north-easterly direction and in a broken line with numerous outlying patches of dense scrub to Inglewood; and other unconnected belts of Mallee are found between Inglewood and the junction of the River Murray with the River Loddon. Dense scrub again is found southwards covering the plains.

The mountain ranges, also, are not fitted to maintain an uncivilized people during all seasons of the year. The climate of the higher parts of the Cordillera, however agreeable in summer, is bitterly cold in winter. The flanks of the mountains which extend from Forest Hill to the Pyrenees are clothed with dense forests, and in places there are masses of scrub, some of which even yet have never been penetrated by man. These thickets cannot be passed by the colonists without great labor and much expense. They have to cut a track with the axe; water and provisions must be carried to the working party; and if the party is not strong in numbers, the attempt is relinquished. Aboriginals could never have searched but the margins of these areas. The mountain fastnesses, in winter covered with snow, and at times, in all seasons, shrouded in thick mists, were regarded with awe by the natives. Like the dark forests west of Mount Blackwood, they were held to be the abodes of evil spirits or of creatures—scarcely less to be dreaded—having the forms of men and the habits of beasts. It is certain that the blacks in the proper season occasionally visited the glens and ravines on both sides of the chain, but they did not live

there. They visited them for the purpose of obtaining woods suitable for making weapons, feathers for ornament, birds and beasts for food, and for the tree-fern, the heart of which is good to eat, and for other vegetable productions.

The wide, treeless, basaltic plains which stretch from the River Wannon on the west to the River Moorabool on the east, and from Mount Cole on the north to the southern shores of Lake Korangamite on the south—an area of 8,000 square miles—were occupied by numerous small tribes. The banks of all the lakes, rivers, and creeks were frequented by them ; and the ancient mirrn-yong heaps and the low walls of stone erected for shelter or other purposes are still to be seen in many parts. The plains were the resort of the emu, the wild turkey, and the native companion, and the lakes and swamps were covered with wild-fowl.

The southern parts of the counties of Heytesbury and Polwarth, now known as the Cape Otway Forest, were for the most part probably unknown to the tribes who called the Colac and Korangamite country theirs. The labor attendant on a march through this densely-wooded district would not have been undertaken but in the pursuit of enemies ; and it would never have been chosen by any savage people as a permanent abode. The rains of winter and the thick fogs of autumn and spring would have been fatal to the younger members of the tribes. Whether or not any families inhabited the river basins entirely separated from the tribes who had homes on the lands lying to the north and on the coast is not known. That the Coast tribes could and did penetrate many parts of this area is not denied, but it is scarcely probable that any tribe would live in the denser parts from year to year.

It is proper then, in estimating the area available to this people for permanent settlement, to eliminate those tracts which could not of themselves support throughout the year a single tribe, also those thickly-wooded and scrubby mountain ranges which the means at the command of the natives would not allow them to penetrate, and the result is that no more than 30,000,000 acres can be considered as open to them for ordinary uses. When, further, we regard their laws, which forbid unnecessary encroachment on the lands held by their neighbours (and all the lands peculiarly their own were set out and known by landmarks), and note the localities rich in stone fit for making hatchets (common to numerous widely-separated tribes), and the debatable grounds which year after year would be the scene of conflicts, we must again make a large deduction from the above estimate.

All that is known of the original condition of the natives of Victoria points to this : that the rivers were their homes. The River Murray from Albury to the River Lindsay was well peopled ; the Rivers Mitta Mitta, Ovens, Goulburn, Campaspe, Loddon, Avoca, Avon, Richardson, Glenelg, and Wimmera gave refuge to many tribes ; in the lake country and on the coast and in Gippsland the tribes were numerous and strong ; but as regards the rest of the land included within the boundaries of Victoria, it was either unknown or but frequented for short periods in certain seasons.

It would appear therefore that Sir Thomas Mitchell's estimate of the number of Aborigines, based on calculations made after traversing a country

a great part of which consisted of wide arid plains, where no savage tribes could find, in certain seasons, either food or water, is too low; and that applying the figures based on the native population of three counties in Victoria to the whole area of the colony, Mr. Thomas's estimate is too high. Between the numbers—1,220 and 6,000—there is much left for conjecture; but if we correct Mr. Thomas's estimate, so far as to make his figures applicable to the area in Victoria *available* for a savage people, and subtract from the area of the counties he has cited those areas within them which are covered by dense forests and scrub, we find that the total number would not exceed 3,000—that is to say, about 18,000 acres of all kinds of country to each Aboriginal.*

It is impossible to give figures which will satisfy the enquirer; but, in attempting to arrive at the truth, he is enlightened and helped by the preceding descriptions.

In his journey towards the Grampians—previous to the occupation of that part of Victoria by the whites—Sir Thomas Mitchell saw very few Aborigines. Mr. Landsborough, also, in travelling southwards from Carpentaria, met with very few natives, the largest number he counted being thirty; and he believes that the country is nowhere thickly peopled; and the statements of travellers generally confirm this impression. Those who are of a different opinion must not be blamed. It is only the experienced bushman who is able to estimate the numbers of a tribe in the bush. A few—fifty or sixty—moving backwards and forwards in the bush, changing their weapons, now holding their arms aloft, and anon appearing without any in their hands (all the time dragging them between their toes), uttering wild shouts, and answered by their wives at a distance, give to a stranger the impression of a multitude of people. The inexperienced man supposes that he has seen two hundred warriors.†

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* It appears from a statement in a pamphlet published by Mr. W. Westgarth in 1846, that Mr. G. A. Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Port Phillip, had made an estimate of the number of the Aboriginal inhabitants within the area of land now known as Victoria. His estimate was 5,000—one Aboriginal to each sixteen square miles. This closely approximates to the number given by Mr. Thomas. The mean of the three estimates—that made by Mr. Thomas, that made by Mr. Robinson, and that made by me—is 4,600, nearly.

Grey found it impossible to give an estimate of the number of Aborigines—not, it is presumed, because of the great multitude of them, but because of the paucity of them. He says:—"Several writers have given calculations as to the number of native inhabitants to each square mile in Australia. Now, although I have done my utmost to draw up tables which might even convey an approximate result, I have found the number of inhabitants to a square mile to vary so much, from district to district, from season to season—and to depend upon so great a variety of local circumstances—that I am unable to give any computation which I believe would even nearly approach the truth; and as I feel no confidence in the results which I have obtained, after a great deal of labor, I cannot be expected to attach much importance to those which, to my own knowledge, have, in several instances, been arrived at by others from mere guess-work."—*Journal of Two Expeditions of Discovery*, vol. II., p. 246.

† It is very difficult for a stranger to distinguish one Aboriginal from another. The face of one man appears to be the same as the face of another man—to the eye of one inexperienced. A Chinaman just arrived in Victoria will tell you that he sees no differences in the faces of the Europeans he meets. An Englishman, at the first sight of the people, cannot tell one Chinaman from another. It is long before one can really know a blackfellow. They seem to be all alike; and though they are alike to us, we are not alike to them. The Australian Aboriginal knows a friend at once. I have had many proofs of this instinct; and I have many times been stopped and spoken to by Aboriginals

On some occasions all the tribes inhabiting a large area assemble at one spot, and a stranger seeing perhaps four hundred or five hundred natives might suppose that they were usually present at the place, and that other adjacent localities were peopled in like manner.

Again, it is known that a tribe will follow white men many scores of miles. They appear at times painted in such colors, and in such places, as to lead to the belief that they are not the same men who were seen many days previously.

I have prepared a map showing some of the areas formerly occupied by the tribes of Victoria, and though necessarily imperfect and incomplete, it is interesting.

For Gippsland, my authorities are the Rev. John Bulmer and the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer gives the following account of the lands formerly held by the people :—

1. Boul-boul.—Their lands extended from the entrance to the Gippsland Lakes to the island of Rotomah. They confined themselves to the peninsula—hence their name, Boul-boul, which means a peninsula or island. Their food was chiefly fish and Ngurang, a kind of root. The country is swampy.
2. Tirthung or Nicholson River tribe ; and the
3. Bra-bri-woolong, or Mitchell River tribe, occupied all that country lying between the Mitchell and the Tambo.
4. Tirtalowa Kani held the area between the Tambo and the Snowy River.
5. The Lake Tyers tribe occupied that tract lying between the entrance to the Lakes and Boggy Creek.
6. The Krowithun Koolo claimed the country east of the Snowy River to the River Genoa, near Twofold Bay.
7. Bidwell.—The Bidwell people lived in the back-country from the Snowy River to the Great Dividing Range. All the tribes on the Gippsland side of the Great Dividing Range are known as *Karnathan Kani*, or Lowlanders ; the word *Karnang* meaning at the foot of a hill, or in a low place. The tribes on the other side are styled *Brajerak*, which means men who are to be feared. The word is formed from *Bra*, a man, and *jer-ah*, to fear. Mr. Bulmer supposes that the blacks meant to imply that the people beyond the great range were strangers, and not safe to deal with. He adds that it is very difficult to form an estimate of the total number of Aborigines in Gippsland, but he thinks that, from present appearances, they never could have numbered more than 1,000, or at most 1,500.

Mr. Hagenauer mentions the following tribes, namely :—

1. Tarrawarracka, inhabiting Port Albert and Tarraville.
2. Wolloom ba Belloom-belloom, on the La Trobe, at Rosedale and at Lake Reeves.
3. Moonoba Ngatpan, on the Rivers Macalister and Thomson.
4. Worreeke ba Koonangyang, on the Rivers Mitchell, Nicholson, and Tambo.
5. Dooveraak ba Daan, on the Rivers Buchan and Snowy.

Mr. Hagenauer says that the rivers and lakes frequented by them were the following :—

Rivers.

1. La Trobe	Durtyowan.
2. Thomson	Carran-carran.
3. Macalister	Woonindook.
4. Avon	Dooyadang.
5. Perry	Goonbeella.
6. Flooding (Creek)	Wayput.
7. Crooked	Naylong.
8. Merriman's (Creek)	Durtin.

Lakes.

1. Wellington	Murla.
2. Victoria	Toonallook.
3. King	Ngarran.
4. Bunga	Woonduck.
5. Reeves	Walmunyeera.
6. Jones' Bay	Nepoa Daduck (tail of the lake).

The name of the tribe that inhabited the high plains of Omeo was, according to information furnished to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council by the late Mr. Alfred Currie Wills, formerly Police Magistrate and Warden at Omeo, Gundanora. He stated that in May 1835 there were about 500 or 600 men, women, and children resident during a few months of each year at their head-quarters on the elevated plain of Omeo. In 1842 they frequently assembled there in large numbers, and often killed many cattle belonging to squatters, whose stockmen, it is said, retaliated by firing on them. Their hunting and fishing grounds extended northward to the Cobboras Hills, southward and eastward to the River Tambo, and westward to the Bogong Range, *viâ* the Gibbo and Mitta Mitta rivers.

I have not been able to ascertain what tribes commonly frequented the Indi or Limestone River.

The Talangatta Creek, a tributary of the River Mitta Mitta, was, according to Mr. James Wilson, the hunting ground of the Ginning-matong tribe; and Mr. Thomas Mitchell states the Pallanganmiddah held a portion of the lower Kiewa.

Mr. Henry B. Lane, Police Magistrate and Warden, says that the Woradjerg tribe held the country lying between Howlong (twenty miles below Albury)

and Dora Dora, some thirty or forty miles above it. The tribe named Thar-a-mirttong lived on the banks of the River Kiewa.

In a report dated the 30th October 1862, the same gentleman states that "the forty blacks to whom rations, &c., are distributed at Tangamballanga are the sole remnants of three or four once powerful tribes, each of which, even within the memory of old settlers, numbered from 200 to 300 souls. These tribes inhabited the tract of country now very nearly described on the electoral map as comprising the Murray District of the Eastern Province, and containing an area of about 2,000 square miles. Now a great portion of this country is still as free for the blacks to roam over as it was twenty years ago, being occupied only by pastoral stations, generally distant from each other fifteen or twenty miles. It is a mountainous and well-wooded district, the climate of which is decidedly more healthy and salubrious than that of the arid plains in the western portion of the colony. There are several fine rivers intersecting it, well stocked with fish; and game (such as usually affords food for the blacks) is probably still as abundant as heretofore, particularly towards that little known but singularly picturesque and beautiful part of the colony bounded by the Upper Murray or Hume River."

Echuca is the name given by Mr. Strutt as that of the tribe occupying the country near the junction of the Goulburn and Campaspe with the Murray. Mr. Henry L. Lewis, of Moira, states that the tribe in his immediate neighbourhood is named Panggarang; and that on the banks of the Murray and the Goulburn, Owanguttha. He says, also, that there is a small tribe on the Murray, at and below Moama, named Woollathara.

Below the Woollathara country, the boundaries of the lands of the tribes on the southern banks of the River Murray are well marked. The late Dr. Gummow, in reply to enquiries, was kind enough to send me a map, prepared mainly by Mr. Peter Beveridge, but partly by Dr. Gummow, showing the areas occupied by the Murray tribes from near Echuca to the junction of the River Darling with the Murray. They are as follows:—

1. Barraba-barraba.
2. Wamba-wamba.
3. Boora-boora.
4. Watty-watty.
5. Waiky-waiky.
6. Litchy-litchy.
7. Yairy-yairy.
8. Darty-darty.

Each name is the negative of the language spoken by the respective tribes.

Mr. Beveridge has written the following note on the map:—"It will be seen that the territory of the two tribes nearest Echuca does not extend far back from the Murray River. The reason for this contraction south-westerly was because of the dire feuds that always existed between the Murray tribes and those inhabiting the Rivers Campaspe and Loddon. Below Swan Hill the Murray tribes, as a rule, used to meet and mingle with those inhabiting the Avoca, Avon, and Wimmera Rivers during the winter months in each year. The desert scrubs between the two lower tribes and the Tattiara country tribes are so extensive that they were precluded from ever meeting."

Dr. Gummow, in a letter to me dated the 9th April 1872, says that he has tested Mr. Beveridge's boundaries and names of tribes by the Aborigines themselves, and, with one slight difference, all agree.

Dr. Gummow added the area occupied by the Yamba-yamba or Wamba-wamba tribe.

The Yaako-yaako tribe hold the country around Lake Victoria and the Rufus.*

I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Hartmann, of the Lake Hindmarsh Station, for the divisions of the Wimmera district. The names of the tribes as given by him are as follows :—

1. Lail-buil - - - - Between Pine Plains and the River Murray.
2. Jakelbalak - - - - Between Pine Plains and Lake Albacutya.
3. Kromelak - - - Lake Albacutya.
4. Wanmung Wanmungkur - Lake Hindmarsh.
5. Kapun-kapunbāra - - River Wimmera, towards Lake Hindmarsh.
6. Dûwinbarap - - - West of River Wimmera.
7. Jackalbarap - - - West of Dûwinbarap.
8. Jarambiuk - - - Yarriambiack Creek (so called).
9. Whitewurndiuk - - East of Yarriambiack Creek.
10. Kerabialbarap - - - South of Mount Arapiles.
11. Murra-murra-bārap - - Grampians.

Mr. Hartmann states that the native tribes of the Wimmera proper have not a common name for all, although they may be considered as being one and the same tribe.

The boundaries of the areas occupied by the tribes in the Western district, and the names of the tribes, have been communicated by Mr. H. B. Lane. He obtained the information, he states, from Mr. Goodall, the Superintendent of the Aboriginal Station at Framlingham.

Mr. Goodall furnishes the following valuable and interesting list :—

1. Burhwûndeirtch-Kurndeit† - East of Muston's Creek.
2. Ynarreeb-ynarreeb - - From Mount Sturgeon to Lake Boloke.
3. Moporh (a country of water-holes) West of the Hopkins River.

* Mr. Eyre, in a report dated 28th May 1842, stated that when he visited Lake Victoria there were assembled there five different parties of natives within a distance of three miles. One encampment, on the west side of Lake Victoria, was formed of the tribes from a considerable distance below the junction of the Rufus and the Murray, and consisted of probably 100 natives. The second encampment, at the junction of the Rufus and Lake Victoria, comprised the Lake tribe and those from the Murray or other sides of the Rufus, and numbered about 300. Three other parties from the eastward, inhabiting the country about the Darling and the Rufus, were not less than 200 in number. Of these—600 in all—200 were full-grown men. This far exceeded, Mr. Eyre says, any muster that he had previously thought it possible the natives could make. For sixty miles before reaching Lake Victoria he had not seen a single native. The people were living on fish they caught in the lake, of which they had abundance.

† Kurndeit signifies a country or tribe, and may be added to any of the names.

4. Kolore - - - -	West of Muston's Creek, including Mount Rouse.
5. Coonawanne - - -	West of Emu Creek, including Mount Shadwell.
6. Warrnambool (or Pertobe)	East of Merri Rivulet to Lake Terang.
7. Tooram - - - -	West of Curdie's Creek.
8. Keilambeitch - - -	East of Lake Terang.
9. Leehoorah - - -	Mount Leura, Lakes Bulleen-Merri and Gnotuk.
10. Korotch or Koroche - -	East of the River Moyne.
11. Mumkelunk - - -	Between the River Moyne and the River Shaw.
12. Weereitch-weereitch - -	East of River Eumeralla.
13. Terrin Challum - -	East of Salt Creek, including Mount Fyans.
14. Purteet Chowel - -	South-east of Lake Boloke, including Mount Hamilton.
15. Terrumbehal - - -	Between the River Hopkins and Fiery Creek.
16. Werrupurrong - -	East of Fiery Creek.
17. Moocherrak - - -	South-west of the Pyrenees.
18. Punnoinjon - - -	East of the Serra Range.
19. Neitcheyong - - -	East of Mount William.
20. Yourwychall - - -	Between the River Wannon and the Grange Burn.
21. Narragoort - - -	East of Curdie's Creek.
22. Mullungkill - - -	South of Lake Purrumbete, including Mount Porndon.
23. Barrath - - - -	Sherbrooke Creek, including Brown's Hill.

The areas marked out by Mr. Charles Gray, of Nareeb Nareeb, agree very closely with those laid down by Mr. Goodall.

The areas occupied by many of the tribes are small, but each seems to have had a fair proportion of water-frontage.

It would be difficult to subdivide the tract more justly than was done by the Aborigines.

The late Mr. E. S. Parker has given the following information respecting the divisions of a portion of Victoria :—

"I found on my first investigations into the character and position of these people that the country was occupied by a number of petty nations, easily distinguished from each other by their having a distinct dialect or language, as well as by other peculiarities. Each occupied its own portion of country, and so, as far as I could learn, never intruded on each other's territory, except when engaged in hostilities, or invited by regularly-appointed messengers. Thus, for the sake of example, the country on the northern and eastern shores of Port Phillip Bay and to the northward and westward up to Mount Macedon was inhabited by the Wawurrong; the country around Geelong and to the

northward of that place by the Witowurrong;* the Upper Goulburn by the Taoungurong; the Lower Goulburn and parts of the Murray by the Pangurang; the plains and tributaries of the Loddon by the Jajowurrong; the Pyrenees and country to the westward by the Knindowurrong; the terminations *wurro* or *wurrong* referring evidently to diversity of speech, as *wurro, wurrong,* in several dialects, mean the mouth, and, by a metonymy, speech or language. The petty nations have been erroneously designated *tribes,* as the 'Port Phillip tribe,' 'the Goulburn tribe,' 'the Loddon tribe,' and so on. But the term tribe is more correctly applicable to an association of families and individuals, nearly or remotely related to each other, and owning some individual as their head or chief. And this distinction exists most clearly among the Aborigines. Each of the nations or languages I have instanced, as well as others I have thought it too tedious to enumerate, is divided into several tribes, sometimes as many as ten or twelve, each of which has a distinctive appellation, known by such terminations as *bulluk,* people; *goondeet,* men; *lar,* or, in other dialects, *willam* or *illam,* house or dwelling-place. Thus we have on the Goulburn the *Yowang-illam,* 'the dwellers on the mountain;' the *Yerra-willam,* 'the dwellers on the river;' and on the Loddon, the *Kalkalgoondeet,* 'the men of the forest;' and from Pilawin, the native name of the Pyrenees, and Borumbeet, the well-known lake, we have *Pilawin-bulluk* and *Borumbeet-bulluk.* The terms *Mallegoondeet* and *Millegoondeet* are very precise in their application, as indicating the men of the *Mallee* country, or the inhabitants of the banks of the Murray, which is known for a very considerable portion of its stream by the native name of *Mille.* One tribe in my own neighbourhood, and a rather numerous one, is designated the *Worng-arra-gerrar,* literally the 'leaves of the stringybark.' Each of these tribes had its own district of country—its extent at least, and in some instances its distinct boundaries, being well known to the neighbouring tribes. The subdivision of the territory even went further than that; each family had its own locality. And to this day the older men can clearly point out the land which their fathers left them, and which they once called their own." †

Mr. Joseph Parker states that the *Ja-jow-er-ong* was divided into seven tribes, as follows :—

1. Leark-a-bulluk.
2. Pil-a-uhin-goondeetch.
3. Kalk-kalk-goondeetch.
4. Wong-hurra-ghee-rar-goondeetch.
5. Gal-gal-bulluk.
6. Tow-nim-burr-lar-goondeetch.
7. Way-re-rong-goondeetch.

* Dr. Thompson informed the Honorable A. F. A. Greeves that when Geelong was his sheep-run, with two hundred miles of water frontage, he ascertained from W. Buckley and others, to whom he had made gifts of blankets, &c., that the Geelong tribe of Aboriginals numbered one hundred and seventy-three souls (men, women, and children). In 1853 they numbered thirty-four souls only, including but one person under ten years of age. They died chiefly of pulmonary affections, and of diseases brought on by over-indulgence in intoxicating liquors.

There were other causes at work, however, that are not mentioned by Dr. Thompson. When the colony was first settled, the diminution in the numbers of the natives was very rapid. Quarrels occurred between the whites and the blacks, and how many of the latter were slain will never be known.

† *The Aborigines of Australia: A lecture;* by Edward Stone Parker, 1854, pp. 11–12.

The above claimed as their territory the country extending from Ballan on the south to the junction of the Serpentine and the Loddon on the north, and from the eastern slopes of Mount Macedon on the east to the Pyrenees on the west.

The names of some tribes are inserted in the map on the authority of the Local Guardians of Aborigines, whose papers, under the head of "Language," may be consulted in reference to the division of the territory in former times.

The map, though compiled with all possible care from the records in my possession, is not as complete as I had intended to make it; but it is probable that settlers throughout the country will add to it, and amend it; and the publication of it may eventually lead to the preparation of a larger and better one.

Though I have specially marked only those names of the "petty nations" mentioned by the late Mr. Parker, it is possible that some names printed as the appellations of tribes are really those of "nations." I have had to depend entirely on the information afforded by my correspondents, and though they have, I am quite sure, used all available means to arrive at the truth, there is so much difficulty in ascertaining the facts, that it is necessary to make allusion to the possibility of error.

Mr. Charles Gray, of Nareeb, who was good enough to prepare a map of his district, thus writes in a letter, dated January 1872:—"I have endeavoured to procure for you the information required, but the result of my enquiry is not at all satisfactory. In fact, my informants (born and reared near this) can only speak positively as to the boundaries of the lands occupied by their own tribe. This I have little doubt will be found the case in almost every instance. In former times, when no native dared cross the boundary of the area occupied by his own tribe, there was no opportunity of learning the boundaries of the lands of others. And I imagine that it is only from a member of a tribe that has occupied a certain area that the boundaries thereof could be learned."

I have already stated that the map furnished by Mr. Gray agrees as far as it goes very closely with the large map furnished by Mr. Goodall.

My compilation, it may be assumed, is nearly accurate in cases where boundaries are given, and one has only to lament that it is not complete for the whole colony.

The extreme difficulty of ascertaining even approximately the number of natives that are in the colony at the present time should teach caution in dealing with the estimates made when there was no machinery for collecting statistics. The Board for the Protection of the Aborigines has had the assistance, during the past sixteen years, of the Honorary Local Guardians in all parts of Victoria, and also the benefit of the labors of its salaried officers, and yet, even now, no more than a mere estimate of the numbers can be given.

Even an estimate is valuable, and it is much to be desired that the authorities in the other colonies of Australia should ascertain the number of natives now living within their territories.

In the third report of the Board, the number and distribution of the natives of Victoria were—on 25th September 1863—as follows:—

Districts.	Localities.	Authority.	Total Number of Men, Women, and Children.	
Southern	Wawoorong or Yarra tribe	Green	22	
	Boonoorong or Coast tribe	Thomas	11	
				33
South-Western	Geelong and Colac tribes	Green	28	
	Camperdown	Green	40	
	Warrnambool	Musgrove	51	
	Belfast and Port Fairy	Green	17	
	Portland	Green	100	
	Casterton	Green	45	
	Balmoral	Green	53	
	Hamilton	Learmonth	58	
	Mortlake	Green	43	
	Mount Emu and Ballarat	Porteous	69	
	Wickliffe, Mount Rouse, and Hexham	Gray	70	
	Bacchus Marsh	Maclean and Young	33	
	Franklinford	Stanbridge	38	
				645
North-Western	Yaako-yaako tribe	Goodwin	66	
	Yarre-yarre tribe	Goodwin	39	
	Kamink tribe	Goodwin	27	
	Kulkyne, Lower Murray	Green	50	
	Swan Hill, Lower Murray	Green	171	
	Boort, Lower Loddon	Green	65	
	Gunbower	Houston	72	
	Cobram	Green	38	
	Horsham and vicinity	Speiseke	31	
	Glenelg and Mount Talbot	Speiseke	45	
	Richardson and Morton Plains	Speiseke	52	
	Lake Hindmarsh and vicinity	Speiseke	112	
				768
Northern	Campaspe and Echuca	Strutt	74	
	Goulburn	Green	95	
				169
South-Eastern	Port Albert	Hagenauer	17	
	La Trobe and Rosedale	Hagenauer	51	
	Macalister, Maffra, Upper Mitchell, Omeo, &c.	Hagenauer	52	
	Nicholson, Tambo, Brathen, and Lake Tyers	Hagenauer	66	
	Buchan, Snowy River, &c.	Hagenauer	35	
				221
North-Eastern	Tangamballanga	Green	45	
	Barnawartha	Green	27	
				72
				1,908

NOTE.

The principle adopted last year has been adhered to in compiling the above return, namely, to obtain from one person, where possible, returns for a whole district, using the other returns only as a check. The above figures must be taken as approximations only. It would be very difficult and expensive to take a census yearly, and no good purpose would be served if it were done.

There is apparently a reduction in the total numbers amounting to 257, which is accounted for

thus:—The Taa-Tatty and Lutchye-lutchye tribes, numbering 180, improperly included in Mr. Goodwin's return last year, are omitted in this; and, at Swan Hill, Mr. Green could find only 171 blacks, less by 44 than last year's return. The reduction, therefore, in the total sum is only 33.

Comparing the tables, district by district, it will be seen that the Southern is 1 less than last year. In the South-Western there is an increase of 71, which is thus accounted for: Franklinford, numbering 28, was omitted last year; and in other cases, more recently, careful returns made by the Honorary Correspondents have been substituted for those obtained by Mr. Green during his hasty visit to the Western district. The difference in the numbers for the North-Western district has been already explained; and those observed in the Northern, South-Eastern, and North-Eastern districts do not call for remark.

The figures in the table are sufficient to show that the Aborigines are not decreasing so rapidly as is generally supposed. If, instead of looking at the totals, which are liable to error for reasons already explained, we compare the returns made by Honorary Correspondents, who have a complete knowledge of the blacks under their charge, and who keep accurate accounts of the births and deaths, we shall see that in no case is the diminution very startling, having regard to the habits and present condition of this people.

It is to be regretted that it has been necessary to use last year's returns for some localities; but it is almost unreasonable to expect the Honorary Correspondents to make elaborate returns every year.

The Central Board are now in possession of the names and other particulars of 1,788 Aborigines; those respecting whom such information is wanting amount to 120, and they are located principally at Wickliffe, Mount Rouse, Hexham, Bacchus Marsh, and Warrnambool.

As the above return is imperfect, the Central Board would be glad if Honorary Correspondents and others possessing information would communicate with the Secretary. There is reason to believe that some Aborigines in the central part of Victoria are not included.

On the 31st May 1869, a very careful return was prepared by Mr. John Green, and the estimated total number was 1,834.

In the seventh report of the Board—under date 1st August 1871—the following statement is made:—"There is no reason to believe that there has been any great decrease in the number of Aborigines during the last few years. It is wrong to suppose because tribes are broken up and dispersed that all the members of these tribes have perished. Tribal relations and family ties are much interfered with by the whites, who now occupy the whole colony, and gladly avail themselves of the services of the blacks. Men of the Lower Murray take service in Gippsland, and men and women of the Gippsland tribes are found in the Western district. At Coranderrk, there are men, women, and children all living amicably with members of the Yarra and Goulburn tribes, who have been gathered from the Upper and Lower Murray, from Gippsland, and from the north and south-western parts of the colony.

"During the past seventeen months, the births and deaths reported by the Superintendents of the principal stations are as follows:—

	Births.	Deaths.
Coranderrk	9	7
Lake Wellington	5	3
Lake Condah	2	2
Lake Tyers	3	6
Lake Hindmarsh	3	7
Framlingham	—	1

"It is not easy accurately to ascertain the numbers of the Aborigines, but the Board does not hesitate to declare that the oft-repeated statement that the race is rapidly disappearing is by no means in accordance with fact."

The difficulty of forming an estimate of the numbers increases year by year. There are several natives employed occasionally, and some continuously, on sheep stations and farms; and the natives of Victoria now travel a good deal, and many cross the border.

The number of natives under the direct control of the Board, and living continuously at the stations formed for the support and education of the Aborigines is, at the present time (1876), as follows :—

Coranderrk - - - - - - -	137
Lake Hindmarsh - - - - - -	67
Lake Condah - - - - - - -	89
Framlingham - - - - - - -	63
Lake Wellington - - - - - -	81
Lake Tyers - - - - - - -	63
	500

An epidemic of measles carried off a large number of natives both in Victoria and in the Colony of South Australia during the early part of the year 1876.

Now that the natives are no longer able to follow their old pursuits, now that they are cut off from those enjoyments which in their natural state kept them in health, now that they are held in restraint either at the stations established by the Government or where living in the neighbourhood of places peopled by whites, it is probable that the numbers will decrease, and that, as a race, they will ultimately be extinguished in Victoria. Nothing that can be provided for their sustenance and comfort can compensate for the loss they experience in being deprived of their lands, the society of their friends, and the delights of the chase.

Birth and Education of Children.

It may be imagined that the exigencies of savage life require that all the members of a tribe shall at all times be ready to move from one place to another—now for food, now for shelter, now to make war, now to avoid it. The sick man must rouse himself in times of trouble, even if his sickness be mortal; and as regards the females, they must obediently serve their masters in every season and under all circumstances. Certain events in their lives, however, claim the kindness even of their savage husbands, and the sympathy of their mothers and sisters. An Aboriginal woman, when she is about to give birth to a babe, if not treated in the same manner and with as much care as a civilized woman, is not neglected. The little attention she needs is given; the few comforts demanded are ordinarily provided; the help of some aged woman is not withheld.*

When the time of her trouble draws nigh, some one of the old women is selected to attend her, and the two withdraw from the main camp and shelter

* "When a woman is near her confinement, she removes from the encampment, with some of the women to assist her. As soon as the child is born, the information is conveyed to the father, who immediately goes to see the child and to attend upon the mother, by carrying firewood, water, &c. If there are unmarried men and boys in the camp, as there generally are, the woman and her friends are obliged to remain at a distance in their own encampment. This appears to be part of the same superstition which obliges a woman to separate herself from the camp at the time of her monthly illness, when, if a young man or a boy should approach, she calls out, and he immediately makes a circuit to avoid her. If she is neglectful upon this point, she exposes herself to scolding, and sometimes to severe beating by her husband or nearest relation, because the boys are told, from their infancy, that if they see the woman they will early become grey-headed, and their strength will fail prematurely.

"If the child is permitted to live (I say permitted, because they are frequently put to death), it is brought up with great care, more than generally falls to the lot of children of the poorer class of Europeans. Should it cry, it is passed from one person to another, and caressed and soothed, and the father will frequently nurse it for several hours together.

"Children that are weak, or deformed, or illegitimate, and the child of any woman who has already two children alive, are put to death. No mother will venture to bring up more than two children, because she considers that the attention which she would have to devote to them would interfere with what she regards as the duty to her husband, in searching for roots, &c. If the father dies before a child is born, the child is put to death by the mother, for the Father who provides for us all is unknown to them. This crime of infanticide is increased by the whites, for nearly all the children of European fathers used to be put to death. It is remarkable that when the children are first born they are nearly as white as Europeans, so that the natives sometimes find it difficult to say whether they are of pure blood or not. In such doubtful cases the form of the nose decides.

"When the child commences to walk, the father gives it a name, which is frequently derived from some circumstance which occurred at the time of the child's birth; or, as each tribe has a kind of

themselves in a little rudely-constructed *miam*. The old woman takes the child as soon as it is born, and puts it into a net or rug lined with dry grass, and rubs it with the dry grass, and makes it presentable as far as possible with that simple treatment. The father, on a given signal, approaches, and provides his wife with firewood, water, and sufficient food. The new-born babe has some sort of care bestowed on it. The umbilical cord is cut; it is powdered with a dried fungus; and after a time it is laid on its back and a dry stick is placed over its chest to prevent any misbehaviour. There it lies for two or three days, with what nourishment is not known; but generally it is not suffered to draw the natural sustenance from its mother until this weary time has passed.

As soon as the infant is given to the mother there is general hilarity in the camp. The father occasionally nurses the babe, and shows a proper amount of pride as he exhibits it now to one and now to another. The young girls eagerly contend for the honor of holding the charge; and for a short time the mother is a happy woman, and has a sort of pre-eminence which is gratifying to her; but the necessity for a sudden movement; the whisper of a war; the birth of one or more children—making other mothers happy—is enough to put an end to her brief period of enjoyment. All the cares of maternity fall heavily and suddenly upon her; and if she is a young mother and this her first-born, and the necessity arises for the tribe to travel, she contemplates with horror the pains and anxieties of a prolonged journey, during which she will have to carry and nourish her babe, as well as bear the burdens and perform the duties which her husband may impose on her.

Mr. John Green says that the new-born babe was put into an opossum rug, and it would appear that it thereafter became the charge of the mother, who,

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patron or protector in the objects of nature—as Thunder, the protector of the Kaminjerar; a kind of ant, the protector of the Kargarinjerar; the pelican, a kind of snake, &c., &c., of other tribes—the father often confers the name of this protector (as the pouch of the pelican), or a part of it, upon the child. Grown-up persons frequently exchange names, probably as a mark of friendship.

"Children are suckled by their mothers for a considerable time; sometimes to the age of five or six years; and it is no uncommon thing to see a boy, playing with his companions, suddenly leave off and run to his mother to refresh himself with a draught of milk. When weaned, he accompanies his father upon short excursions (unless he should be delicate and unable to bear the fatigue), upon which occasion the father takes every opportunity to instruct his son. For instance, if they arrive at a place concerning which they have any tradition, it is told to the child, if old enough to understand it. Or he shows him how to procure this or that animal, or other article of food, in the easiest way. Until his fourteenth or fifteenth year he is mostly engaged in catching fish and birds, because already, for some years, he has been obliged to seek for food on his own account. Thus he early becomes in a great measure independent, and there is nobody who can control him, the authority of his parents depending only upon the superstitions which they have instilled into him from infancy; and the prohibitions respecting certain kinds of food—for different kinds of food are allotted to persons of different ages—are enforced by their superstitions. The roes of fishes are appropriated to the old men, and it is believed that if women or young men or children eat of them they will become prematurely old. Other kind of meat they consider diminishes the strength of the muscles, &c., &c. At certain seasons of the year, when a particular kind of fish is abundant, the men frequently declare it to be *rambe* (holy); after which, all that are caught must be brought to the men, by whom they are cooked; and the women and children are not allowed even to approach the fires until the cooking is over and the fish are cold, when they may approach and eat of what the men choose to give them, after having previously regaled themselves."—*H. E. A. Meyer. Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe, South Australia.* 1846.

without assistance, tended it, and likewise gave attention to her ordinary duties. The mother would not be absent from the tribe usually more than a day or two. After that lapse of time she would return with her babe and follow her ordinary occupations.*

In some parts, when a birth happened near the sea-shore, it was the custom to warm the sand on the sheltered side of a sandhill by making a small fire on it; and when the babe was born a hole was scraped, and it was placed in it and covered up to the neck with the warm sand.† After the lapse of a few hours it was given to the mother, and her attention to it alone was deemed sufficient.

Until the child is able to walk pretty well it is carried in the opossum rug which is worn by the mother. The rug is so folded as to make a sort of bag at the back, in which the infant sits or lies contentedly. Whenever it needs refreshment, it extends its arms over the shoulder of the mother, seizes the teat, and without difficulty obtains what it needs.‡

The infants are suckled for long periods; indeed a child will not relinquish this easy mode of procuring a repast until the mother forcibly compels it to get a living for itself. And while very small—but yet able to move about only on hands and knees—it has a little stick put into its hands, and, following the example of elder children, it digs for roots, for the larvæ of ants, for such living things as it can find in decayed wood, and sometimes for the native bread (*Mylitta Australis*) where it is plentiful, and when the elder children are willing to help the little one. The infant soon learns to kill small lizards, and these, and the more easily procured kinds of food that the bush affords, serve to strengthen and fatten it.§

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* "From the nature of the food used by the natives, it is necessary that a child should have good strong teeth before it can be even partially weaned. The native women, therefore, suckle their children until they are past the age of two or three years, and it is by no means uncommon to see a fine healthy child leave off playing and run up to its mother to take the breast.

"The native women suffer much less pain during the period of labor than Europeans; directly the child is born it is wrapped in opossum skins, and strings made of the fur of this animal are tied like bracelets round the infant's wrists and ankles, with the intention of rendering it, by some supernatural means, a stronger and a finer child. They are always much prouder of a male than of a female child."—*Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery.* Grey, vol. II., p. 250.

† This custom prevails amongst the tribes of the west coast of New Guinea; and Capt. Cadell informs me that a black of Arnhem Land, when "on the track" by himself, and when it would be dangerous to light a fire, thus makes his bed at night. He scoops a hole in the sand, and buries himself all but his face, where he sleeps comfortably, free from mosquito bites.

‡ The women of the Moghrebin Arabs carried their children at their backs, suspended in a shawl so folded as to form a bag; and in Ethiopia they were carried in baskets, supported at the mother's back by a band passing over the forehead. A wood-cut in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* shows how mothers carried their children in Thebes.—*See* vol. II., p. 330.

§ "There is a small cichoraceous plant named *Täo* by the natives, which grows with a yellow flower in the grassy places near the river [Darling], and on the root of this chiefly the children subsist. As soon almost as they can walk, a little wooden shovel is put into their hands, and they learn thus early to pick about the ground for these roots and a few others, or dig out the larvæ of ant-hills."

. . . . . .

"The gins never carry a child in arms as our females do, but always in a skin on the back. The infant is merely seized by an arm and thrown with little care over the shoulders, when it soon finds the way to its warm berth in the skin, holding by the back of the mother's head while it slides down into it. These women usually carry, besides their children thus mounted, bags containing all things that they and the men possess; the contents consisting of nets for the hair or for catching

Mirr-n'yong, a kind of white radish bearing a yellow flower, is dug up and eaten by the children and adults in all places where it grows.

The children are made to swim in the waters of the rivers and creeks at a very early age. Both girls and boys of tender years are thrown into the water in sport, and they so soon acquire the art of swimming rapidly and well that it is only when the first experiments are made that the parents trouble themselves with them. A young girl will spring from the bank into a deep water-hole, and dive and rise again to get breath in such a way, sometimes, when she is pursued either earnestly or in sport, as to baffle even young active men. The natives swim differently from Europeans, back foremost and nearly upright, as if treading the water.*

The toy weapons which are made for the use and amusement of the children, the care that is taken in teaching the boys to throw the spear, to use the stone tomahawk, the shield, and the club; the instruction that is given them in climbing trees, using the net, and in digging for the wombat—make them even when young quite accomplished bushmen.† They are obliged to be observant of small things, which in their mode of life have a significance and a value unknown to civilized men. They are trained to follow the tracks of animals, and to recognise by the faintest indications the near presence of birds and reptiles. Botany, zoology, and topography are taught in the open air, and the

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ducks; whet-stones; yellow, white, and red ochre; pins for dressing and drying opossum skins or for net-making; small boomerangs and shovels for the children's amusement; and often many other things apparently of little use to them."—*T. L. Mitchell*, vol. I., pp. 332-3.

"The young natives of the interior usually carry a small wooden shovel, with one end of which they dig up different roots and with the other break into the large ant-hills for the larvæ, which they eat; the work necessary to obtain a mouthful even of such indifferent food being thus really more than would be sufficient for the cultivation of the earth according to the more provident arrangements of civilized men. Yet, in a land affording such meagre support, the Australian savage is not a cannibal, while the New Zealander, who inhabits a much more productive region, notoriously feasts on human flesh."—*T. L. Mitchell*, vol. II., p. 344.

* T. L. Mitchell, vol. I., p. 270.

† In Southern Africa, Mr. Baines found, amongst the Ovambos, a child's toy made of the fruit of the baobab; Dr. Livingstone says that amongst the Makololo there are games practised by the children which are mostly imitations of the serious work performed by their parents; the children of the Wanyamuezi tribe have mock hunts, and play with the bow and arrow; the children of the Shooas have skipping ropes; the New Zealand infants and youths spin tops, fly kites, throw small spears, and dive and swim; the Mincopies make small toy bows and arrows for their young, teach them to use them, and exercise them also in diving and swimming; and the Fijians have such children's games as are common in Europe, and another game very similar to one known to the Australians:—"The players have a reed about four feet in length, at one end of which is an oval piece of hard and heavy wood some six inches in length. This instrument is held between the thumb and middle finger, the end of the forefinger being applied to its extremity. With a peculiar underhand jerk the player drives it horizontally, so that it glides over the ground for a considerable distance, the player who sends the missile farthest being the winner. In order that this favorite game may be constantly played, each village has attached to it a long strip of smooth sward, which is kept sedulously trimmed, so that the missile may skim along with as little resistance as possible."—*The Natural History of Man*, by J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 283.

The Fijian children have many other games.

In Borneo the youths are proficient in games known to European children, and amongst all the savage nations there are proofs that the education of the young—with a view to the proper performance of such exercises as they conceive most conducive to profit and happiness—is not neglected by the parents.

pupils are apt. How few amongst educated Europeans could compete with these children of Nature in the arts which they have cultivated!

A correspondent, who some twenty years ago had a station near Yering, on the River Yarra, and who subsequently had much experience of the native character in the southern and western parts of Victoria, had once, he informs me, in the early days of the settlement of the colony, some opportunities of observing the methods of tuition pursued by the natives. On one occasion he saw an old woman attended by a great number of girls, who appeared to be under her care, and engaged in useful employments. The old woman gathered materials with her own hands and built for herself a miam, and then with great care, and with many words of instruction, caused each girl to build a small miam after the pattern of the large one. She showed the girls where and how to collect gum, and where to put it; she caused them to gather rushes, and, with the proper form of rounded stone in their hands, instructed them in the art of weaving the rushes into baskets; she made them pull the right kind of grasses for making other kinds of baskets and rough nets, and she showed them how the fibres were prepared, and how nets and twine were made; she took from her bag the woolly hair of an opossum, and taught them how, by twisting it under the hand over the inner smooth part of the thigh, it could be made into a kind of yarn or thread; and in many ways and on many subjects she imparted instruction. She was undoubtedly a schoolmistress—a governess; but how long she kept her pupils at work, or under what conditions they were entrusted to her care, were subjects on which my correspondent could obtain no information.

On another occasion the same gentleman saw an old man accompanied by a number of boys—some of tender years and others nearly full grown—who appeared to be receiving instruction in the several arts by which a savage gains a living in the forest. The old man, whether merely to afford the boys amusement or to teach them the proper method of throwing the spear, engaged in the following pastime. A piece of bark was cut from a tree and formed into a disc somewhat larger than a dinner-plate, and this was put into the hands of one of the elder boys. Having selected an open space of tolerably smooth sward, the game commenced. The boys were placed in a row, and each was provided with a light spear; the elder boy, who held the disc, stood at some distance in front of the row, and at a given signal he hurled the bark disc—not as a cricketer usually throws a ball, but downwards from the shoulder, and with a peculiar jerk—so as to give the disc a ricochet-like movement as it bounded rather than rolled along the grass. Each little boy in turn threw his spear. Few hit the disc, but those that struck it or came very near it were complimented by the old man and by their fellows. The attitude of the boys, their eagerness, the attention of the old man, the triumph exhibited in his countenance when better play than usual was made, and the modest demeanour of the most successful spearman, formed a picture which was very pleasing. Other exercises followed this performance, and their aged instructor seemed to delight in the work which he had taken in hand. Obedience, steadiness, fair-play, and self-command were inculcated by the practices which were witnessed.

All those who have had opportunities of observing the habits of the Aborigines in their natural state bear witness to the fact that parents are kind and indulgent to their children; and the men and women of a tribe who are not related to the infants are always forbearing and gentle in their treatment of them. They neglect them very often, however, and accidents happen to them in consequence of such neglect. The infants crawl near the camp-fires, and get burnt; they fall asleep under a tree, and get stung by insects; they labor amongst the branches of a fallen tree, and injure themselves; and they are sometimes bitten by the dogs when they endeavour to take away food from them; but deliberate cruelty is very different from neglect, which may arise, and most often does arise, from the indolence of the parents. That there are instances, occasionally, of culpable negligence should not warrant us in stating that the affection of the Australian parents for their children is less than that of the best educated amongst Europeans.*

The Australians do not as a rule attempt to alter or improve the appearance of the children by compressing the head or flattening the nose. Such practices may be followed in some parts, but in Victoria nothing is known of them. The infants are allowed to grow up as Nature intended that they should grow.

The flattening of the head and the squeezing of the nose as practised amongst the Tahitans, the distortions brought about by the cradle used by the tribes inhabiting the Columbia River, the Chinese mode of shortening and thickening the foot, and the European custom of compressing the ribs of females by a cruel framework of whalebone, are all unknown to the Australians.

In the treatment of their children generally they are undoubtedly superior in some respects to the more civilized races.

The concurrent testimony of many writers who have had abundant opportunities of observing the habits of the Aborigines leaves no room for doubt that the practice of infanticide is almost universal amongst the tribes in the savage and half-civilized state.

Mr. Charles Wilhelmi says that "if, as it but seldom occurs, children are born in a family quick, one after another, the youngest is generally destroyed in some out-of-the-way place, by some woman, accompanied, for this purpose, by the mother herself. From the excess of male adults alive, it may fairly be presumed that a by far greater number of girls than of boys are done away with in this manner. As an apology for this barbarous custom, the women plead that they cannot suckle and carry two children together. The men clear themselves of all guilt, saying that they are never present when these deeds are committed, and that, therefore, all blame rests with the women."

* That the Aborigines are affectionate is well known; but it is not well known that they are generally very judicious in the treatment of infants and young children. If clothing is necessary, the children are properly clothed; if any sort of covering is unnecessary, there is none given to them. European mothers in this colony very frequently put extraordinary garments on their children of a showy but unsubstantial sort. The legs, thighs, and neck, and often part of the chest, are left bare; the poor infants are taken in this wretched condition from a warm nursery, and made to wander at a slow pace in the depth of winter through what are called "gardens." The nurse-girls sit with them for hours in such places on the damp grass; and is it strange that we have, therefore, as common diseases, catarrh, diphtheria, &c.?

Mr. Peter Beveridge, writing of the habits of the Lower Murray Aborigines, confirms this statement. "Infanticide," he writes, "is often practised, and meals are too often made by mothers of their own offspring. This practice is attributable to laziness principally; for if a mother has two children, one two years old, and the other just born, she is sure to destroy the youngest."

Mr. W. E. Stanbridge, already well known as an accurate observer of the customs of the natives, is also compelled to speak of this unnatural practice. He describes them as cannibals of the lowest description. "New-born babes are killed by their parents, and eaten by them and their children. When such revolting occurrences take place, the previously-born child is unable to walk, and the opinion is that, by its eating as much as possible of the roasted infant, it will possess the strength of both."

The Rev. F. A. Hagenauer knows of only one case of an attempt to kill a new-born babe. It was buried alive in the sand, but was rescued by a relative. This child, now sixteen years of age, is living at Lake Wellington. Mr. Hagenauer says that it was a common practice of the Gippsland Aborigines in former days to bury new-born babes alive in the sand.

Mr. Gason, writing of the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek), says:—"The children are never beaten, and should any woman violate this law, she is in turn beaten by her husband. Notwithstanding this tenderness for their remaining offspring, about thirty per cent. are murdered by their mothers at their birth, simply for the reasons—firstly, that many of them marrying very young, their first-born is considered immature, and not worth preserving; and, secondly, because they do not wish to be at the trouble of rearing them, especially if weakly. Indeed, all sickly or deformed children are made away with, in fear of their becoming a burden to the tribe. The children so destroyed are generally smothered in sand, or have their brains dashed out by some weapon: the men never interfering, or any of either sex regarding infanticide as a crime. Hardly an old woman, if questioned, but will admit of having disposed in this manner of from two to four of her offspring."

The Rev. Geo. Taplin says that "infanticide is not prevalent amongst the Narrinyeri (Lower Murray and Lakes) at the present time. Thirteen years ago one-third of the infants which were born were put to death. Every child which was born before the one which preceded it could walk was destroyed, because the mother was regarded as incapable of carrying two. All deformed children were killed as soon as born. Of twins, one, and often both, were put to death. About one-half of the half-caste infants fell victims to the jealousy of the husbands of the mothers. Many illegitimate children—that is, children born before their mothers were given in marriage—were murdered."*

* Mr. Taplin adds to this statement the following:—"This terrible crime of infanticide is covered up and concealed from the observation of the whites with extreme care. The bush life which they lead affords every facility for so doing. I was myself for some time in ignorance that it existed to such an extent as it does. Only very intimate acquaintance with the natives led me to discover its prevalence. I remember two instances of it. In one, the mother hated the child, because she had been given in marriage to its father against her will; therefore, with the assistance of another female, she murdered it in the most brutal manner. The other was an illegitimate child of a girl called Pompanverinooritye. I was informed of the birth, and got the nearest relatives to

"Should a child be born," says Grey, "with any natural deformity, it is frequently killed by its parents soon afterwards. In the only instances of this kind which have come within my own knowledge, the child has been drowned."

On the evidence of Protectors and others, collected by a Colonial Magistrate, it is stated that children are often held over a fire by the mother, and stifled; that children dying a natural death are immediately eaten; and that in one case a mother and her children were discovered enjoying, as a sweet repast, one of the same family.*

Mr. Westgarth considers that the practice of infanticide is well authenticated.†

It is not necessary to inform the reader that infanticide is a crime which is not restricted to the Aborigines of Australia. In other countries where there are savage peoples the infants are killed and eaten. Whether this revolting practice has its origin in the superstitious belief that the elder child will be stronger and braver if fed upon the roasted flesh of the infant, or whether it is in some cases forced upon the parents by the want of animal food, or is simply a means of getting rid of an encumbrance, which to retain would embarrass the tribe and retard its movements, cannot be ascertained. On such subjects the Aborigines are usually reticent, or, if obliged to speak, do not always tell the truth. All the motives may, in some cases, operate in deciding the fate of a new-born child.

Is it possible that this custom is only common where the tribes have been brought into contact with the whites? Is it the half-castes only that are destroyed? One would willingly believe that it was only when demoralized by intercourse with the lower classes of whites that this crime was committed; but the facts I have cited, and the proportions of the sexes amongst the tribes in the interior, would seem to show that it is not due to intermixture with the Europeans, but is and has always been a recognised and approved custom. Though no less revolting because a custom, it ceases to be a crime if we make the members of the tribes themselves the judges.

It is not a rite—it is not a sacrifice. It is most probably a means of limiting the population: and, if this be the explanation, who can say that the murder of infants under peculiar conditions may not result in averting great calamities, and indeed be the prevention of other even more horrible offences?‡ Australia, as will be clearly shown in this work, is divided into districts beyond which members of tribes may not, except under certain circumstances, travel; a tribe

promise that the child's life should be spared. But an old savage named Katyirene, a relative of the reputed father, was offended at this forbearance; so he set the wurley on fire in which the mother and infant were lying, and very nearly accomplished the destruction of both. I soon after found that the child was suffering and pining from some internal injury, and in about forty-eight hours it died. I have no doubt that foul play was the cause of its death, for it was a fine healthy child when it was newly born."—*The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, 1874.

* *Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, 1846, p. 19.

† *A Report on the Condition, Capabilities, and Prospects of the Australian Aborigines*, by W. Westgarth, 1846.

‡ "Then, again, their customs with respect to marriage probably originated in a strong necessity for repressing the numbers of the population. History teaches that in countries where polygamy is encouraged population seldom increases. The Australian Aborigines not only practised polygamy, and surrounded marriage with all possible difficulties, but their customs were such as were calculated

cannot demand nor purchase food from a neighbouring tribe; the men cannot cultivate the soil; and the soil of their territory can maintain but a certain number of human beings; and if a rule has been established in consonance with a law of Nature, are we right in rashly and rudely condemning as criminals those who practise obedience to the obligations which the rule enforces? Surely enough is known of the many crimes which our own social laws render inevitable to cause us to regard even infanticide amongst this people rather in the light of a custom which they are compelled to observe than as a crime—a crime which amongst civilized nations is justly considered heinous. No one would attempt to extenuate the practice—the Aborigines themselves are ashamed of it—but it is surely right to tell the truth about it.

It is only after they have been taught the truths of religion, and made acquainted with the solemn obligations which rest on the parents, and when they are provided with necessary food, that we can visit on them punishments for such offences.*

Ignorant persons might regard what has been stated by authors respecting the customs of the natives of Australia as an apology for infanticide. They have, however, but made known the facts, and their statements are in themselves only a defence of the Aborigines against the injustice of imputing to them as a crime a practice perhaps necessary to their existence. Infanticide—the whites affect to believe—is a monstrous thing amongst savage and barbarous nations; but every newspaper one reads gives accounts of cases of infanticide, as practised by our own people, far more horrible than any known to the Australians or

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to render the offspring of those who were married as few as possible. When a female infant was born, if her life was preserved (which was very frequently not the case, for infanticide was general), she was promised as a wife to one of the men of the tribe—very often to an old man who was already the possessor of two or three gins. Most of the young and many of the middle-aged men were consequently doomed to remain bachelors, unless they could steal or otherwise procure a wife from another tribe, a thing which was generally an exceedingly difficult matter to accomplish, seeing that unmarried females were almost equally scarce in all the tribes. Either a desire to avoid the charge of too numerous a progeny, or the impossibility of procuring a supply of food suitable for very young children, or perhaps both these causes combined, prolonged the time during which Aboriginal mothers suckled their children to the unusual period of three, four, and sometimes even five years. Other children were often born during this period—for gestation did not in their case interfere with lactation—but these were almost invariably sacrificed. Custom in this case appears to have sanctioned what necessity demanded. The natural food which the mother could provide was barely enough for the unweaned child already dependent upon it, and there was no artificial means of supplementing it so as to render it sufficient for two."—*The History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, by Samuel Bennett, pp. 253–4.

* When twins are born, the Kaffirs destroy one of the children, because they believe the parents would not be prosperous if the two were allowed to live; the Apingi believe that the mother would die if one of the twins was not murdered; in New Zealand, sickly and deformed children are killed; the natives of Savage Island formerly destroyed all illegitimate children; and the Khonds of India, under the guidance of their priests, mercilessly slay children—male and female—if the omens be unpropitious.

The cruel practices of many tribes in Africa, the atrocities perpetrated by the inhabitants of Polynesia, and the still more dreadful human sacrifices of the priest-ridden peoples of India, have no parallels in Australia. Parenticide, the wholesale murder of wives or young girls when a head-man or chief dies, the offering of innocent children to heathen gods, or neglect of the aged, cannot be imputed to the Australian savage. The Australians are children—erring children—but they err because of ignorance or from necessity. They are not naturally cruel to their offspring.

Polynesians. Baby farming, the strangling of infants, the cruel destruction by mothers of their progeny by hiding them under fences, by laying them on cold door-steps, or throwing them into pits, are practices employed by those who enjoy the results of many centuries of civilization. At the moment I write the daily press is teeming with accounts of awful crimes of this description; and it is painful to read the leading articles in which the crime of infanticide is discussed. The white mother kills her infant in the vain hope of preserving her social position—high or low—of concealing the error or crime which preceded the birth; the black woman simply, I believe, because she is not capable of supporting her offspring, or in order to render impossible an increase of population which the food-resources of the tribe would be unable to meet. Amongst the whites this awful crime is often committed in obedience to laws made by man—amongst the natives of Australia the practice is followed in obedience to laws which necessity compels them to keep.*

Naming Children.

The first name given to a child is dependent on some accident at its birth—on the sudden appearance of a kangaroo or other animal, on the birth taking place at a well-marked locality, or under a tree of a particular species.† And it is named also from any peculiarities that it may present.

The late Mr. Thomas says that one man in the Melbourne district was named *Ber-uke* (kangaroo-rat), in consequence of a kangaroo-rat running through the miam at his birth. *Poleeorong* (cherry-tree) was so called because he was born under the shelter of a native cherry-tree. *Weing-parn* (fire and water) was so denominated in consequence of the miam catching fire and the fire being put out by water at the time of his birth. *Wonga*, the head-man of the Yarra tribe, was born at *Wonga* (Arthur's Seat), and thus has the name.

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*A thousand cases of infanticide, recorded in the newspapers here and in European countries, far more disgusting in the details than any known to have disgraced the Aborigines of Australia, could be cited.

The author of *Sybil* tells us that "Infanticide is practised as extensively and as legally in England as it is on the banks of the Ganges."

† "One remarkable custom prevalent equally amongst the most ancient nations of whom any records are preserved, and the modern Australians, is that of naming children from some circumstance connected with their birth or early infancy. Thus in *Genesis*, ch. xxx., ver. 11.—'And Leah said, A troop cometh, and she called his name Gad;' &c., &c., &c.

"Burckhardt observed the same custom among the Bedouins, and says, 'A name is given to the infant immediately on his birth; the name is derived from some trifling accident, or from some object which had struck the fancy of the mother or any of the women present at the child's birth.'"—*North-West and Western Australia*, by George Grey, vol. II., p. 343.

The child of a Kaffir is sometimes called by the name of the day on which it is born. If a wild beast, such as a lion or a jackal, were heard to roar at the time the child was born, the circumstance would be accepted as an omen, and the child called by the name of the beast or by a word which represents its cry.

"Mr. Shooter mentions some rather curious examples of these names. If the animal which was heard at the time of the child's birth were the hyena, which is called *impisi* by the natives, the name of the child might be either U'mpisi or U-hu-hu, the second being an imitative sound representing the laugh-like cry of the hyena. . . . The name of Panda, the king of the Zulu tribes, is in reality U-mpande, a name derived from *impande*, a kind of root."—*The Natural History of Man*, by J. G. Wood, vol. I., p. 88.

The Kaffir, like the Australian, has a strong objection to tell his real name to strangers.

In the Western district natives get their names in the same way. One, *Tahchet Mahrung*, from the pine-tree (*Mahrung*); another *Yarette* or *Jurh* (the Mallee-tree); and a third *Wunganvette*, like the name of a place on Pine Plains. A boy was named *Brairnunnin* (to cut or pierce as with a spear), and a girl *Nepurnin* (to bury or hide).

Mr. Stanbridge says it was the custom to give names of natural objects to both males and females.

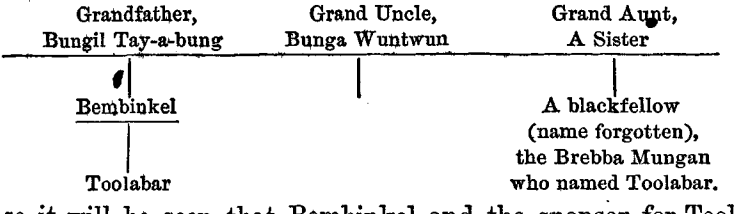
Elsewhere such a name as *Colabatyin* (turkey), or *Bullthinna* (sheep), or *Bonyea* (a part of the body) was given to a male.

Sometimes they have nick-names, as *Yanguia* (left-handed), *Murra Muthi* (bad-handed), or *Kato wirto* (little man).

The Rev. Mr. Taplin, writing of the Narrinyeri, says that it is unlucky to name a child until it can walk, and that the name is generally significant of the place of birth. One born at a place called *Rilge* was called *Rilgewal.* But the name thus given is not permanent. Other names are taken subsequently—as, for instance, on arriving at manhood; and if the name chosen happen to be one similar to that of a member of the tribe who dies, it is again changed. And he says, "It is also very common for a mother or father to bear the name of a child. This is effected by adding the termination *arni* for father, or *annike* for mother, to the name of the child. For instance, *Koolmatinye arni* is the father of *Koolmatinyeri*, and *Koolmatinye annike* is the mother of *Koolmatinyeri.*"

Mr. Howitt gives an account, as related by Toolabar, a well-known native, of the manner of naming children in Gippsland :—

"A child is not named until it is about three years old. Till then it is called 'Leet' or 'Tally Leet' or Quenjung—child or girl (or sister). Billy says he should say—(pointing to my little girl, aged three)—'Come here' 'Leet bittel,' *i.e.*, 'my child.' When a child is about three or upwards the friends may think it well to name it, or the father may think so. Some name is given it which has belonged to a deceased relative. The father, for instance, asks his murnmung or 'Barbuck'—or 'Waintwin' or 'Waintjin,' 'Cookum' or 'Nallung' —for a name. Toolabar says that in a year or two he will give the name of his brother Barney to Kangaroo Jack. Barney died about ten years ago. Kangaroo Jack's father was the brother of Billy Toolabar's present wife Mary—therefore he is considered 'Billy's wife's brother.' Toolabar was named in the way I have stated by his mother after his 'Brebba Mungan,' who was killed by the Brar-jer-ack blacks (Maneroo) many years before. This relationship stands thus :—



In this case it will be seen that Bembinkel and the sponsor for Toolabar are considered 'brothers,' therefore he is Toolabar's 'Mungan,' or father. Billy

then tells me that he was called 'Burrumbulk' (the teal), who he says was a 'Barbuck' (mother's brother), also killed long ago by Brar-jer-acks. (This looks like a confusion of the same persons. He is not very clear about it.) When he was made a 'young man,' he was called Toolabar by his 'Barbuck,' Bungil Laen-buke. The former Toolabar was also a 'Barbuck' of Billy Toolabar, or, rather, a 'Brebba Barbuck,' *i.e.*, probably his mother's cousin, or the wife of his father's sister's husband. It was this wise. Billy had been out from the camp for some time, and the elders had said among themselves, 'It is time that Burrumbulk' (his then name) 'had a name.' Bungil Laen-buke called him 'Toolabar.' When he returned some one called out (I think Bungil Laen-buke), 'Here, Toolabar!' Burrumbulk took no notice of it. He was called again. At last he said, 'What are you calling Toolabar?' 'Oh, that is your name.' 'My name! All right.' Thus he was named. He was caught, as a young lad (I don't know if before or after the naming 'Toolabar'), by the Macleods of Buchan, and thus got his name 'Billy Macleod.' He has been also nick-named 'Tarn-jill,' the Jabberer—incessant talker. He may, as he gets older, be called some other name. I told him to-day he should be called 'Bungil Eune,' or 'Bungil Yangoura,' *i.e.*, Mr. Stringybark, as his occupation each winter is stripping bark. He said, 'By-and-by might get name.' The prefix to the names of '*Bungil*,' Billy says, may be translated 'Mr.'; at any rate he can give no other meaning. It is only borne by the old men. There are no ceremonies about giving names. At present the customs are much relaxed. This autumn, at hop-picking, a number of blacks were here, and one gin had a baby. All hands had a word in the name which was given it when a week old. But it was to be a whitefellow name, Edward. The following are some of the names :—

Bungil Bár-le-járu	Platypus.
Bungil Támboon	Gippsland perch.
Bungil Láen-büke	Lake Bunga, near entrance to Lakes.
Bungil Woor-een	The sun.
Bungil Bal-look	Blue-gum.
Bungil Tay-a-bun	A sooty water-hen on the Lakes; a coot.
Bungil Wréggal-luck	From *wreggil*, long, thin, straggling, and *gallagh*, a tree.
Bungil Brám-ar-rung	Newland's Backwater, on the Lakes.
Bungil Dów-ung-un	The crooked elbow of a big tree, from which bark for a canoe can be stripped.
Bungil Baru	The wild dog.
Bungil Neer-wun	A mosquito.
Bungil Gnar-rung	A maggot.
Bungil Bottle	A name given lately to a drunken blackfellow.

Among the above the names will mostly explain themselves. The first one, Bungil Bar-le-jaru, 'Mr. Platypus,' used to spear many of those creatures. Bungil Laen-buke frequented Lake Bunga. Bungil Dow-ung-un, because he made his canoes from the elbows of trees; and Bungil Bottle, 'Mr. Bottle,' in derision of the bearer's drunken habits. Old Mr. Burgess, who looked after the

hop grounds at Coranderrk, is known to the blacks as 'Bungil Hop.' Toolabar named him, and he has no other name with the Aborigines. Other names are :—

Windi-gaerwut	- -	A creek.
Wórk-wúckanby	- -	Wonga pigeon.
Woorail by	- - -	Lyrebird } Borne by one person.
Broo-urn by	- - -	Pelican }
Torngatty (a woman)	-	Heavy body. (I have softened the translation of this name.)

Many of the names have now no meaning, having been handed down perhaps for centuries; though I have little doubt they all originally referred to some person's peculiarities, or some circumstance attending the birth of the child or its after-life. Of women's names I may add—Bé-al-mar-ung, Ból-gan, of which I do not know the meaning. Toolabar would not tell me his first wife's name, he said 'Annie' (his daughter) 'would not like it;' nor would he tell me his present wife's name. They seem to have no scruple about their European names; and I now notice that I only know the above native female names. The male names I have given, and others I cannot at the moment recall."

Coming of Age of Young Men and Young Women.

Special enquiries have been made with much care respecting the ceremonies practised by the natives of Victoria when a young man or a young woman, having arrived at maturity, is admitted to the privileges enjoyed by those of mature age. The subject is beset with difficulties. The rites are always performed in secret; and in their savage state any native who would venture to relate the occurrences attendant on the initiation of a young man to these solemn mysteries would probably forfeit his life. Some amongst the Aborigines, however, well acquainted with all such practices, have separated from their tribes and are living with the whites; and some tribes that have not yet relinquished any of their customs are so far tamed as to admit a white friend occasionally to the secret meetings at which their more awful ceremonies are performed; and therefore, as will be seen from the statements here given, much has been gathered relative to these strange practices.

From my correspondents a great deal of valuable information has been received.

Mr. Thomas has described the rites known as *Tib-but* and *Mur-rum Tur-uk-ur-uk*. From Mr. Howitt I have received an account of the ceremony known as *Jerryale*, "the making of young men;" the Rev. George Taplin and Mr. Wilhelmi relate, in their published papers, what has been ascertained respecting similar ceremonies in South Australia; and I have also gathered from several works what I could in reference to initiation. *

* Some of the tribes in Africa practise customs, on the coming of age of young persons, which very much resemble those observed in various parts of Australia.

Mr. W. Winwood Reade says :—"Before they are permitted to wear clothes, marry, and rank in society as men and women, the young have to be initiated into certain mysteries. I received some information upon this head from Mongilomba, after he had made me promise that I would not put it into my book: a promise which I am compelled to break by the stern duties of my vocation. He told me that he was taken into a fetich-house, stripped, severely flogged, and plastered with

Nothing, I believe, is known of the origin of the rites here described; they have been practised, undoubtedly, during a period incalculable; but, it may be conjectured, they were made a part of the laws of this people, for the purpose of separating clearly those classes, inferior because of their youth and status, from those to whom belonged the right to take part in battles, to choose wives, to indulge in certain luxuries, and to exercise, with restrictions prescribed by the form of tribal government, power and authority. Without some such mode of denoting the classes to which privileges belonged, there would have been confusion and constant quarrels.

It is not certain that the rites known as *Mur-rum Tur-uk-ur-uk*, or any rites on a girl attaining maturity, were generally observed throughout Australia; but it is at least probable that in all parts some sign was given when a female arrived at a marriageable age; otherwise there would have been amongst all the tribes a possibility of the frequent occurrence of crimes similar to those which disgrace the whites; and in the absence of any means of denoting those who had arrived at maturity, there would have been a difficulty in bringing an offender to punishment. No account of any crime of this class has come to my knowledge as having occurred amongst natives living in their natural wild

goat dung; this ceremony, like those of masonry, being conducted to the sound of music. Afterwards there came from behind a kind of screen or shrine, uncouth and terrible sounds, such as he had never heard before. These, he was told, emanated from a spirit called *Ukuk*. He afterwards brought to me the instruments with which the fetich-man makes this noise. It is a kind of whistle made of hollowed mangrove wood, about two inches in length, and covered at one end with a scrap of bat's wing. For a period of five days after initiation the novice wears an apron of dry palm-leaves, which I have frequently seen.

"The initiation of the girls is performed by elderly females, who call themselves *Ngembi*. They go into the forest, clear a space, sweep the ground carefully, come back to the town and build a sacred hut, which no male may enter. They return to the clearing in the forest, taking with them the *Igonji*, or novice. It is necessary that she should have never been to that place before, and that she fast during the whole of the ceremony, which lasts three days. All this time a fire is kept burning in the wood. From morning to night, and from night to morning, a *Ngembi* sits beside it and feeds it, singing with a cracked voice, '*The fire will never die out!*' The third night is passed in the sacred hut; the *Igonji* is rubbed with black, red, and white paints, and as the men beat drums outside, she cries '*Okanda, yo! yo! yo!*' which reminds one of the *Evohe!* of the ancient Bacchantes. The ceremonies which are performed in the hut and in the wood are kept secret from the men, and I can say but little of them. Mongilomba had evidently been playing the spy, but was very reserved on the subject. Should it be known, he said, that he had told me what he had, the women would drag him into a fetich-house and would flog him perhaps till he was dead. It is pretty certain, however, that these rites, like those of the Bona Dea, are essentially of a Phallic nature; for Mongilomba once confessed that, having peeped through the chinks of the hut, he saw a ceremony like that which is described in Petronius Arbiter. . . . . .

"During the novitiate which precedes initiation, the girls are taught religious dances; the men are instructed in the science of fetich. It is then that they are told that there are certain kinds of food which are forbidden to their clan. One clan may not eat crocodile, nor another hippopotamus, nor a third buffalo. These are relics of the old animal worship. The spirit *Ukuk* (or Mwetyi, as he is called in the Skekani country) is supposed to live in the bowels of the earth, and to come to the upper world when there is any business to perform."—*Savage Africa*, pp. 245-8.

"On reaching puberty, young women, on a given occasion, are placed in the sort of gallery already described as in every house, and are there surrounded completely with mats, so that neither the sun nor any fire can be seen. In this cage they remain for several days. Water is given to them, but no food. . . . . A girl is disgraced for life if it is known that she has seen fire or the sun during this initiatory ordeal."—*Scenes and Studie*

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat.

state; and in view of the severe punishments inflicted when a girl of marriageable age was abducted, we may conclude that any attempt to violate a child would have been regarded as a crime worthy of death.

The rite of circumcision is practised only by a part of the inhabitants of Australia, probably only in the central, western, and northern areas; but that the custom may have been known and observed even as far south as the River Murray, where it forms the boundary of Victoria, is possible. This custom and others of a like character are common amongst the tribes living within the drainage area of the great river whose sources are as far north as 24° S. latitude.

Tib-but.

When a boy in Victoria attained the age of fourteen or fifteen years he had to submit himself to his elders, and to take part in a ceremony preparatory to his being admitted to the privileges of manhood. His coming of age was not a pleasant event in his life. During the celebration of the rites the youth suffered severely, and he had sympathy from none. *Tib-but* is the name applied in Victoria to the extraordinary practices of the natives when a youth was to be made a man.

A married man of influence and power in the tribe performs the rites. When the youth has been led to a suitable place, safe from intrusion, his hair—all but a narrow strip about a quarter of an inch in breadth, extending from the nape of the neck to the forehead—is cut off with sharp chips of quartzite, and the head made quite smooth by such kind of shaving as can be done by sharp chips. The head is then daubed with clay, and the narrow ridge of hair rising rebelliously in the middle gives the novice an appearance that is far from pleasing. Indeed, when this part of the ceremony is finished, his aspect is hideous. To complete the picture, he is immediately invested with a garment formed of strips of opossum skins, strings of opossum fur, and the like, which serves to cover his middle only, and his body is daubed with clay, mud, charcoal-powder, and filth of every kind. Though this ceremony is generally performed in the winter season, when the weather is very cold, the youth is not permitted to cover himself with a rug. He carries a basket under his arm, containing moist clay, charcoal-powder, and filth. In this state he wanders through the encampment day and night, calling out in a loud voice, "*Tib-bo-bo-bo-but!*" He gathers filth as he goes, and places it in the basket. No one speaks to him—no one molests him; all seem to fear him. When he sees any one come out of a miam he casts filth at him; but he may not intrude himself into any miam, nor dare he cast filth at a woman who goes to fetch water. He, however, gives annoyance, and throws filth when he can, and all the women and children—and even the men—are afraid of him when he crosses their path. The women and children scream when they see him, and rush to their miams for shelter. The warning voice must, however, be constantly heard, or the rite would be incomplete and the proprieties would be violated.

After the lapse of some days—the length of the period of probation depending on circumstances understood only by the elders—and when his hair has begun to show through the covering of clay, or at least to have grown a little,

he is given over to the women, who wash him, paint his face with black lines (the pigment being powdered charcoal mingled with *wee-rup*), and dance before him. He is now a man, and can go to any neighbouring tribe and steal a young girl, and make her his wife.

The rites above described were witnessed by the late Mr. Thomas, and were practised, I believe, only by the Coast tribes. In other parts of the colony the ceremony on initiation was different.

A youth on arriving at manhood was conducted by three of the leaders of the tribe into the recesses of the woods, where he remained two days and one night. Being furnished with a suitable piece of wood, he knocked out two of the teeth of his upper front jaw, and on returning to the camp he gave the teeth to his mother. The youth again retired to the forest, and remained absent two nights and one day; and his mother during his absence selected a young gum-tree, and inserted in the bark of it in the fork of two of the topmost branches the teeth which had been knocked out. This tree ever afterwards was in some sense held sacred. It was made known only to certain persons of the tribe, and the youth himself was never permitted to learn where his teeth had been placed. If the youth died, the foot of the tree was stripped of its bark, and it was killed by making a fire about it, so that it might remain stricken and sere, as a monument of the deceased.*

Mur-rum Tur-uk-ur-uk.

The ceremonies called Mur-rum Tur-uk-ur-uk are performed when a girl attains the age of twelve or thirteen years. At a distance of one hundred yards from the main encampment two large fires are made of bark only, not a piece of stick nor a twig being used for the purpose of even kindling them. Each fire is made and maintained by an old woman, who sits by it in silence. The girl is brought out of the miam by her female friends, and is rubbed all over with charcoal-powder (kun-nun-der), and spotted also with white clay; the effect of which is neither ludicrous nor solemn, but rather calculated to excite surprise, even amongst those who are accustomed to see the Aborigines in their several disguises. As soon as the painting is finished, she is made to stand on a log, and a small branch, stripped of every leaf and bud, is placed in her right hand, having on the tip of each bare twig a very small piece of some farinaceous food. Young men, perhaps to the number of twenty, slowly approach her one by one; each throws a small bare stick at her, and bites off the food from the tip of one of the twigs, and spits it into the fire, and, returning from the fire, stamps, leaps, and raves, as in a corrobboree. As soon as each of the young men has performed this ceremony, the old women who have been attending to the fires approach the girl, and gather carefully every twig and stick that has been thrown at her, and, making a hole, bury them deeply in the ground. They are careful not to leave a single stick: each must be gathered and buried. This is done to prevent the sorcerers from taking away the girl's kidney-fat (marm-bu-la). When the twigs and sticks have become rotten, the girl is safe from the attacks of sorcerers and evil spirits. When the twigs are buried, and the

* Wm. Blandowski, Esq. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria*, vol. i., p. 72.

hole filled, the bough held by the girl is solemnly demanded of her by the two old women, who burn it in the fires, which are then raked together and made one. The mother, or nearest female relative, at this stage removes the girl from her position on the log, and leads her to her father's miam. At night a corrobboree is held; the father of the girl leads the dance, and the young men who took part in the day's ceremony form the first corrobboree. In the second all the young men join. At intervals a young woman, having on the emu apron (tilburnin), dances alone. The young men who threw the twigs and bit off the food are understood to have covenanted with her not to assault her, and, further, to protect her until she shall be given away lawfully to her betrothed: but the agreement extends no further; she may entertain any of them of her own free will as a lover.

NARRA-MANG.

One of my correspondents gives this account of the ceremonies practised on the "making of young men":—*Narra-mang*—the name given to a custom of the blacks of the Murrumbidgee, Murray, Ovens, and Goulburn tribes—consists essentially in the knocking out of two of the incisor teeth of the upper-jaw. It may perhaps be regarded as a religious ceremony, in the performance of which many mystic rites are observed—rites that no white man is permitted to witness unless he be one who has the confidence and regard of the old men. The operation is performed at the age of puberty, and the teeth of the males only are knocked out. When a lad has to be initiated, he is removed to some remote and secluded spot, and when it is night, the coradjes (priests and doctors), painted and decorated with feathers, &c., begin their operations. A ring is marked out, and in this the youths are placed, one at a time; incantations are uttered by the priests; and, finally, one of them, holding in one hand a piece of wood shaped like a punch, and in the other a tomahawk, approaches the youth and knocks out two teeth. When this has been done, the young man is placed in a gunyah, formed of boughs, so closely interwoven as to be nearly impervious to light, and then the wild songs of the women are heard, who approach and walk round the gunyah, each holding in her hand a lighted brand.

For the space of one moon the youths are prohibited from seeing any one except the coradjes. If they are seen by a female, they will surely die. When this ordeal is passed, and not before, they are permitted to eat of the flesh of the *My-ioa* (black swan), and that of the *Joh-gah* (musk-duck), and they may then also eat of the emu.

Some of the chants are of this kind:—

Therr-an-jee-gar jabery-mah Johans Joh-gah—&c.

'Tis now that you are sick,
But soon will grow your beard,
And on the magic musk-duck
With the men you shall feed.

JERRYALE, ETC.

Mr. A. W. Howitt, of Bairnsdale, in Gippsland, has sent me the following account of the ceremony known as *Jerryale*:—

"A youth of twelve or fifteen, or a man of any age, may be made '*Jerryale*,' that is, as expressed by the blacks themselves in their broken English, 'made a

young man.' The whole ceremony appears to be typical of the severance of the boy from his mother's influence and control, and also possibly of his future married state. There seems to be no fixed time upon which the ceremony of *Jerryale* takes place, but it is fixed upon by the elders of the tribe or of several tribes in concert; for instance, the *Jerryale* at which my informant was made 'young man' was attended by the blacks from Lake Tyers to the Tarra in South Gippsland. The proceedings, as told me, are as follows:—All the youths, candidates for *Jerryale*, sit down on the ground at a distance of thirty to forty yards from the camp. The women, that is the married women, sit down at the camp and beat rugs folded up. The youths are called *Jerryale*, and I shall speak of them by that term. The *Jerryale* sit down in a row, and immediately behind each *Jerryale* sits a young girl called *Growun*. The *Growuns* are appointed by the elders, and, I am informed, are only 'mate-partner to help the *Jerryale*,' and not in any way as a wife—as it is also expressed, 'something like it sister or cousin;' the *Jerryale* sits cross-legged with his arms folded on his breast, and the *Growun* sits behind him, close to him, in a like attitude. When there are more *Jerryale* than *Growun*, one of the latter sits half-way between two of the former. Thus—J for *Jerryale*, G for *Growun*:—

(G) (G) (G) (G)
(J) (J) (J) (J) (J)

At this time the men are arranged at a little distance in a row fronting the *Jerryale*. At a signal, they run forward and halt just in front of them. They beat up the soil or sand in front of the *Jerryale* with sticks, shouting '*Ai-ee-ee-ee-ei;*' at each cry they strike the ground so as to make soil fly up towards the *Jerryale*. These say nothing, but slowly incline the head—the arms being folded first on the left breast, then on the right. The *Growun* exactly imitate the gestures of the *Jerryale*. The men have a stalk of grass thrust through the perforation in the cartilage of the nose instead of the bone *goombert*. They are also rubbed round the eyes with charcoal-dust. This ceremony is performed every evening, from about four o'clock to ten o'clock, for two weeks; and it is moreover done at different places, thus progressing through the tribes from one limit of the district to the other. In addition to the cry of '*Ai-ee-ee*,' the words '*Bu-ee-bu-ee-bu-ee*' are also used, but no explanation can be given of these terms. During the fortnight that this ceremony continues, the mothers of the youths go down to the young men's camps (called *Brew-it*), which are apart from the main camp, and beat upon folded 'possum rugs there—their sons the meanwhile sitting silent in front of them in the manner above described. The mothers go from camp to camp in this way. The ceremonies now change; the *Jerryale* stand in a row at the camp, naked; behind them all the gins stand naked, except an apron of emu feathers round their waists, and cords made of stringybark round their heads; they hold upright in front of them their yam-sticks with boughs tied on the end. The men come up with bundles of wood-splinters a foot long in each hand, singing '*oo-oo-oo-oo-yay-yay-yay-yay*,' &c., &c. When they come near, they, while chanting '*oo-yay*,' throw the splinters one by one to the gins, who gather them up, and beat the bundles on

each other in time, singing also '*oo-oo-oo-yay-yay-yay.*' Then the men come forward. Each *Jerryale* has a blackfellow to take charge of him, a kind of sponsor, called *Bullera-wreng.* Two of the *Bullera-wreng* take hold of the *Jerryale,* one by one, by the ankles, and launch him up in the air as high as they can, calling out at the same time "*nurt.*"* The *Jerryale* holds his arms, palms forward, straight up above his head. They then lie down upon a couch of green boughs, side by side, each one attended by his sponsor. These *Bullera-wreng* watch them, and if they are compelled from any cause to leave the place, attend them, covering the heads of the *Jerryale* with a rug, and surrounding him so that his mother may not catch a glimpse of him. The *Bullera-wreng* watch all night by the *Jerryale,* who has to lie extended on these boughs for two, three, or four days. All this time the *Bullera-wreng* and the mothers are chanting *yay-yay-yay-oo-oo-oo,* &c., &c.† On concluding this, the old gins sing *djeet-gun-djeet-gun-djeet-gun-eering-eering-eering,* beating the ground with bundles of small saplings. *Djeet-gun* is the superb warbler; the *eering* the *emu wren;* the former is called the 'gins' sister,' the latter the 'blackfellows' brother.' The *Bullera-wreng* paint the faces of the *Jerryale* with pipeclay or *murloo,* so as to resemble the duck *nurt, i.e.,* with a white circle round each eye, and a white band across the cheek-bones or eyebrows. The *Jerryale* stand together; the *Bullera-wreng* a little way in front of them. Then the latter cry out *nurra,* or ready, shaking boughs and vibrating their legs. The *Jerryale* run off to them, who catch them by the arms, then let them pass, and they run off into the bush; as my informant said, 'my mother see me no more.' After a month spent in the forest, the *Jerryale* one day kill two kangaroos and leave some of the meat on the top of a log. They then go down to the camp of the tribe a little before noon. The *Growun* is on the look-out for her *Jerryale,* and holds out to him a fish, *too-rook,* which he takes in his hand, throws down, and runs off about a hundred yards. His mother is standing near. The *Bullera-wreng* picks up the fish and follows the *Jerryale,* who eats it. In the afternoon, all the *Jerryale* go to where the kangaroo meat was left, the men of the tribe forming a circle round. These, when they see the kangaroo meat on the log, cry out *Wa-a-a-ow,* this being the cry with which they drive that game in hunting. The *Jerryale* go up with their 'possum cloaks over their heads, and eat the kangaroo flesh; all the men look on, and, after a little, join in the feast. This is about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and ends the ceremony of *Jerryale.*"

Mr. John Green, of Coranderrk, Upper Yarra, says respecting the initiation of boys and girls:—

"1st. When a boy was about thirteen years old, he was taken away by the old men of the tribe a considerable distance from the camp, where they made a mi-mi, and remained for about one month, during which time the boy was instructed in all the legends of the tribe. At the end of that time several of the men took hold of the boy, and held him until two others knocked out one of his front teeth; this was done by first loosing the flesh from round the tooth

* *Nurt* is the name of a kind of duck. † This resembles the chant for the dead.

with a piece of sharp bone, then one knocked it out with a piece of wood, used as a punch. He had now to cover his nakedness with pieces of opossum skins; he then returned to the general camp, and was known as a *Wang-goom.* 2nd. When about eighteen, he was again taken to some distance from the camp by the old men; this time he was painted as a warrior; about sunrise one of the old men struck him, and told him to take off the covering of skin, that he was now a *Geebowak.* He had now no longer to hide his nakedness, and might take a wife at any time. He had now to go and find something to take to the general camp for them to eat, and on his approach to the camp all who were there ran and hid themselves, because they were ashamed to look upon him naked; he then found them all, and gave them something to eat, and then they were no more ashamed."

The initiation of girls into womanhood was as follows:—"When a girl came to puberty, she was taken away some distance from the general mi-mi by some of the old women. They then tied cords round several parts of her body, very tight. These cords were left there for several days, which made the whole of the body to swell very much, and caused great pain. She was not to remove them until she was clean. When clean, she got the cords off, and got a covering to her nakedness of emu feathers, and then returned to the general mi-mi, and was now a *Ngarrindarakook*—that is, marriageable, and might be married at any time when her friends thought fit."

Mr. Green mentions also that at certain periods a woman has to leave the general camp, and must not walk anywhere that a man walks, nor cross any water, nor touch any timber, or anything that a man has to touch, and before returning to the camp must wash her whole body in water.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, says that a young man is not received amongst the men of the tribe or admitted to the privileges of manhood until certain forms are observed. The forms are different in different tribes. Some of the Murray tribes have a custom of knocking out the front tooth—others again pluck the hair or down from the young man's chin. Pain is inflicted in order that the valour and constancy of the youth may be manifested. Other things are done which cannot be written down. The Gippsland blacks usually preserve silence on this subject, evidently thinking that the less said to a white man as regards this custom the better.

Amongst the Narrinyeri, the ceremonies, according to the observations of the Rev. Mr. Taplin, are as follows:—

"When the beard of a youth has grown a sufficient length, he is made *Narumbe, Kaingani,* or young man. In order that this ceremony may be properly performed, and the youth admitted as an equal among the men of the Narrinyeri, it is necessary that members of several different tribes should be present on the occasion. A single tribe cannot make its own youths *Narumbe* without the assistance of other tribes. This prevents any tribe from increasing its number of men by admitting those who have not yet arrived at the proper age, and thus prevents them from making a claim for a greater number of women than their proper share—an important consideration where every tribe has to obtain wives from those which are adjacent—as they never intermarry in

their own tribe, all the members of which are regarded as of the same family. Generally, two youths are made *Kainganis* at the same time, so that they may afterwards, during the time that they are *Narumbe*, assist each other. They are seized at night suddenly by the men, and carried off by force to a spot at some little distance from the wurley, the women all the time resisting or pretending to resist the seizure by pulling at the captives, and throwing fire-brands at their captors. But they are soon driven off to their wurley, and compelled to stop there, while the men proceed to strip the two youths. Their matted hair is combed or rather torn out with the point of a spear, and their moustaches and a great part of their beards plucked up by the roots. They are then besmeared from the crown of their heads to their feet with a mixture of oil and red-ochre. For three days and three nights the newly-made *Kainganis* must neither eat nor sleep, a strict watch being kept over them to prevent either. They are allowed to drink water, but only by sucking it up through a reed; the luxury of a drinking vessel is denied to them for several months. And when, after the three days, the refreshment of sleep is permitted, they are not allowed a pillow—a couple of sticks stuck in the ground cross-wise are all that they must rest their heads on. For six months they are obliged to walk naked, or with merely the slightest covering round their loins. The condition of *Narumbe* lasts until their beards have been pulled out three times, and each time have grown again to about the length of two inches, and during all that period they are forbidden to eat any food which belongs to women, and also from partaking of twenty different kinds of game. If they eat any of these forbidden things, it is thought they will grow ugly. . . . . Everything which they possess or obtain becomes *Narumbe*, or sacred from the touch of women. . . . . They are not allowed to take a wife until the time during which they are *Narumbe* has expired; but they are allowed the abominable privilege of promiscuous intercourse with the younger portion of the other sex. Any violation of these customs is punished by the old men with death."

Mr. Charles Wilhelmi, in his account of the manners and customs of the natives in the Port Lincoln district, refers at some length to the secret rites, known to the grown-up men only, into the knowledge of which the young lads are initiated by degrees. It appears that in that part of Australia the natives recognise three steps—each constituting an epoch in the life of a black. During the interval between one stage and another the youth is called by the name of the last step taken by him. At the age of fourteen or fifteen years the youths enter the first stage. Little is known of the ceremonies attendant on this. They are performed in private, and women and children are not allowed to witness them. The eyes of the lads are closed, certain strange words are pronounced, and some native music is heard, and for a time the youths are let go. Two or three months afterwards the novices are required to paint their faces black, and they are not allowed to speak but in whispers—and much whispering would bring on them the rebuke of their elders. The discipline appears to be sternly maintained. A few years afterwards the youths advance to the next degree—when they are called *Pardnapas*—and undergo the rite of circumcision.

The last and most important ceremony takes place at the age of eighteen or twenty years, after which the young men are called *Wilyalkinyes.* For the proper performance of this, *Indanyanas*—sponsors—are appointed, whose duty it is to see that all the rites are observed. The youth is seized by some of the men and forcibly drawn to the sponsor selected for him, and he is made to sit on the lap of this person. The chosen sponsor objects and cries out loudly, and his words, being translated, are "nolo episcopari." The men, however, collect around him, and urge him to accept the office of *Indanyana*, an honor which he pretends is far too great for him. He accepts it with reluctance apparently, as is usual in all such cases. After the sponsors are selected, the eyes of the *Wilyalkinyes* are closed, and the women, with much trouble, are brought out of their miams. These raise shouts, and appear to lament, and to be in deep sorrow; but their tears are not genuine, and the sorrow is feigned. Meanwhile the lads have been taken by their sponsors to a spot at some little distance from the encampment. The sponsors range themselves in a circle, each having a novice in front of him, on whose eyes he has placed his hands, keeping the lad from seeing as well as he can. The eyes are kept closed in this manner for an hour or more, the sponsors uttering from time to time a long-protracted melancholy monotonous note, sounding somewhat like *Je—e—ch.* The lads are then taken to a place still further from the encampment, where they are laid flat on the ground and covered with rugs. After the lapse of an hour, two men bring green boughs of trees; and the lads, having been raised up, are made to stand together; and the whole body of those present form themselves into a group, in a semicircular form, the lads being in the centre. The bearers of the green boughs now step forward, place themselves in front of the semicircle, vehemently stamp their right feet, and with various gestures indicating anger and wrath throw the boughs over the heads of the young men, while, at the same time, the company forming the semicircle make a clatter by striking their various war implements together, each uttering short strong loud sounds, the last of which is prolonged as each bough falls to the ground. The sound is like *Je-je-je-jeh.* The boughs are then carefully spread out, and the lads are made to lie on them, being again covered with rugs. Some of the men then prepare pieces of quartzite for scarring the bodies, and also occupy themselves in selecting names for the youths, which ever afterwards during life they will have to bear. Selecting the names is a difficult task, since, whilst they must correspond with their taste and notions of euphony, they must be quite new, and such as have never been borne by any other native—alive or dead. These names generally are derived from the roots of verbs, to which they attach as end-syllables—*altă*, *ilti*, or *ulta*—according to the last syllable of the word itself. Whether these changes affect the meaning of the word, Mr. Wilhelmi says he does not know, as they are made use of in connection with proper names only.

Everything being properly prepared, several of the men open a vein in the lower arm, and the lads, being lifted up, are made to swallow the first drops of the blood flowing therefrom. They are then made to kneel down, and to place their hands on the ground so as to bring the back into a horizontal position.

The back of each is then covered with a thick coating of blood, which is allowed to congeal. One man then marks on the back with his thumb the spots where the incisions are to be made. One is made in the middle of the neck, and others—distant from one another about one-third of an inch—in rows running from each shoulder down to the hip. These incisions—about an inch in length, and in course of time forming a swelling—are called *Manka*, and are always considered with great respect, never being spoken of in the presence of women or children. The other incisions, which at an early age are made on the breast and the arms, are merely for ornament, and have no sacred meaning. The more or less decided character of these swellings affords a certain indication of the probable age of a native. During manhood they are strong and well defined, but with the advance of age they are less distinctly marked; and at a great age they appear as scars only.

Although each incision made with the chip of quartzite has to be repeated several times, in order that the cut may be deep enough, and the flesh drawn asunder, the novices, notwithstanding the great pain inflicted, do not utter a groan or move a muscle. Mr. Wilhelmi states, however, that Mr. Schürmann has seen some of their friends so moved by compassion for their sufferings as to shed tears, and to attempt—of course unsuccessfully—to put a stop to the process.

During the operation as many men as can approach press round the lads, and repeat rapidly in a subdued tone the following formula:—

Kannaka kanya, marra marra,
Karndo kanya, marra marra,
Pilberri kanya, marra marra.

They repeat these words—as far as known, void of sense or meaning of any kind, and supposed to have been uttered on like occasions by their forefathers—with the object of deadening the pain and preventing any dangerous effects of this dreadful laceration. When the operation is concluded, the young men are raised up, and they are allowed to open their eyes; and the first objects they perceive are two men, who, stamping their feet and biting their beards, run towards them, hurling the *Witarna** with great vehemence, with the intention apparently of throwing it at their heads; but finally, when sufficiently near, they cease to whirl it, and satisfy themselves with putting the cord of the instrument round the necks of the lads one after the other.

When the lads have gone through the several degrees described by Mr. Wilhelmi, they are permitted to wear the ornaments belonging to men. To each is presented a belt made of human hair; and a tight bandage round each of their upper arms, a cord of opossum hair around the neck, the ends dropping down on the back and fastened to the belt, and a bunch of green leaves above

* The *Witarna* is a piece of wood eighteen inches in length, four inches in breadth, and a quarter of an inch in thickness. It is tied to a long string, and the native swings it about his head in such a manner as to produce a low rumbling sound at intervals—ceasing and returning with each effort of the performer. The *Witarna* is carefully hidden from the women and children, and when they hear the sound of it they know that the men are engaged in some secret ceremonies, and that they are to keep away from them.—*C. Wilhelmi.*

the part virilis complete the costume. For further adornment each blackens his face, arms, and breast. When the ceremonies are concluded, all the men press around the *Wilyalkinyes* and give them advice as to their future conduct, the drift of which, as far as Mr. Schürmann has been able to make out, is that they shall avoid quarrels, not indulge in loud talk, and keep away from the women. The two last of these injunctions are strictly observed; and to this end they separate themselves day and night from the other blacks, and speak in a subdued tone, until after the expiration of four or five months, when they are relieved from their obligation. The final acts which precede admission to the enjoyments and privileges of grown-up men are the tearing off from their necks of the opossum cord, and the sprinkling of their bodies with blood.

The above description—given nearly in Mr. Wilhelmi's own words—is interesting in a high degree; and no one can read it without being struck with the resemblance to certain observances amongst our own people and the people of the south of Europe. The covering up of the bodies of the novices with a rug is in itself a striking feature.

Collins states that between the ages of eight and sixteen the males and females had to undergo the operation which they term *Gna-noong*—namely, that of having the septum of the nose bored, to receive a bone or reed, which among them is deemed a very great ornament, though the articulation is frequently rendered very imperfect by it. Between the same years, also, the males received the qualifications which are given to them by losing one front tooth.

Collins had excellent opportunities of observing the ceremonies attendant on this operation, and an artist who accompanied him on one occasion made drawings illustrative of every particular circumstance that occurred. He gives a full description of the scenes, and they are highly interesting.

On the 25th January 1795, there were several youths, well known in the settlement, to be made men; and a crowd of natives assembled at the head of Farm Cove. The men from Cam-mer-ray, who were to perform the ceremony, were painted white in various patterns, and carried their weapons with them. After some nights passed in dancing, the real business of the meeting commenced. A space had been prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps, &c.; it was an oval figure; the dimensions of it twenty-seven feet by eighteen, and was named *Yoo-lahng*.

The ceremony began by the advance of the armed party from their end of the *Yoo-lahng* with a song, or rather a shout, peculiar to the occasion, clattering their spears and shields, and raising a dust with their feet that nearly obscured the objects around them.

On reaching the children, one of the party stepped from the crowd, and, seizing his victim, returned with him to his party, who received him with a shout louder than usual, placing him in the midst, where he seemed defended by a grove of spears from any attempts that his friends might make to rescue him. In this manner the whole were taken out to the number of fifteen; these were seated at the upper end of the *Yoo-lahng*, each holding down the head, his hands clasped and his legs crossed under him. In this position, awkward

and painful as it must have been, it was said they were to remain all night; and until the ceremony was concluded they were neither to look up nor take any refreshment whatsoever.

The *Carrahdis* (*Coradjes*) now began some of their mystical rites. One of them suddenly fell upon the ground, and throwing himself into a variety of attitudes, accompanied with every gesticulation that could be extorted by pain, appeared to be at length delivered of a bone, which was to be used in the ensuing ceremony. He was during this apparently painful process encircled by a crowd of natives, who danced around him, singing vociferously, while one or more beat him on the back until the bone was produced. Another went through the same process. These mummeries were to show the boys that they would suffer little pain, as the more the *Carrahdis* endured the less would be felt by them. The ceremonies were resumed at daylight on the following morning.

The pictures in Collins's work represent—

1st. The young men, fifteen in number, seated at the head of the *Yoo-lahng*, with the operators running upon their hands and feet and imitating the dogs of the country. In this manner power over the dog was given to the youth.

2nd. The young men seated as before. A stout, robust native carries on his shoulders a *pat-ta-go-rang*, or kangaroo made of grass, and another bears a load of brushwood. The other figures seated about are singing, and beating time to the steps of the two loaded men, who appear scarcely able to move under the burdens they carry. Halting every now and then, and limping, the men finally deposit the loads at the feet of the young men, and the two retire from the *Yoo-lahng*. The man carrying the brushwood had thrust one or two flowering shrubs through the septum of the nose, and presented an extraordinary appearance. By this offering of the dead kangaroo was meant the power that was now given the youths of killing that animal; the brushwood perhaps represented its haunt.

3rd. The youths still sitting in the *Yoo-lahng*, the actors make for themselves tails of grass, and imitate the motions of a herd of kangaroos, one man beating time with a club on a shield. This was emblematical of one of their future exercises, the hunting of the kangaroo.

4th. The men, as a herd of kangaroos, pass by the boys, and each one as he passes divests himself of his long grass tail, catches up a boy, and carries him off on his shoulders.

5th. The boys are placed in a cluster, standing with their heads inclined on their breasts, and their hands clasped together, and after an interval passed in the performance of more than ordinarily mysterious rites, the boys stand in a group, and fronting them are two men, one seated on the stump of a tree bearing another man on his shoulders, both with their arms extended. Behind these are a number of bodies lying with their faces toward the ground, as close to each other as they can lie, and at the foot of another stump of a tree are two other figures in the same position as the two first described. The boys and their attendants approach the first of these figures, the latter moving from side to side, lolling out their tongues and staring widely and horribly with their eyes. The boys are now led over the bodies lying on the ground; these immediately begin to move, writhing as if in agony, and uttering a mournful, dismal sound,

like very distant thunder. A particular name, *Boo-roo-moo-roong*, was given to this scene; but of its import very little could be learned. To the enquiries made respecting it no answer could be obtained but that it was very good—that the boys would now become brave men—that they would see well and fight well.

6th. The boys seated by each other, and opposite to them, drawn up in a half-circle, the other party, now armed with the spear and shield. In the centre is the principal performer, holding his shield in one hand and a club in the other, with which he gives them the time for their exercise. Striking the shield with the club, at every third stroke the whole party poise and present their spears at him, pointing them inwards and touching the centre of his shield.

7th. Striking out the tooth. The first subject was a boy about ten years of age. He was seated on the shoulders of another native who sat on the grass. The bone was now produced, which it was pretended had been taken from the stomach of the native the preceding evening. This, made very sharp and fine at one end, was used for lancing the gum. A throwing-stick was now to be cut eight or ten inches from the end, and to effect this much ceremony was used. The stick was laid upon a tree, and three attempts to hit it were made before it was struck; three feints were constantly made before each stroke. When the gum was properly prepared, the operation began: the smallest end of the stick was applied as high upon the tooth as the gum would admit of, while the operator stood ready with a large stone, apparently to drive the tooth down the throat of his patient. Here their attention to the number three was again manifest; no stroke was actually made until the operator had thrice attempted to hit the throwing-stick. They were full ten minutes about this first operation, the tooth being very firmly fixed. It was at last forced out, and the sufferer was taken to a little distance, where the gum was closed by his friends, who now equipped him in the style that he was to appear in for some days.

A girdle was tied round his waist, in which was stuck a wooden sword; a ligature was put round his head, in which were stuck slips of the grass-gum-tree, which, being white, had a curious and not unpleasing effect. The left hand was to be placed over the mouth, which was to be kept shut; he was on no account to speak, and for that day he was not to eat. The rest were treated in the same manner. During the whole of the operation the assistants made the most hideous noise in the ears of the patients, crying, "*E-wah-e-wah! ga-ga-ga-ga!*"

The blood that issued from the lacerated gum was not wiped away, but suffered to run down the breast and fall upon the head of the man on whose shoulders the patient sat, and whose name was added to his. This blood remained dried upon the heads of the men and breasts of the boys for days. The boys were also termed *Ke-bar-rā*, a name which has reference in its construction to the singular instrument used on the occasion; *Ke-bah*, in their language, signifying a rock or stone.

8th. The boys, in the dress described, seated on a log. On a signal being given, they all started up and rushed into the settlement, driving before them men, women, and children, who were glad to get out of their way. They were now received into the class of men.*

* *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804, pp. 365-374.

Mr. Hodgkinson, in his work on "*Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay,*" relates how "young men" are made at the Macleay and Nambucca Rivers. He says:—

"As the boys of a tribe approach the age of puberty, a grand ceremony, to inaugurate them into the privileges of manhood, takes place. This ceremony is entirely different at the Macleay and Nambucca Rivers to what it probably is in other parts of the colony, for the natives there do not strike out the front tooth, as elsewhere. When a tribe has determined on initiating their youths into these rites, they send messengers to the surrounding tribes of blacks, to invite them to be present on the occasion. These messengers, or ambassadors, appear to be distinguished by having their head-bands colored with very pale yellow-ochre, instead of the usual deep-red, whilst their hair is drawn up and crowned by the high top-knots of grass, resembling nodding plumes, which ornament is, I think, peculiar to the blacks north of the Hunter—at least I have never seen it farther south, where the hair is usually matted with gum, and decorated with dogs' tails and teeth. After all the preliminaries are settled, and the surrounding tribes arrived, the blacks repair to the Cawarra ground. This is a circular plot about thirty feet in diameter, carefully levelled, weeded, and smoothed down. It is, in general, situated on the summit of some round-topped hill, and the surrounding trees are minutely tattooed and carved to such a considerable altitude that one cannot help feeling astonished at the labor bestowed upon this work. The women are now dismissed to the distance of two miles from the Cawarra ground; for if one of them should happen to witness or hear any portion of the ceremony, she would be immediately put to death. The first evening is passed in dancing the ordinary corrobboree, during which the invited blacks sit round their respective fires as spectators, whilst the boys who are to undergo the ceremony squat down in a body by themselves, and keep up a bright fire for the dancers. From the repugnance which the blacks at the Macleay displayed on my looking at their performance, and their angry refusal to allow me to see the main part of the ceremony, I am unable to give a regular account of it, having only been able to obtain occasional glimpses. After many preliminary grotesque mummeries have been performed, the doctors, or priests of the tribe, take each a boy, and hold him for some time with his head downwards near the fire. Afterwards, with great solemnity, they are invested with the opossum belt; and, at considerable intervals between each presentation, they are given the nulla-nulla, the boomerang, the spear, &c. Whilst these arms are being conferred upon them, the other natives perform a sham fight, and pretend to hunt the pademella, spear fish, and imitate various other occupations, in which the weapons, now presented to the youth, will be of service. As these ceremonies occupied a fortnight or more before they were concluded, many other ridiculous scenes were undoubtedly enacted, and during all this time the women did not dare to approach the performers. Each man was also provided with a singular instrument, formed of a piece of hollowed wood, fastened to a long piece of flax string; by whirling this rapidly round their heads, a loud, shrill noise was produced, and the blacks seemed to attach a great degree of mystic importance to the sound of this instrument; for they told me that if a woman heard it she

would die. The conclusion of this ceremony was a grand dance, of a peculiar character, in which the boys join, and which the women are allowed to see. This dance is performed with much more solemnity than the ordinary corrobborees. The Yarra-Hapinni tribe, which I saw execute this dance near the Clybucca Creek, were so elaborately painted with white for the occasion, that even their very toes and fingers were carefully and regularly colored with concentric rings, whilst their hair was drawn up in a close knot, and stuck all over with the snowy down of the white cockatoo, which gave them the appearance of being decorated with white wigs.* In this dance the performers arranged themselves in the form of a semicircle, and grasping the ends of their boomerangs, which are also painted with great minuteness and regularity, they swayed their bodies rapidly from right to left, displaying a degree of flexibility in their limbs which might have created the envy of many a pantomimic artist. Every movement of their bodies to and fro was accompanied by a loud hiss; whilst a number of other natives, similarly painted, beat time with sticks, and kept up an incessant and obstreperous song. Every now and then the dancers would stop and rush, crowding together, into a circle, raising their weapons with outstretched arms, and joining with frantic energy in the song. They would then be more composed, and walk backwards and forwards in couples, holding each other by the hand, until again roused by an elderly native to resume the dance. It was not until midnight that the noise ceased, which, every evening, whilst the ceremonies lasted, might be heard at a distance of two or three miles. The tribes of natives near Sydney, where the boys are always deprived of their front teeth, do not seem to be so averse to the whites witnessing their ceremonies, which differ considerably from what I have just described.

"In their mode of going through the ceremony, the boys being assembled together, and the whole tribe mustered for the occasion, a party of men, armed and painted, advanced into the Cawarra ground, with loud shouts and clattering of their arms, and seized, one by one, the boys who were to undergo the operation. The latter were then placed together on the Cawarra ground, where they were to pass the night in perfect silence. In the meantime the other natives danced and sang furiously, whilst the doctors, or 'coradjes,' went through a most ridiculous scene, groaning, and contorting themselves in every position, until they at length pretended to be delivered of some bones, which were subsequently used to cut open the gums of the boys before striking out their teeth. Next day the boys were brought into the centre of the Cawarra ground, whilst the other blacks performed various ridiculous antics around them, in imitation of various animals. Sticking their boomerangs vertically in their opossum-skin belts, so as to bear some resemblance to the tail of the native dog, they ran on all-fours past the boys, throwing up dust, whilst the latter remained motionless, with downcast eyes. They next fastened to their girdles long pieces of twisted grass, to resemble the tail of the kangaroo, and then bounded round the boys in imitation of the movement of that animal, whilst others pretended to spear them.

* The natives of the Port Lincoln district, when about to engage in the corrobboree, sometimes decorate their heads with wreaths made of white birds' down.

"All this time an incessant shouting, singing, and dancing had been kept up. After this the boys were placed in a cluster together, with their heads lowered and their hands crossed over their breasts, whilst the most ridiculous antics were performed by the rest of the natives, who, mounted on each other's backs, threw themselves on the ground, whilst the boys were made to walk over their prostrate bodies, and executed a multitude of evolutions with their spears and shields. The final operation was then performed: the gums being lanced with the bones before mentioned, a stick was applied to the tooth, and a large stone employed to strike it out. As each boy lost his front tooth, the gum was closed up, but the blood was not allowed to be washed or wiped off. He was then furnished with the belt of manhood, boomerangs, &c., and joined in the corrobboree dances, which concluded the ceremony."

In the Rev. J. G. Wood's *Natural History of Man* (vol. II.), several accounts are given of the ceremonies attendant on becoming men. Mr. Wood describes the mode of extracting the front teeth; the practices of coradjes when they give power to the young men over the various beasts of chase; the marking of the body by gashes or scars; the secret of the magic crystal; the ceremony of depilation; and the rites as practised by the natives of the Port Lincoln district. It is an interesting chapter in his work, and it appears to have been written with care.

Circumcision.

When youths have advanced to the second degree, that is when they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, they have, Mr. Wilhelmi says, to undergo the operation of circumcision. Whether it is ever performed at an earlier age is not known, but in all parts where it has been witnessed the boys were nearly of the age mentioned. The custom, it is believed, was not followed in the most southern parts of Australia, but it is known on the western shores of Spencer's Gulf, on the north-west coast, at the Gulf of Carpentaria, at Cooper's Creek, and in Central Australia. It is by no means general, and probably originated, as suggested by Bennett, with those tribes of the north who have intercourse with the Malays.

It is performed at that period of life when natives have to give proofs of courage and endurance before being admitted to a certain rank in the tribe, and it may safely be assumed, I think, that it is not connected in any way with even a trace of religion. It is most likely of modern introduction, and has been seized upon as a test to be applied to the neophyte, because of the pain and alarm it occasions. It has the effect, however—as other similar rites practised by them certainly have—of limiting the population; and may, as Eyre says, be a wise ordination for that purpose in a country that in many parts is of a desert and arid character.

One of my correspondents on the Paroo, who has witnessed the operation, states that he was called about an hour before daylight and invited to a camp where about twenty blacks were assembled, near a tree at some distance from the main camp. They were dressed in most gorgeous corrobboree array; they were continually singing, and when some were exhausted, others commenced.

They had kept up the singing during the whole of the night, and all were quite hoarse and seemed worn out. At a fire about fifty yards distant were about half a dozen other blacks, and with them the subject to be operated on. He was held and kept in a standing position away from the fire by a blackfellow, and he was evidently tired and cold. He was not allowed to speak, and he had a most melancholy expression of countenance. My correspondent was informed that the operation had to be performed at the very moment the sun rises.

So soon as the sun appeared, the boy was seized and carried by two men to the fire, where the larger body of men were assembled. He was then blindfolded and laid on the grass. Two men held him. About twelve men took part in the operation, each being provided with a small piece of sharp-edged quartzite. It was soon over. The boy never murmured or even flinched. Proper attentions were shown to him. Immediately after the operation several of the blacks cried.*

Mr. Gason mentions five stages of life at each of which the council of old men mutilate the youths. The first is *Moodlawillpa*—boring the septum of the nose—an operation which is performed when the boys and girls are from five to ten years of age; the second is *Chirrinchirrie*—the extraction of the teeth—which is done when the children are between the ages of eight and twelve years; the third is *Kurrawellie Wonkanna* (circumcision), which is performed when the hair makes its appearance on the face; the fourth is *Willyaroo* (to procure a good harvest, supply of snakes and other reptiles), when the young man is scarred. He is cut on the neck and shoulders with a sharp-edged stone, so that ridges may be formed. And finally, *Koolpie*. As soon as the hair on the face is sufficiently grown to admit of the ends of the beard being tied, the ceremony of the *Koolpie* is solemnized. This is a very dreadful operation, and it is not at all clear that the youths willingly submit to the torture. It is the punishment probably referred to by Mr. Jessop, "as the most heavy and effective within the province of their divorce courts."† It is not reasonable to suppose that it is inflicted on all the youths. Probably some are chosen and some are left; or it may be that its effects are not so serious as Mr. Jessop supposes. There is another ceremony—*Mindarie*—when the hair of the young men's heads is dressed. It takes place after the ordeal of *Willyaroo*. All the tribes assemble; dances are held; disputes are settled; and there is general rejoicing.

* "The rite in South Australia (according to Mr. Teichelmann) is thus performed:—At the age of puberty the boys selected are beaten with green boughs, sprinkled with blood drawn from the arm of a warrior, and are then taken to a place specially appointed. The lad is laid upon the ground by the doctor, and entirely covered with dust; after a few minutes (when almost stifled) he is raised up by the ears—with loud shouts, which are made to restore him from his supposed state of enchantment. A line is then drawn upon the earth; on one side of which stands an old man who represents the Star of Autumn, and on the other side one who is said to represent a fly. The *Katta*, a woman's stick, is then borne round and thrust into the ground by the bearer, who lies down himself and all the men fall upon him—thus forming a rude altar. Upon this living altar the initiated is laid and the rite performed. He then receives the name which he inherits from his father and mother, and has also a secret name given him, and is introduced to the rude mysteries, which are carefully hidden from the women and children—none of whom are suffered to be present at the ceremony."—*Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, p. 16.

† *Flinders Land and Sturt Land*, by W. R. H. Jessop, M.A., vol. II., p. 206.

Marriage.

THERE is no such thing as marriage, in the proper sense of the word, amongst the Australians. The acts which precede matrimony are certainly not entitled to be regarded as rites. Men obtain wives by a convenient system of exchange, by conquest sometimes, and sometimes a woman is stolen. By what mode soever a man procures a bride, it is very seldom an occasion of rejoicing for the female.

The males engross the privilege of disposing of their female relations, and it often happens that an old man of sixty or seventy will add to his domestic circle a young girl of ten or twelve years of age. If the father be alive, he alone can dispose of his daughters; if he be dead, the eldest son can dispose of his sisters; and if there be no brothers, then the uncle or cousin steps in, and exchanges the women for others who become his wives. In rare cases the old men meet together and determine to whom a young woman shall be given.

A man having a daughter of thirteen or fourteen years of age arranges with some elderly person for the disposal of her, and, when all are agreed, she is brought out of the *miam-miam*, and told that her husband wants her. Perhaps she has never seen him, or has seen him but to loathe him. The father carries a spear and waddy, or a tomahawk, and, anticipating resistance, is thus prepared for it. The poor girl, sobbing and sighing, and muttering words of complaint, claims pity from those who will show none. If she resists the mandates of her father, he strikes her with his spear; if she rebels and screams, the blows are repeated; and if she attempts to run away, a stroke on the head from the waddy or tomahawk quiets her. The mother screams and scolds and beats the ground with her *kan-nan* (fighting-stick); the men, women, and children in the neighbouring huts come forth to see the sight; the dogs bark and whine; but nothing interrupts the father, who in the performance of his duty is strict, and mindful of the necessity of not only enforcing his authority but of showing to all that he means to enforce it. Seizing the bride by her long hair, the stern father drags her to the home prepared for her by her new owner. Further resistance, when she is really placed in the hands of her husband, often subjects her to brutal treatment. If she attempts to abscond, the bridegroom does not hesitate to strike her savagely on the head with his waddy; and the bridal screams and yells make the night hideous. If the girl is energetic, and absolutely refuses the man to whom she is assigned, she causes a disturbance that can be quelled only by the authority of the old men. The young fellows seize their weapons, and one or two who may have had

friendly feelings towards the bride begin to throw their *wonguims* (boomerangs). These striking his frail dwelling, rouse the husband, and he rushes forth, fully armed, to do battle with his rivals. A general fight follows, and the old husband often is wounded and so deeply marked as to be able, after the lapse of many years, to number his wives, living and dead, by his blemishes. During the fight, and when her husband is fully occupied, the bride rushes to her mother, and with streaming eyes and heaving breast begs vainly for protection and help, which her mother dare not give her. As soon as the old men have quelled the disturbance, the father again seizes her hair and drags her to the *miam* of her husband, gives her a few blows with his waddy, and there leaves her. If she is still determined to escape, and makes the attempt, the father will at last spear her in the leg or foot, to prevent her from running. Beaten, frightened, and at last completely conquered, she resigns herself to her hard fate, thinks no more of the young men who have in past times shown her kindness, and becomes a willing and obedient drudge to her new master.*

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* They are given in marriage at a very early age (ten or twelve years). The ceremony is very simple, and with great propriety may be considered an exchange; for no man can obtain a wife unless he can promise to give his sister or other relative in exchange. The marriages are always between persons of different tribes, and never in the same tribe. Should the father be living, he may give his daughter away, but generally she is the gift of the brother. The person who wishes to obtain a wife never applies directly, but to some friend of the one who has the disposal of her; and should the latter also wish for a wife, the bargain is soon made. Thus the girls have no choice in the matter, and frequently the parties have never seen each other before. At the time appointed for the marriage the relations on both sides come and encamp about a quarter of a mile from each other. In the night the men of one tribe arise, and each takes a fire-stick in hand. The bride is taken by the hand and conducted in the midst, and appears generally to go very unwillingly; the brother or relation who gives her away walks silently and with downcast looks by himself. As soon as they approach the camp of the other tribe, the women and children of the latter must quit the hut, which upon this occasion is built larger than their huts usually are. When they arrive at the hut, one of the men invites them to take their places; but before they sit down the bride and bridegroom are placed next each other, and also the brother and his intended wife, if it is a double marriage. The friends and relations then take their places on each side of the principal parties. They sit in this manner, silent, for a considerable time, until most of them fall asleep. At daybreak the brides leave the hut and go to their nearest relations, and remain with them until the evening, when they are conducted to their husbands by their female friends, and the tribes then separate and go to their own districts. When married very young, the girl is frequently away from her husband, upon a visit to her relations, for several months at a time; but should she remain, the man is under obligation to provide her with animal food (providing vegetable food is always the duty of the females); and if she pleases him, he shows his affection by frequently rubbing her with grease, to improve her personal appearance, and with the idea that it will make her grow rapidly and become fat."—*Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe, South Australia*, by H. E. A. Meyer.

"Their laws as affecting matrimony are very strict. The woman has no choice in the matter. Marriages are effected by one man exchanging his sister or near relation for the sister of another. Sometimes a man who has no sister will, in desperation, steal a wife; but this is invariably a cause of bloodshed. Should a woman object to go with her husband, violence would be used. I have seen a man drag away a woman by the hair of her head. Often the club is used until the poor creature is frightened into submission. One would think such marriages would turn out unhappily. Yet they often get much attached to each other. The honeymoon succeeds the quarrelling. The marriage tie is not reckoned sacred for life. Should a man's wife die, he will sometimes take back his sister whom he had exchanged for the deceased wife. Blacks will sometimes, for a limited period, exchange wives. This they call *Be-ama*. I have known men exchange for a month."—*Mr. John Bulmer*, Lake Tyers, Gippsland, MS.

Female children are sometimes betrothed when they are mere infants—indeed it has been known that a child has been conditionally promised to a man before birth. If it should be a female, and the man should die before the girl attains a marriageable age, then she would become the property of his heir. As a rule, all such obligations are respected. If a girl is betrothed, the father or her male protector may refuse for a long time to give his consent to the marriage, but the lover waits very patiently, in the full confidence that ultimately he will obtain her. Serious fights and troubles ensue sometimes in settling a marriage, and yet it does not often occur that a marriage arranged in strict accordance with the habits of the tribe is not consummated.

A man is supposed to have settled his domestic affairs very comfortably when he has obtained three or four wives; two are far from uncommon; but some are obliged to be content with one.

As girls are usually given in marriage at a very early age, many have the cares of maternity added to their other heavy duties at the age of thirteen, or even when younger.

In their natural state the women appear to be prolific in all localities where food is plentiful. One man of the Coast tribe, near Melbourne, had five wives and eight children; and it is recorded that the principal man of the Yarra tribe, with three wives, had ten children. Wonga, his son, a well-behaved, intelligent black, is now living.

"Jenny," an Aboriginal female living at Lake Hindmarsh, had ten children —once twins; and "Kitty," who is now living, has had thirteen children, of whom the first four were black, the two following half-castes, the seventh a black, the three succeeding half-castes, and the last three blacks.

"Mary," an Aboriginal woman at Lake Wellington, has had twelve children, of whom seven are now living. The parents are strong and healthy.

Australian women not infrequently have twins. The Rev. Mr. Hartmann mentions two cases—and the children were full-blooded blacks.

Mr. John Green says that a boy and a girl—twins—are now living with their parents at the Aboriginal Station at Coranderrk; and that a woman of the Mount Rouse tribe had three children at a birth. They were all full-blooded blacks.

The Rev. Mr. Hagenauer, of the Lake Wellington Station, informs me that he knows only of one case of an Aboriginal woman having twins. One of the twins died when about five years of age; the other, named Caroline, is alive, and is a strong girl of about fourteen years of age.

These facts are not trivial, but few will note the importance and significance of them.*

* One who has written well and thoughtfully on the dialects, habits, customs, and mythology of the Lower Murray Aborigines says, "An instance of twins being born is unknown." This shows how careful one should be in dealing with negative evidence. Though the writer lived for many years in a district well-peopled with natives, he appears to have failed to ascertain the fact that two and three children at a birth are not more rare amongst the Aborigines than amongst Europeans.

Grey says that amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia he recorded four instances of native women having twins; but he never heard of a greater number of children at one birth.

A very fat woman presents such an attractive appearance to the eyes of the blacks that she is always liable to be stolen. However old or ugly she may be, she will be courted and petted and sought for by the warriors, who seldom hesitate to risk their lives if there is a chance of obtaining so great a prize.

A man who has no female relations that can be exchanged for a young woman of another tribe leads an unhappy life. Not only must he attend to his own wants, and share the discomforts of the bachelors' quarters, but he is an object of suspicion to the older men, who have perhaps two or three young wives to watch. There is the fear also that he may violently seize a girl of a neighbouring tribe, and thus provoke a war. There is the discontent and unrest of such a life, which makes him a dull companion, a quarrelsome friend, and a bitter enemy. Sometimes a wife is given to him by some old man who is tired of keeping her; but most often a warrior will steal a woman from another tribe, if he cannot inspire an affection and lead her to elope with him. Any such act brings about a conflict. As soon as the girl is missed, a search is instituted, and the guilty pair are invariably tracked to their hiding-place. When the discovery is made, the tribe to which the man belongs is informed of it, and there is a gathering of the old men of both tribes, and much talk and wrangling follows; but the main questions to be decided are these: Can a girl of the man's tribe be given in exchange for the woman that has been stolen? Is the man's tribe willing that the thief shall stand a form of trial somewhat resembling the ordeal of the ancient rude nations of Europe? If the first question is not settled satisfactorily by some generous creature offering a female relative in exchange, the second question is debated, but always on the understanding that the solemn obligation cannot be avoided.

In the trial—it is not a mock trial—it must be understood that there will be always two parties utterly at variance: the lover who has stolen the girl, and the man who claims her. That man may be her father, if she be not betrothed; her husband, if she be married; or her lover, if she be betrothed.

The old men of each tribe sit facing each other, at some little distance apart; the girl and her claimants stand between them, and the trial begins. The thief is provided with a shield (either the *Mulga*, or *Gee-am*, as may be determined by the old men, having regard to the weapons of offence), and his assailant, standing at a proper distance, hurls spears or other weapons at him. If the culprit manages to ward off the weapons, he can claim the woman as his wife, and there is an end of the business. If he is seriously hurt, so as to be disabled, her natural protector claims the woman; and if there is a suspicion in his mind that she has favored the man who eloped with her, he will not hesitate to kill or maim her. In some cases there is a determination to kill or maim the thief. The old men agree that all the friends of the girl—perhaps to the number of four or five—shall throw a certain number of weapons at the offender; and if they be really in earnest, it is then hard indeed for him to escape without injury. Again, it sometimes occurs on such occasions that in the preliminary meeting of the old men some almost-forgotten subject of dispute is brought up; angry words are used; evil passions arise; the women clamor and shriek, and add to the discord; and after the trial there is a fight.

The arrangements made for the trial by combat vary very much. Sometimes the men are armed with their most formidable weapons, and there is a battle *à l'outrance*. There is fair-play, invariably. Armed warriors watch the contest, and if either should seek to take an unfair advantage, he would be punished.*

While it is true that, as a rule, the females are guarded very jealously, it sometimes happens that there is no more than simulated anger when two young persons elope from their tribes. A young man who has engaged the affections of a girl of a neighbouring tribe agrees with her to run away at the first opportunity that offers. In the stillness of the night, or just before sunrise, when the

* Mr. W. E. Stanbridge gives the following account of the ordeal:—"If the wife desert her husband for a more favored lover, it is incumbent on her family to chastise the guilty pair; the woman is usually speared by her father or brother, and if the punishment is not attended with fatal effects, she is returned to her lawful spouse. The man has either to submit to a certain number of spears being thrown at him, in which case he is allowed a small shield to protect himself, or to fight a single combat with one of her relatives, or with a selected member of the tribe. The following will perhaps serve as an illustration of this custom:—The persons, for the object named, had retired early in the morning to a little dell in a vast undulating grassy plain, surrounded in the distance by conical hills, some wooded and some bare. Not many paces from the lowest part of the dell bursts forth a limpid spring, in a deep little basin encircled with high rushes, which give it the appearance of a huge nest, the reeds and rushes marking its course as it trickles away down a valley at right-angles with the dell. On one side of this dell, and nearest to the spring at the foot of it, lies a young woman, about seventeen years of age, sobbing, and partly supported by her mother, in the midst of wailing, weeping women; she has been twice speared in the right breast with a jagged hand-spear by her brother, and is supposed to be dying. A few paces higher up the valley is a group of men; the aged men are seated and the others surrounding the brother, who is armed with Leeowil and Mulka, and who is about twenty-eight years old, and of a powerful frame. In the middle of the dell, opposite the group of men, stands the other guilty one, a young man about twenty-three years of age, a model of agility. He is armed with the same weapons as his adversary, and awaits his impetuous onset. A little in his rear, on the other side of the dell, some young men—his friends—stand armed and ready to assist, if injustice be attempted. Unless the fight be with hand-spears, it is very seldom that either of the combatants is killed. The leeowil is a wooden battle-axe, the usual implement used in hand-to-hand encounters; the mulka is a strong piece of wood, used as a shield."

The ordeal was not restricted to the crime of abduction.

"Any other crime may be compounded for by the criminal appearing and submitting himself to the ordeal of having spears thrown at him by all such persons as conceive themselves to have been aggrieved, or by permitting spears to be thrust through certain parts of his body—such as through the thigh, or the calf of the leg, or under the arm. The part which is to be pierced by a spear is fixed for all common crimes, and a native who has incurred this penalty sometimes quietly holds out his leg for the injured party to thrust his spear through. When a native, after having absconded for fear of the consequences of some crime which he has committed, comes in to undergo the ordeal of having spears thrown at him, a large assemblage of his fellows takes place; their bodies are daubed with paint, which is put on in the most fantastic forms; their weapons are polished, sharpened, and rendered thoroughly efficient. At the appointed time, young and old repair to the place of ordeal; and the wild beauty of the scenery, the painted forms of the natives, the savage cries and shouts of exultation which are raised, as the culprit dexterously parries, or—by rapid leaps and contortions of his body—avoids the clouds of spears which are hurled at him, all combine to form a singular scene, to which there is no parallel in civilized life. If the criminal is wounded in a degree judged sufficient for the crime he has committed, his guilt is wiped away; or, if none of the spears thrown at him—for there is a regulated number which each may throw—take effect, he is equally pardoned. But no sooner is this main part of the ceremony over than two or three duels take place between some individuals who have quarrels of their own to settle. After these combatants have thrown a few spears, some of their friends rush in and hold them in their

coldness of the morning makes heavy the eyes of the sleepers, the young man steals from his miam and runs swiftly to the spot appointed for the meeting. When they meet, the girl, anxious and full of fears, runs even more swiftly than her lover to some sequestered dell, where she hopes they may remain undiscovered until the first surprise and natural indignation are no longer predominant in the minds of their relatives. The members of the tribe to whom the female belongs institute a search, as custom and law require; but it is not prosecuted energetically, nor does the absence of the girl evoke evil passions, if by report they have learnt that a young man is missing from the camp of the neighbouring tribe. After the lapse of a few days, the young man returns with

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arms, when the etiquette on such occasions is to struggle violently for a few minutes, as if anxious to renew the contest, and then to submit quietly to superior force and cease the combat."—*North-West and Western Australia.* Grey, vol. II., pp. 243–4.

Collins gives much information of a very interesting character respecting the ordeal laws of the natives of New South Wales. One native, named Carradah, who had stabbed another in the night, but not mortally, was obliged to stand for two evenings exposed to the spears not only of the man whom he had wounded, but of several other natives. He was suffered to cover himself with a bark shield, and he behaved with great courage and resolution. It appears that throughout he was able to protect himself, but finally he allowed one of his adversaries to pin his arm to his side. After that there was a general fight—men, women, and children taking part in it.

In another case, where a young man had taken the wife of a native during his absence, spears were thrown, and the lover was wounded by the husband.

Again, a stranger—Gòme-boak—a visitor to the natives of Sydney, had to stand, covered with his shield, to receive the spears of his hosts, in order to the settlement of some affair of honor.

Further, he informs us that, in March 1795, "a young man of the name of *Bing-yi-wan-ne*, being detected in an amour with *Maw-ber-ry*, the companion of another native—*Ye-ra-ni-be Go-ru-ey*—the latter fell upon him with a club; and, being a powerful man, and of superior strength, absolutely beat him to death. *Bing-yi-wan-ne* had some friends, who, on the following day, called *Ye-ra-ni-be* to an account for the murder; when, the affair being conducted with more regard to honor than justice, he came off with only a spear-wound in his thigh."—*An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804, pp. 237–259, 285, and 287.

Mr. Wilhelmi also mentions the ordeal. A murderer at Port Lincoln was tried by his tribe, and it was ordered that the brother of the murdered man should hurl two spears at the criminal; and that if he should fail to hit the man, the crime should be expiated. From the violent and wild gestures of the warriors, the running about, the jumping, the biting of the beards and the weapons, the noise and the grimaces, it was expected that a sanguinary combat would ensue; but nothing of a serious character occurred. The antagonists—if antagonists they can be called—trod from their own sides into the foreground, and the avenger threw a spear most skilfully, which was parried as ably as it was thrown. Whereupon the combat was brought to a close.

One very remarkable case is thus described:—

"If one [a native] accidentally kills another of his people, he is punished according to the nature of the case—generally, to submit to the ordeal of the spear, as in the affair of *Woolorong* (*alias* Lonsdale), in the year 1844."

"This custom was prevalent with the ancient Greeks.—*Homer's Iliad,* b. 21, lines 62 to 150."

"Police Report.—Melbourne, 7th April 1844.—*Woolorong* was suspected of murder, and condemned to be speared at by seven of the best men of the Western Port tribe; as he ran by them at a certain distance, he escaped the spears thrown at him; but a general fight took place, and the police had some difficulty in suppressing the affray, after many were seriously wounded. Police Report.—Melbourne, 14th April 1844.—*Yang-yang* (*alias* Robert Cunningham), brought up for obstructing the chief constable in his attempt to take *Woolorong* (*alias* Lonsdale), a Goulburn black, for the murder of an Aboriginal boy in the service of Mr. Manton, at Western Port. *Yang-yang* pleaded to the bench that *Woolorong* was about to submit to the ordeal of spearing, viz.:—seven of the principal men of the Western Port tribe were each to throw a spear at him. If he

his wife to his own people; and, except that he must bear many taunts from the young women his sisters and cousins, and much scolding from the old women, and grave threatenings and mutterings of wrath from the old men—his new state provokes little comment. His young wife is treated well, and is soon familiar with all the women of the tribe to which she has become attached.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, gives the following account of a young man's condition in savage society, and how he obtains a wife :—An Aboriginal is not considered of much importance until he has arrived at the age of manhood. While he is a boy he lives under strict control; his food is regulated by the men, not as to quantity but as to quality. There are

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warded them off, he was no longer amenable. If he was killed, satisfaction was complete. He further pleaded, that, had they not been interrupted, he would afterwards have induced *Woolorong* (*alias* Lonsdale) to surrender himself to the chief constable, or aided to take him. Upon this occasion the black native police refused to act. At the intercession of Mr. Protector Thomas, *Yang-yang* got off with an admonition and forty-eight hours' confinement."—*Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, p. 24.

The late Mr. Thomas, in his notes prepared at my request, gives another account of this affair. Various neighbouring tribes, actuated by friendly feelings, assembled to witness the judicial proceedings taken against two of the finest natives to be seen at that time—namely, *Pole-orrong* (*alias* Billy Lonsdale), who stood six feet high, and was named by Sir Richard Bourke after the first Police Magistrate in charge of the settlement—Capt. Lonsdale—and *Warrador* (*alias* Jack Weatherly), a great warrior, who were charged with killing a Warralim black, aged about eighteen years, at Torridon, on the Western Port plains, the station of Mr. Charles Manton. The young man had been enticed or persuaded to assist in bringing down to Melbourne a mob of cattle from beyond the Goulburn River, and thereafter to enter Mr. Manton's service. The poor black had not been on Manton's station three weeks before he was found killed, not three chains from Manton's house. He had been carrying a bucket of milk from the milking-yard to the house when he was struck down. There were two sandhills between the house and the milking-yard, and his body was found in the hollow between the sandhills. This native was closely connected with one of the principal tribes of the Goulburn River, and the death of the Warralim black was soon made known through the press and by oral report. The men who did the murder were at once suspected by the tribes friendly to the Warralim, and they demanded satisfaction of the tribes of the Yarra and Western Port. After messengers had been despatched to and fro, it was finally decided that the eight tribes should assemble, and that the two offenders should undergo the usual punishment of having spears thrown at them by the members of each tribe to which the Warralim belonged. The tribes assembled were those of the Yarra, the Coast, the Barrabool, the Bun-ung-on, the Leigh River, the Campaspe, the Loddon, and the Goulburn. The two offenders came boldly forward, in deep mourning [painted with white-ochre], and stood in presence of their people without any signs of fear. They expressed their readiness to receive the spears, one by one; and nearly one hundred were hurled at *Pole-orrong* in the first instance, and then the same number were thrown at *Warrador*. The accused were not allowed to carry any offensive weapons, but they were permitted to protect themselves with the broad shield. They shifted, twisted, and so used their shields as to astonish the Europeans who witnessed the ordeal. Each was slightly wounded, but not hit in any part where a wound would have proved fatal.

It is interesting to record the particulars relating to a law of this kind as it exists in Australia.

The reader may be glad to be reminded that the judicial combat, according to ancient law, was taken advantage of by a criminal less than sixty years ago in England :—

"By the old law of England, a man charged with murder might fight with the appellant, thereby to make proof of his guilt or innocence. In 1817, a young maid, Mary Ashford, was believed to have been violated and murdered by Abraham Thornton, who, in an appeal, claimed his right by his wager of battle, which the court allowed; but the appellant (the brother of the maid) refused the challenge, and the accused escaped; 16th April 1818. This law was immediately afterwards struck off the statute-book by 59 Geo. III. (1819)."—*Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, pp. 39–40.

See also *A Collection of Celebrated Trials*, by W. O. Woodall, vol. I.

various kinds of meat which he must not eat; he cannot enter into any argument in camp; his opinion on any question is never asked, and he never thinks of giving it; he is not expected to engage in fights; and he is not supposed to fall in love with any of the young women. He is, in fact, a nonentity; but when he has gone through the initiatory process of being made a young man, he takes his proper place amongst the members of the tribe. He carries his war implements about with him, and has his share in Aboriginal politics. He may now look upon a woman with eyes of love, and, if he be brave enough, seek a wife for himself. But this is a very delicate and difficult matter. He may have a lover, and she may have declared that she will have him only. She may have given him a lock of her hair as a token of her affection, and in the case of an Aboriginal this is a mark of the greatest confidence. The blacks are very superstitious about such matters; they will always take care to destroy any hair they cut off. It would frighten a black very much if he or she knew that another black had some of his or her hair; but the young woman will forget these fears under such circumstances; she feels she is safe in the hands of the man she first falls in love with. But in spite of all the encouragement given by such tokens, the young man will find that he has a difficult work before him, as perhaps he may have to fight her father, or her mother, or her brothers, or her sisters—even the cousins may claim the right to do battle with him. Hence, if a young woman has numerous friends or relations, a young man will think twice before he commits himself to the task of winning her; but it must be done. Has not his lady-love said that she will have him, and him only? She must be won at all risks; so, to provoke the attack, he proposes an elopement; the frail one readily consents, and in the black night they take to the bush. Then follows a scene which baffles description. When the girl is found to be absent, there is hurrying to and fro, the women tearing their hair and scraping the skin off their cheeks with their finger-nails. Some, who are nearer relations of the missing girl, are chopping their heads with their tomahawks, while above all the noises made may be heard, now and then, the lamentations of the mother, whose grief is somewhat more real than the demonstrations of those not so nearly connected with the fugitive. "*Lathi!*" (my child) is uttered in such piteous tones that it would make any sensitive person sympathize with her. The women succeed in stirring up the men by their clamor; their language has not been select; the runaways have not been spared whatever peculiarities each may have presented to them in camp, and a lot of epithets are strung together and loudly uttered. They are called "long-legged," "thin-legged," "squint-eyed," or "big-headed." When the men are really roused, they get together a few war implements, as, for instance, a club, a boomerang, and a shield, and they go off in pursuit of the missing couple. They know in what direction to go, as the young man has confided (as a great secret) the proposed route. All is soon discovered, the pair caught, as they cannot travel without revealing a track, and the girl is brought back to the camp to receive the punishment which is supposed to be due to her crime. When she arrives, every female in the camp must lay a hand upon her; it matters not that they did the same thing when they were young—they must express their outraged feelings; that is the custom, and it

must be obeyed. The poor young creature is often cruelly beaten—indeed sometimes receives injuries from which she never entirely recovers. The young man also must stand out (he has not forsaken his lady-love), and must fight all comers. He is generally worsted. In fact he stands quietly while men and women hit him until he falls to the ground stunned. He promises, at length, that he will not commit the like offence again, but secretly determines that when he gets over his wounds, and his lover is again able to walk (for it is possible that the blacks may have speared her through the feet), he will run away with her again. He runs away with her accordingly when an opportunity presents itself, and they are again brought back, and the same scene is enacted. At length the girl is really afraid to elope, as the beatings when brought back are fearful; but she does not give up hope of her intended. She alters her tactics. She is suddenly seized with a very severe sickness; her head is affected, and altogether she is in a bad way. Her parents get very much afraid she will die. Then she remembers that her lover has got a lock of her hair. He is brought to account, and confesses that he has the token. Another fight takes place, and when the young man has been nearly half-killed, the tribe take pity on him, and give him to wife the girl for whose sake he has borne so many honorable scars.*

A young woman's life is similar, full of trouble until she is married. Even then the troubles cease not if she does not get a good husband. At about the age of thirteen or fourteen she is marriageable; a yam-stick is given to her for protection, and this precaution is nearly always needed, for it would not be sufficient for her to say "no" to an important question. She drives away any young man who is smitten with her charms with her yam-stick. Matches are generally made up among the young men; the women never initiate matches, though they have a good deal to say when it becomes known that a young woman is sought after by some young man. The match is mostly arranged between two young men who have sisters or some female relative over whose fate they may happen to have control. They follow a system of barter in their matrimonial arrangements. The young woman's opinion is not asked. When the young men have settled the business, they propose a time when one of them is to take a girl for his wife. The young man marches up to her equipped as for war, with his club (*Kallak*) and club-shield (*Turn-man*) in his hands, and indeed these are needed, if he does not wish to receive a blow on his head from the yam-stick which would perhaps prevent the further progress of his love making. After a little fencing between the pair, the woman, if she has no serious objections to the

* A correspondent of the Rev. Lorimer Fison's gives a very different account of the marriage ceremony as it exists amongst the natives of Fraser Island (Great Sandy Island), Queensland. It appears that "the uncle of the bride goes and 'plenty' talks to all blackfellows about the marriage. Then the bride makes a fire, and the other natives come and place white feathers on her head; then the bride places feathers on the head of the bridegroom; the bridegroom makes a fire, and every one of the blacks present on the occasion brings a fire-stick, and throws it down at the bridegroom's fire. The bride is then placed in a bark hut or mia-mia, about six yards from the bridegroom, and they are then considered married, but do not come together until nearly two months after this." The white favors and the kind attentions paid to the bride and bridegroom contrast strangely with the waddy and the heavy blows that are necessary to a marriage contract amongst the blacks of the south.

man, quietly submits, and allows herself to be taken away to the camp of her future husband. She there begins to perform at once the duties which usually fall to the share of the wife—namely, building a new camp—getting firewood, &c., and on journeys acting as a carrier for all the worldly goods of her husband. These are packed on her back, all excepting his war implements, which he himself deigns to carry.*

Though the marriages of Aboriginals are not solemnized by any rites which amongst civilized peoples serve to make the contract, if not binding, at least a solemn and serious one, it must not be supposed that, as a rule, there is anything like promiscuous intercourse. When a man obtains a good wife, he keeps her as a precious possession, as long as she is fit to help him, and minister to his wants, and increase his happiness.† No other man must look with affection towards her. If she shows favor towards another and be discovered, she may suffer heavy punishment—be put to death even.‡ Promiscuous intercourse is

* Jardine, in his narrative, refers to this custom. At Camp No. 67, on the Dalhunty Creek, he saw the gins carrying spears and shields on the march, the men carrying only a nulla or two. When looking for game, the men, of course, carry spears and other implements.

† "Considering the industry and skill of their gins and wives [of the Darling] in making nets, sewing cloaks, mussel-fishing, rooting, &c., and their patient submission to labor, always carrying bags containing the whole property of the family while they follow their masters, the great value of a gin to one of these lazy fellows may be easily imagined. Accordingly, the possession of them appears to be associated with all their ideas of fighting; while, on the other hand, the gins have it in their power on such occasions to evince that universal characteristic of the fair, a partiality for the brave. Thus it is that after a battle they do not always follow the fugitives from the field, but not unfrequently go over, as a matter of course, to the victors, even with young children on their backs."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, &c., by T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S., &c.

"If a man have several girls at his disposal, he speedily obtains several wives, who, however, very seldom agree well with each other, but are continually quarrelling, each endeavouring to be the favorite. The man, regarding them more as slaves than in any other light, employs them in every possible way to his own advantage. They are obliged to get him shell-fish, roots, and eatable plants."—*Encounter Bay Tribe*. Meyer.

"It is the females' province to clear away the grass within the lodge, lest it should take fire; to collect firewood and make the fire, which is always very small, so that it may not attract the attention of an enemy. When travelling, they always carry fire, that is, a piece of lighted bark. She fetches water, if it be near, in a bowl-shapen excrescence of some tree [Tar-nuk]; but if far away, it is carried in a small skin taken off the animal through the opening of the neck; either the feet and tail are left on, or the openings are secured by a sinew. She also gathers any edible roots or succulent vegetables that grow in the neighbourhood. The fleshy roots in general use are called *Cooloor*, *Palilla*, and *Munya*; the two first species of geranium are of an acrid flavor until roasted; the last is sweet, and frequently eaten uncooked; the roots of the bulrush and an aquatic plant are also occasionally used for food. The succulent vegetables in general use are the young tops of the *Munya*, the *Sow-thistle*, and several kinds of *Fig-marigold*. At Mount Gambier the females collect large quantities of the roots of the fern, which are eaten when baked, as well as the pretty green and gold frogs, and a very fleshy mushroom which is red on the upper and green on the under side; these are brought home strung on rushes. Our mushroom is very rarely used. In spring they gather cakes of wattle (mimosa) gum, and use it dissolved in water. The implement with which the roots are gathered, and which is constantly carried by the women for offensive and defensive purposes, is a small pole, seven or eight feet long, straightened and hardened by fire, flattened and pointed at the end."—*W. E. Stanbridge*.

‡ In a review of a work entitled *Brides and Bridals*, in the *Athenæum* of the 16th November 1872, there occurs the following very interesting statement:—"An old Welsh law authorized the infliction of three blows with a broom-stick on any part of the person except the head," but does not appear to have "limited the frequency or severity of the doses; and by an ancient continental rule the wife was considered to have just cause for complaint only when knocked down with a bar of

abhorrent to many of them;* and it is hard to believe that even in a lower state the male would not have had the same feeling of affection for his mate and an equal jealousy of love as we see amongst the Aborigines now.

Exogamy exists throughout the greater part of Australia probably, but there is little or nothing to show whether or not it existed, or, if it was a law, how it operated amongst the Aborigines in Victoria. We must seek for information amongst those whose habits have not been much affected by the intrusion of whites.

Something, however, is known.

Mr. Bulmer says—"The blacks of the Murray are divided into two classes, the *Mak-quarra* or eagle, and the *Kil-parra* or crow. If the man be *Mak-quarra*, the woman must be *Kil-parra*. A Mak-quarra could not marry a Mak-quarra nor a Kil-parra a Kil-parra. The children take their caste from the mother, and not from the father. The Murray blacks never deviate from this rule. A man would as soon marry his sister as a woman of the caste to which he belongs. He calls a woman of the same caste *Wurtoa* (sister)." Thirty years ago this custom was investigated by Grey in South Australia. "The natives," he says, "are divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same names, as a family or second name. The principal branches of these families, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are the Ballaroke, Tdondarup, Ngotak, Nagarnook, Nogonyuk, Mongalung, Narrangur."† The

iron. Blackstone ascribes the continuance of the practice of wife-beating among the lower classes, long after it had gone out of fashion with the upper, to the affection of the common people for the old common law."

Cruelty to wives—and the infliction of punishment according to law or custom must have involved cruelty—is not therefore a practice restricted to savage nations. According to Mr. Jeaffreson—the author of the work here referred to—a slipper was held to be a proper instrument of correction. Has this any connection with the throwing of the shoe when the bride and bridegroom depart for the honeymoon? Nearly all our customs are derived from remote ancestors.

* This I believe is strictly true as regards the Aborigines generally; but since it was written I have received information from a settler well acquainted with the Aborigines of the northern and central parts of Australia, which suggests that amongst some tribes there are women wholly given up to common lewdness. He tells me that a woman has been known to travel alone from Cooper's Creek eastwards for a distance of 500 miles solely for the purpose of profiting by prostitution. On reaching a camp of blacks, she would make a small fire, so as to raise a column of smoke. This signal would bring to her men and boys, and in return for favors conferred she would receive pieces of tobacco, a blanket, a rug, or the like. These would again be bartered away for goods that could be easily carried; and after the district was exhausted, she would return to her tribe with her gains.

He says, further, that a man is considered inhospitable—a bad host—who will not lend his lubra to a guest.

I cannot help thinking that these practices are modern—that they have been acquired since the Aborigines have been brought in contact with the lower class of whites. They are altogether irreconcilable with the penal laws in force in former times amongst the natives of Victoria. Yet the practices are undoubtedly common in many parts of Australia; and it is right to use the utmost caution in dealing with facts of this kind. Isolated cases of criminal intercourse—under strong temptation—are altogether different from prostitution as said to be practised at this day by the natives of Cooper's Creek and the Paroo; but these natives have other customs which are not known to the Aborigines of the southern parts of Australia. For instance, Mr. Gason says that amongst the Dieyerie each married woman is permitted a paramour.

See also *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, by Edward John Eyre, 1845, vol. II., pp. 319-20.

† *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery.* Grey, vol. II., pp. 225-6.

several members of these families again have each a local name, which is understood in the district which they inhabit; but the family names extend from King George's Sound to Carpentaria. "The family names are perpetuated and spread through the country by the operation of two remarkable laws:—

1st. "That children of either sex always take the family name of their mother." (And reference is made to Genesis xx., 12:—"And yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother, and she became my wife.")

2nd. "That a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name."

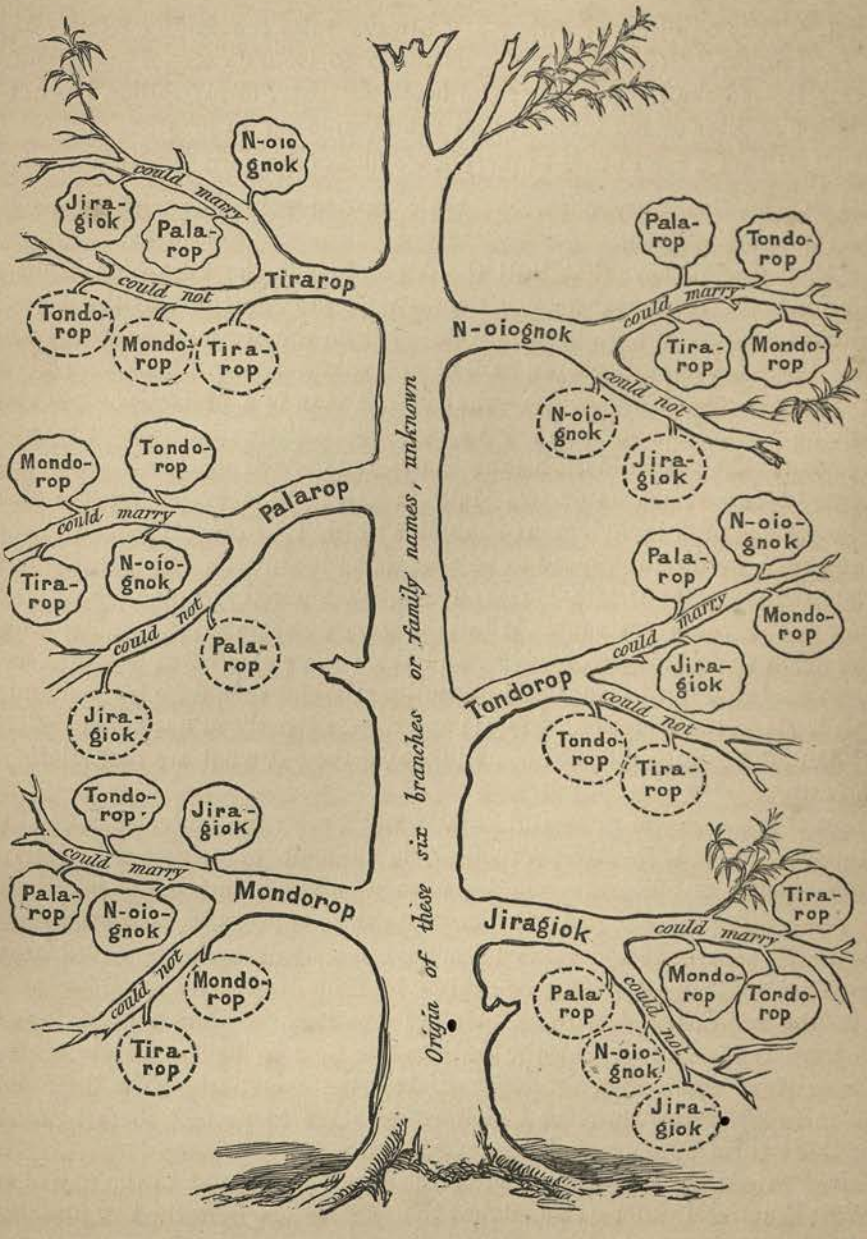
In this respect—as Grey observes—their custom coincides with that of the North American Indians.

Mr. C. Wilhelmi says that "all the Aborigines in the Port Lincoln district are divided into two separate classes, namely, the *Matteri* and the *Karraru*. This division seems to have been introduced since time immemorial, and with a view to regulate their marriages, as no one is allowed to intermarry in his own caste, but only into the other one—that is, if a man is a Matteri, he can choose as his wife a Karraru only, and *vice versa*. This distinction is kept up by the arrangement that the children belong to the caste of the mother. There are no instances of two Karrarus or two Matteris having been married together, and yet connections of a less virtuous character which take place between members of the same caste do not appear to be considered incestuous. In addition to this general rule, there are certain degrees of relationship within which intermarrying is prohibited; yet, from the indefinite degree of their relationship by blood, arising from the plurality of wives, and their being cast off at pleasure, &c., it becomes very difficult to trace them exactly. Besides this, friendship among the natives leads to the adoption of forms and names strictly in use among relatives only; thus it becomes totally impossible to make out what are real relations or apparently so."

How the knowledge of consanguinity was preserved, under such conditions as those described by Mr. Wilhelmi, is difficult to conjecture. Marriages between members of certain classes were prohibited, but intercourse between males and females belonging to the same class appears to have been regarded without disfavor. If the issue of such connections were preserved, to what class did they belong? They would not—from want of knowledge of their origin—be in all cases destroyed. Unless it is assumed that in later times their laws were relaxed, and that the natives are now living in a state altogether different from that which formerly existed, there is nothing in their ancient rigid rules regarding marriage which would serve to protect them against the evils these rules were enacted to prevent.

Mr. Francis F. Armstrong, the Government Interpreter to the native tribes of West Australia, informs me. "that the females are betrothed or promised in marriage when very young in a certain line of families or to a particular person in that line, and generally are not supposed to marry or be taken out of that line: certainly not to have their own choice. The brother of a deceased native has a right to the widow, and may, if he is willing, take her."

The following diagram, forwarded to me by Mr. Armstrong, shows in what lines, and with what limitations, Aboriginal marriages may be contracted in New Norcia:—



Mr. Samuel Bennett, in his *History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, says, in reference to the Aborigines of the north-eastern parts of Australia, that "their laws of pedigree and marriage prescribe a complete classification

of the people of the nature of caste. By means of family names, they are divided into four classes. Ippai, Murri, Kubbi, and Kumbo, are the names of the men; and their sisters are respectively Ippata, Mata, Kapota, and Buta. In one family all the males are called Ippai, the females Ippata; in another all the males are Murri, the females Mata; in a third all the males are Kubbi, the females Kapota; and in a fourth all the males are Kumbo, all the females Buta. Every family in all the Kamilaroi tribes, over a large extent of country, including Liverpool Plains, the Namoi, the Barwan, and the Bundarra, is distinguished by one of these four sets of names. The names are hereditary; but the rule of descent differs from any other ever heard of. The sons of Ippai (if his wife be Kapota) are all Murri, and his daughters Mata; the sons of Murri are Ippai, and the daughters Ippata; the sons of Kubbi are Kumbo, the daughters Buta; the sons of Kumbo are Kubbi, the daughters Kapota. The law of marriage is founded on this system of descent. They have no law against polygamy; but while their law is not careful about the number of a man's wives, it denounces capital punishment against any one who marries one of the wrong sort. The rule is this:—Ippai may marry Kapota, and any Ippata but his own sister; Murri may marry Buta only; Kubbi may marry Ippata only; Kumbo may marry Mata only. In some respects, for instance in the larger marriage choice, Ippai is a favored class; but many who exercise a kind of authority are Kumbo, and in the course of a few generations every man's descendants come into the class of Ippa as well as into that of Kumbo."

The natives of Port Essington are divided into three distinct classes, which do not intermarry. The first is known as Maudrojilly, the second as Mamburgy, the third as Maudrouilly.*

Of late years this subject has been more carefully investigated. The Rev. Lorimer Fison has collected a great deal of useful and important information, and has had the assistance of the Rev. W. Ridley and other gentlemen in New South Wales. Mr. Fison, jointly with Mr. Howitt, undertook to prepare a paper for this work on *Australian Kinship*. Printed circulars were forwarded to settlers in nearly all parts of Australia; and though only a few replies have been received, it is possible that before my labors are completed Mr. Fison and Mr. Howitt will be able to submit new views on this highly interesting subject. Mr. Howitt has already arranged the system of kinship as it exists in eastern Gippsland, and his paper is appended.

In the proceedings of the *American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (vol. III.) there is a paper on *Australian Kinship*, written by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, from original memoranda of the Rev. Lorimer Fison, and many difficult questions arising out of the divisions into tribes and classes are lucidly treated. Mr. Morgan refers more especially to the Kamilaroi people. They are divided into six tribes, and there is a further division into eight classes. After reviewing the facts and conclusions, as given in Mr. Fison's memoranda, Mr. Morgan says:—

"Out of the preceding statements we have the full constitution of the tribes, with the several classes belonging to each. The classes are in pairs of

* Stokes, vol. I., p. 393.

brothers and sisters, and the tribes themselves are constituted in pairs, as follows:—

Tribes.	*Male.*	*Female.*	*Male.*	*Female.*
1. Iguana (Duli) - -	All are	Murri and	Mata, or	Kubbi and Kapota.
2. Emu (Dinoun) -	„	Kumbo „	Buta „	Ippai „ Ippata.
3. Kangaroo (Murriira)	„	Murri „	Mata „	Kubbi „ Kapota.
4. Bandicoot (Bilba) -	„	Kumbo „	Buta „	Ippai „ Ippata.
5. Opossum (Mute) -	„	Murri „	Mata „	Kubbi „ Kapota.
6. Blacksnake (Nurai) -	„	Kumbo „	Buta „	Ippai „ Ippata.

"The necessary connection of the children with a particular tribe is proven by the law of marriage and descent. Thus Iguana-Mata must marry Kumbo; her children are Kubbi and Kapota, and necessarily Iguana in tribe. Iguana-Kapota must marry Ippai; her children are Murri and Mata, and also Iguana in tribe. In like manner, Emu-Buta must marry Murri; her children are Ippai and Ippata, and Emu in tribe. Emu-Ippata must marry Kubbi; her children are Kumbo and Buta, and also of the Emu tribe. The same is true with respect to marriages in the two remaining pairs of tribes. It will also be seen that each tribe is made up, theoretically, of the descendants, in the female line, of two supposed female ancestors. Why Mata and Kapota are found in the Iguana, Kangaroo, and Opossum, and not in the other tribes, and why Buta and Ippata are found in the Emu, Bandicoot, and Blacksnake, and not in the first three tribes, is not explained, except that it is a part of the constitution of the tribal system as it now exists among the Kamilaroi. Moreover, as we find that the Iguana, Kangaroo, and Opossum tribes are counterparts of each other in the classes they contain, it follows that they are subdivisions of one original tribe. Precisely the same is true of Emu, Bandicoot, and Blacksnake, in both particulars; thus reducing the six to two original tribes, with marriage in the tribe interdicted. It is further shown by the fact that the first three tribes could not intermarry, nor the last three, with each other. The prohibition which prevented intermarriage when either three tribes was one would follow the subdivisions, who were of the same descent, though under different tribal names. Exactly the same thing is found among the Seneca-Iroquois."

Further very ingenious speculations, founded on the data he has obtained, are contained in Mr. Morgan's paper. He shows distinctly the effects of this division into classes, and how the tribal organization, permitting of marriage into every tribe but that of the individual, was defeated by it.

Before arriving at sure conclusions respecting the laws of marriage and the systems of consanguinity, as they exist in Australia, it will be necessary to institute careful enquiries in all parts of the continent, and to receive no statement from a black as correct until it has been verified. The natives are only too willing, when they are questioned, to seek to please; and if they catch a hint of what is desired—and they are quick in apprehension—they will frame their answers accordingly.

Mr. George Bridgman, the Superintendent of Aboriginal Stations near Mackay, in Queensland, says, in a letter to me, that he has carefully considered the

paper just referred to, and cannot reconcile the system as put forth by Mr. Morgan with the facts as they exist within his knowledge. There is an intelligent native, from a district near Brisbane, now in employment in Mackay, who has been living with the Kamilaroi people and many others; and he informs Mr. Bridgman that both in his own tribe, and every other in the districts he is acquainted with, the system is the same, even where the class names are different. Yet the tribes in all places know which class is referred to when its name is mentioned, though the languages be not the same. Mr. Bridgman adds:—

"As an instance, the man I refer to has a wife from these (the Mackay) blacks. He tells me he got one belonging to the class that corresponds with that from which he would have got a wife in his own country—though here the class is called Woongoan (in the female) and in his tribe by another name. The Kamilaroi system, this black says, is the same as that here; and he gave me the words Murree and Kubbee as two of their terms (as in Mr. Morgan's paper), except that there is a final 'ee' instead of 'i.' The system, as it comes under my notice here, is quite simple, and is as follows:—All blacks are divided into two classes, irrespective of tribe or locality. These are Youngaroo and Wootaroo (end of each word sounded 'rue'). The Youngaroo are subdivided into Gurgela and Bembia, and the Wootaroo into Coobaroo and Woongo. The first divisions have no feminine; the subdivisions have, namely, Coobaroon and Woongoon. Every man, woman, and child necessarily belongs to one first division and one second. Gurgela marries Coobaroon, and Bembia, Woongoon. Children belong to the mothers' primary division, but to the other subdivision. Thus Youngaroo-Gurgela marries Wootaroo-Coobaroon, and their children are Wootaroo-Woongo.

"Although on paper this looks rather complicated, it is, when understood, very simple. . . . . The blacks seem to have an idea that these classes are a universal law of nature, so they divide everything into them. They tell you that alligators are Youngaroo, and kangaroos are Wootaroo—the sun is Youngaroo and the moon is Wootaroo; and so on with the constellations, with the trees, and with the plants. But even when one knows the language, it is hard to get information from this people, because they lack the power of concentrating and collecting their ideas which is natural to educated people. . . . . On the system just described hinges all their ideas of relationship. Their terms for father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, &c., &c., are by no means synonymous with ours, but convey different ideas. From my long connection with the blacks, they have given me a name and a grade amongst themselves, and there are many here who I do not suppose know my proper name. I have several names, but the one I am usually called is *Goonurra*, which has no meaning—is only a name. I am Youngaroo and Bembia, carrying out the former idea; and if I had children they would be Wootaroo and Coobaroo. When a strange girl comes here, I do not ask her name—that would be improper, according to the blacks' ideas—nor can I ask what class she belongs to, but I say to another, 'What am I to call her?' The answer may be (if she is Coobaroon) *Woolbrigan uno nulla*—'Daughter yours she.' *Mollee dunilla indu*—'Mollee, say you?' *Mollee* being the term which all fathers call their daughters—daughter meaning

any young woman belonging to the class which my daughter would belong to if I had one. I give this example as the easiest way of conveying an idea of their system. Blacks in their native state—that is before they pick up our manners and customs—never call each other by name. They always use a term of relationship, but use names, in speaking of another, in the third person."

Mr. D. Stewart, of Mount Gambier, South Australia, describes, in a letter to the Rev. L. Fison, the system observed by him amongst the tribes in his district; and it seems to assimilate very closely to that of the natives of Mackay, in Queensland. Mankind and things in general are included in the larger divisions, just in the manner mentioned by Mr. Bridgman. There is undoubtedly a great deal yet to be ascertained respecting the nature of the classifications just described and the laws which govern the Australians in their relationships and marriages.

The prohibitions, as they existed amongst the tribes, had the effect of preventing, or, at any rate, greatly reducing the number of in-and-in marriages; but, as pointed out by Mr. Morgan, the institution of classes had an opposite effect—actually compelling in-and-in marriages, beyond the degrees of brothers and sisters. The restrictions, even as now stated in the systems I have referred to, leave such small scope for sexual selection as to give rise, no doubt, not seldom to practices like those described by Mr. Wilhelmi. Why some tribes are exogamous and others endogamous; how such classifications as those existing in Australia originated; why, when the prohibitions were openly disregarded, the offenders were punished, and yet secret violations of the rules were passed over without notice—are questions which cannot be answered. Further researches in countries peopled by savages will enlighten us. At present too little is known to admit of any theories being satisfactorily established. The field open to investigators is large. Such laws, or laws somewhat similar to those in force in Australia, are established amongst various races throughout the world.

They are thus referred to by Latham :—

"Imperfect as is our information for the early history and social condition of the Magar, we know that a trace of a tribual division (why not say an actual division into tribes?) is to be found. There are twelve Thums. All individuals belonging to the same Thum are supposed to be descended from the same male ancestor; descent from the same great mother being by no means necessary. So husband and wife must belong to different Thums. Within one and the same there is no marriage. Do you wish for a wife? If so, look to the Thum of your neighbour; at any rate look beyond your own. This is the first time I have found occasion to mention the practice. It will not be the last; on the contrary, the principle it suggests is so common as to be almost universal. We shall find it in Australia; we shall find it in North and South America; we shall find it in Africa; we shall find it in Europe; we shall suspect and infer it in many places where the actual evidence of its existence is incomplete."*

Of the many misstatements which have been made from time to time, and perhaps not seldom thoughtlessly, not the least important is that given in the work of Count P. E. de Strezelecki, entitled a "*Physical Description of New*

* *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. i., p. 80.

South Wales and Van Diemen's Land." At page 346, in stating some facts believed by him to explain the curtailment of power of continuing or procreating the species, he says that "of these, the most remarkable, and that which most directly bears upon the question, is the result of a union between an Aboriginal female and an European male—an intercourse frequently brought about in these countries, either by local customs and notions of hospitality, or by the natural propensity of the sexes. Whenever this takes place, the native female is found to lose the power of conception on a renewal of intercourse with the male of her own race, retaining that of procreating only with the white men. Hundreds of instances of this extraordinary fact are in record in the writer's memoranda, all tending to prove that the sterility of the female being relative only to one and not to another male—and recurring invariably, under the same circumstances, amongst the Hurons, Seminoles, Red Indians, Yakies (Sinaloa), Mendoza Indians, Araucos, South Sea Islanders, and natives of New Zealand, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land—is not accidental, but follows laws as cogent, though as mysterious, as the rest of those connected with generation."

M. de Strezelecki's statement need not have been referred to here perhaps had it not been accepted and believed by so many, and made the text of some lay sermons intended to elevate the white man at the expense of his darker brother. A simple denial of the truth of it would be unsatisfactory, if not useless. The error has taken such deep root that it is necessary to confront a theory (though unsupported by evidence) by numerous incontrovertible facts collected by correspondents who have no theories to maintain, and who relate only what they know to be true.

The Rev. Mr. Hartmann, of the Lake Hindmarsh Station, says that a full-blooded black woman named Kitty had two half-caste children (Esther and Maggie) by a white man (Robertson), and subsequently had a pure Aboriginal child (Bobby) by a black man; and that on the River Murray a black woman named Charlotte had "Edward," a half-caste, and subsequently "Julia" by a full-blooded Australian named "Dick."

Mr. Green says that there is a woman now on the station named Borat (of the Yarra tribe) who has a half-caste son sixteen years of age, named Wandon, who is now living at Coranderrk; and that ten years ago she had a black son to "Andrew," of a Gippsland tribe; six years ago she had a black daughter to the same father; and that one year ago she had a black son to "Adam," of the Mordialloc tribe. The child is now living at Coranderrk. Mr. Green adds that "Eliza," of the Goulburn tribe, had a half-caste child twelve years ago (which she killed), and since she has had four full-blooded black children, namely, two sons and two daughters—and that the four are now living on the station at Coranderrk.

The Rev. Mr. Hagenauer, of the Lake Wellington Station, states that "Lucy," previous to her marriage with "Charles Rivers," her present husband, had two half-caste children, both living; and that after her marriage with the full-blooded black she has had six full-blooded Aboriginal children, two of whom are dead, and four are living, namely, "Charley," nine years old;

"Harriet," seven years old; "Johnnie," five years old; and a baby a year and a half old. She is again *enceinte*.

That "Mary," the wife of the Aboriginal "Barney," has had children as follows:—"Toby" (dead), and "Harry," sixteen years old (living), full-blooded Aboriginals; "Bridget," a half-caste girl fourteen years of age, now living on the station; and a full-blooded Aboriginal boy who died at the age of three years.

"Charlotte" had three full-blooded Aboriginal children; and subsequently a half-caste girl, "Louise," now seventeen years of age; and again three full-blooded Aboriginal children. Subsequently she had a half-caste child (now dead), and the last child was a full-blooded black.

One properly-authenticated case of a female having borne children to a full-blooded black after having had children to a white man would have been sufficient to destroy Count Strezelecki's theory, and I have given several cases. I might give more. But I pause to ask how Count Strezelecki could have procured "hundreds of instances" of the extraordinary "fact" on which he lays so much stress? It is easy to obtain positive evidence, as I have shown; but how Count Strezelecki got negative evidence of such a kind as to satisfy the mind of even the most credulous observer I cannot guess. Even if a hundred well-authenticated cases were cited in which black women had lost "the power of conception on the renewal of intercourse with the male of her own race," one might reasonably hesitate to accept the theory; but as he gives no instances, but contents himself with a general statement, it is not harsh but simply just to inform those who believe the story that there is no truth in it.

There is no ground for the belief—not even the shadow of ground for the belief—that the Aborigines of Victoria—regarding them simply as animals—are in any way different from any other animals which belong to the human species. Mr. John Green says:—

"There are many female half-castes who have had children to white men as well as to blacks. There are three half-caste women at Coranderrk who are married to black men, and all three have had two children each to their husbands.

"There is a half-caste man and a half-caste woman married, and they have one child. There are three half-caste women on the station who have had children to white men, but they were not married. The children of the latter have the complexion of Europeans, and have but little of the Aboriginal caste in the face. Only those who are well acquainted with the peculiar features of the Aborigines would suspect that these children had Aboriginal blood in their veins." *

* John Briggs, a half-caste Tasmanian, who intermarried with a half-caste Australian, has had ten children, of whom eight are now living—three boys and five girls. John Briggs was born in one of the islands in Bass's Straits. His wife is the daughter of an Australian woman, who, with her sister, was taken to Tasmania at the time that Buckley was removed from Port Phillip to that colony. His eldest son is between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and the youngest child is two months old. He says he was married in 1844. He is an intelligent man; tall and well-formed, but weather-beaten in appearance. His hair is grey; his complexion yellow—dull yellow; his teeth large, and not close together; his hair woolly, somewhat like that of a negro; his eyes dark-brown; his nose

The case is stated simply and plainly, and in plain language, in the hope that those whose habit has been heretofore to dogmatise on questions of so much importance may enquire and investigate before they promulgate opinions which are likely to retard the advance of science, embitter the relations between races whose interests are conflicting, and offer inducements to the strong to be cruel to the weak.

It is the firm belief of the Aborigines that if a man to whom a female is betrothed sees or is seen by the mother of the girl, some disaster will happen to him, or that evil spirits will afflict him: and the mother-in-law carefully avoids her son-in-law; but whether in order to avert evil from him or to protect herself has never been ascertained. The origin of this mysterious custom is not known; and those who allow it or conform to it can give no intelligible explanation of it. In a state of society in which the sexes are, by reason of wars and the wandering habits of the tribes, brought together sometimes in a way that husbands and wives would not approve of—this rule is perhaps necessary as a complemental enlargement of their rather complex law of marriage. Girls, as has been said, are married at an early age, and when old enough to have marriageable daughters might still be attractive; and if, under temptation, any Aboriginal violated tribal rites by seeking to associate with the mother of any one of his wives, he might by such an act—and all the horror and rage which it would evoke—render necessary this as a salutary regulation. The mother naturally clings to her daughter, and would seek her companionship, and thus be brought necessarily into close communication with her son-in-law, if not prevented by this rule. No similar binding affection leads the sister to seek her brother.

If, by accident, a mother-in-law is approached by her son-in-law, she hides herself behind a bush, or in the grass, and the man holds up his shield and protects himself and passes her as best he can. If the mother-in-law is near other members of her tribe at such a time, they endeavour to conceal her, but they are not at liberty to say that her son-in-law is approaching, nor may they mention his name. Even at the Aboriginal Stations, where the Aboriginals are, one may say, civilized, and to some extent weaned from their prejudices, and where nearly all their ancient customs are in disuse or forgotten, this one lingers; and a woman will for some reason always avoid the sight of a certain man of the tribe. This has been mentioned to me as having given trouble and annoyance to the Superintendent of the Station at Coranderrk, where the Aboriginals are living in a state rather above than below that of the lowest class of whites.

Mr. Stanbridge says that "the mother-in-law, or *Gnalwinkurrk*, does not, under any circumstances, allow her *Gnalwin*, or son-in-law, to see her. If he be near, she hides herself; and if she require to go beyond where he is, she makes a circuit to avoid him, at the same time thoroughly screening herself with her cloak." Mr. Stanbridge adds that this remarkable custom is observed

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arched and almost Roman; his forehead well-shaped—not harsh and bony, but curved, and the lines are good: the frontal sinuses are not prominent.

He is the only half-caste Bass's Straits man I have ever had the opportunity of closely examining. He is very different from the half-caste Australian, and is also unlike the half-caste negro

by the aborigines of La Plata;* but it is known in all parts of the globe where the races are in an uncivilized state. It is practised in many parts of Polynesia, if not in all parts; and it is a recognised custom amongst some tribes in Africa. A Kaffir must not look at his mother-in-law. If they meet, they avoid each other. The man will leave the common path and take to the bush, holding up all he has in his hands to hide his face. The woman cowers low, and puts her hands over her eyes. And with them, as with our Aboriginals, the name of the son-in-law must never be mentioned to the mother-in-law.

It is certain that this avoidance of each other has not originated in, or been continued by, any whim or caprice. That peoples differing much from each other and widely separated should have the same custom, suggests a common origin. We have to seek for the reason rather in the conditions under which they live; and with polygamy and strict rules as regards the classes into which men and women may marry, it seems, when we carefully consider the matter, that it is a rule which would necessarily have to be made for common protection, and for the proper maintenance of more important laws. It is easy to conceive that not the violation of this rule, but the consequences which would result from the habitual violation of it, might make the oral traditions and the doctrines and discipline of the sages of the tribe less than waste breath.†

* On the authority of Dr. McKenna, formerly Consul at Melbourne for the Argentine Confederation. It is, however, well known that this is a custom of the Araucanians.

"I have noticed, *en passant*, several of the peculiar customs of the Aborigines; and there are others I might advert to, had I time. But one custom springing from their family relations is so singular, and apparently unique, that I must notice it.. A traveller who has described the Aborigines of Australia, speaks in approving terms of the extremely modest demeanour of the sexes towards each other. He describes the women as taking a circuit to avoid passing where some men were sitting, and carefully screening their faces that they might not be seen. Had he been familiar with their customs, he would have found that this had another source than modest feeling. It was the *Knalloin*—a custom I have never heard or read of as existing among other people. It is this:—As soon as a female child is promised in marriage to any man, from that hour he must never look upon his expected wife's mother, or hear her name, and the same prohibition was extended to the mother. She was never to look upon or hear the voice of the man to whom her daughter was to be given. I have never been able to trace the origin of this custom; but the ridiculous reason assigned for this strange institution was, that if they saw or heard each other, they would become prematurely old and die."—*Edward Stone Parker.*

"I may as well here also mention a curious custom they have relative to their domestic affairs—if such a term can be applied to such a people. In many instances, a girl, almost as soon as she is born, is given to a man. After this promise, the mother of the child never again voluntarily speaks to the intended husband before he takes her to himself, nor to any of his brothers, if he have any; on the contrary, she shuns them in the most careful manner. If the future son-in-law, or either of his brothers, should visit the tribe, she is always previously informed of his coming, so that she may have time to get out of the way; and if by chance she meets them, she covers her head over with her skin cloak. If any present is sent to her, such as opossum or kangaroo, and such-like food, the receivers rub their faces and hands over with charcoal before it is taken and tasted. When, again, a present of a skin cloak is made by the intended son-in-law, the mother gives it to her husband to wear for some time before it is favored with her acceptance. This practice is adhered to on both sides, for the son-in-law may see his proposed father, but will not on any account see the mother; their notions on these matters being, that when their children are married, the parents become much older; and if the girl's mother happens to see the proposed husband, it will cause her hair to turn grey immediately."—*Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, p. 89.

† This horror of the mother-in-law amongst savages cannot fail to suggest to the reader some ludicrous notions connected with the habits of highly civilized peoples; but any reference to them more specific than this would be out of place in a work of this kind.

Wars, accidents, and disease—in the natural condition of this people as children of the forest—make gaps in the domestic circles. Old men die of old age, young men are killed in encounters with men of hostile tribes, and women and children fall victims to neglect or cruelty or disease, or are purposely murdered; but when it happens that the head of a family dies, it becomes necessary to dispose of the widows. We know what would happen to a widow in poor circumstances in civilized communities; and some will say that they know what the widows ought to do in a savage state; but Nature is stronger than man's precepts, and it ordains that amongst savages the bereaved females shall not be allowed to die of starvation. A widow with her children is taken to the *miam* of the father or brother, and is supported until she can be exchanged for a young woman of another tribe. No sentiment is allowed to interfere with arrangements designed for her material comfort. She is obliged to mate with the man chosen for her by her protector; and though this mode of disposing of her may appear cruel and harsh, it is surely more humane than that neglect which a poor widow in a civilized country is sure to suffer. In a civilized country, a poor widow and her children it is true do not always die of starvation; but if our rules were imposed on the Aborigines, the widows and children would certainly die. Let us then judge this people with knowledge, and not condemn them and their customs in ignorance.*

It is rare that European women intermarry with Aboriginals. One case is known in Victoria. The daughter of a squatter or farmer, whose principal occupation—riding through the forest after cattle—brought her into daily intercourse with a black man—formed an affection for him, and finally abandoned her home and lived with him in a miam in the bush. Subsequently, they were married—with what results, as regards their domestic happiness, I know not.

Mr. Geo. E. Boxall, who appears to be well acquainted with the habits of the Aborigines in New South Wales, says that the daughter of a farmer at Burrowa became *enceinte* by a young blackfellow who had been brought up by the girl's family. The child born was a girl, who, if alive, will be now (1876) twenty-one or twenty-two years of age. She was named Mary, and resided with her mother in 1864 on Pudman's Creek, about fourteen miles from the township of Burrowa.

It is probable that many such unions are known to the settlers in New South Wales and Queensland. The younger members of a family living in the bush —far away from towns—if their parents are unable to afford the expense of educating them, soon acquire habits which bring them on a level with the Aborigines; and it should excite no surprise that the sisters should emulate the brothers.

* "After a man dies, if his widows have no children, when the days of mourning are over, the custom appears to be to offer them as wives, first to his brothers, and then to his first cousins; but if they have children, it is optional on their part whether they marry again."—*W. E. Stanbridge.*

Amongst the Bakalai, a tribe in Africa inhabiting a tract of country between the Equator and 2°S. and longitude 10° to 13° E., a man will not marry a woman of his own tribe or clan; but widows are permitted to marry the son of their deceased husband; and if there be no son, they are allowed to live with the deceased husband's brother.

Death, and Burial of the Dead.

The instincts which govern the behaviour of the lower animals in the treatment of their young seem to prevail, with some modifications, in all communities of savages. If produced at the wrong time, or at the wrong place, the young are neglected or destroyed; if burdensome, they are abandoned. And yet, stronger than the maternal love of the tigress or the lioness is that of the Australian Aboriginal woman for a favorite child. She will die in an effort to preserve it, and as willingly suffer the pangs of hunger, and the prolonged misery of hard travel, to secure it from injury. When one which she has loved dies, she keeps it still. Its little body is placed in a bag, and she carries it, together with all that her master and husband may order her to bear, for days and days through the forest, weeping now and again, as the senseless body beats against her sides, and seems to chide her for the roughness of the passage. At the camp at night it is put in a safe place, and not the most frivolous amongst the young men would dare to exhibit by look or gesture his disapproval of the sacred duty of the mother.*

If the loads which she has to carry become inconvenient, the mother will unpack the bag containing her child, break its bones with a stone hammer, re-pack the remains, and take them with her, even when the stench of the dead body is so offensive as to keep her friends at a distance.

When other ties and other duties make it impossible for the mother any longer to keep the relics near her person, they are disposed of either by burial, by hiding them in the hollow of a tree, or by committing them to the flames of the funeral pile.

Not less is the regard paid to a deceased person of importance. The hands are cut off; and the two nearest relatives carry these mementos, and hold them sacred, and thus give evidence of the existence in their minds of feelings and thoughts and imaginings which the untravelled European would fain limit to the better educated and the more highly organized of our species.

The modes of disposing of the dead, and the observances on the near decease of a member of a tribe who is esteemed or feared, are various. Not one tribe has exactly the same customs as another.

* In the narrative of the *Life and Adventures of William Buckley* it is stated that the bones of deceased children were carried about by their mothers in nets made of hair and twisted bark. The nets were tied round their necks by day, and placed under their heads at night; and the bones were invariably affectionately guarded.

The northern tribes in the Colony of Victoria seem to have placed the dead body on a funeral pile, and, with prescribed formalities, lighted the dry wood, and thus consumed the corpse. Some placed the body in a running stream; some threw it across the limb of a tree, so as to be out of the way of the wild dog, but not secure from other flesh-eating creatures; some deposited the dead hunter in a cave; others wrapped the remains in rugs or mats, and placed them on an artificial platform, formed of sticks and branches—where the sentinel-crow was sure to perch, and add a grim solemnity to the picture; many interred the corpse, or put it in an old mirrn-yong heap, or laid it with others—sacred in their memories—in a stone-lined trench cut in the ground.

Perhaps the most common of all methods, as practised by the Aborigines of this period, is that of interring the body.

The southern tribes have no appointed burial grounds for their people.*

* The blacks on the Bogan River, in New South Wales, bury their dead in cemeteries resembling those of Europeans. The graves are numerous, and the grounds are ornamented, and there are curved walks or tracks through them. On the Lachlan River the graves are marked by high mounds of earth, around which are placed rude seats. On the Murrumbidgee and Murray (north of Victoria) the graves are covered with thatched huts. On the Darling River they raise mounds and cover them with branches of trees, and form a ditch around each mound; and sometimes, for greater security, enclose the mound with a fence of dead limbs of trees and branches. Throughout the continent, however, it is the practice to bury the body near the spot where the death occurred.

Oxley gives a description of a grave which he found on his journey. He thinks it was probably that of some person of consideration among the natives. The form of the whole was semicircular. Three rows of seats occupied one half, the grave and the outer row of seats the other; the seats formed segments of circles, fifty, forty-five, and forty feet each, and were formed by the soil being trenched up from between them. The central part of the grave was about five feet high and about nine long, forming an oblong pointed cone. Oxley caused the tomb to be opened, and he found beneath the solid surface of the ground three or four layers of wood lying across the grave, and serving to support the cone of earth above; then several sheets of bark, underneath these dry grass and leaves, and at a depth of four feet was the body. The grave was oval, about four feet in length and from eighteen inches to two feet in width. The feet of the corpse were bent quite up to the head, the arms having been placed between the thighs. The face was downwards, the body lying east and west, with the head to the east. It had been carefully wrapped in a great number of opossum skins, the head bound round with the net usually worn by the natives, and also the girdle. It appeared, after having been enclosed in the skins, to have been placed in a larger net, and then deposited in the manner before mentioned.

To the west and north of the grave were two cypress trees, distant between fifty and sixty feet; the sides towards the tomb were barked, and curious characters deeply cut upon them, in a manner which, considering the tools they possess, must have been a work of great labor and time. The drawing in Oxley's work shows the figures. On one tree I think an attempt has been made to represent snakes, and on the other there is probably a copy of the device that the deceased had carved on his shield.

Major Mitchell says that on the Bogan, not far from Oxley's table-land, he found the burial ground of *Mimeridien*, and the natives scarcely lifted their heads as they passed it. It is thus graphically described:—"This burial ground was a fairy-like spot, in the midst of a scrub of drooping acacias. It was an extensive space, laid out in little walks, which were narrow and smooth, as if intended only for 'sprites.' All these ran in gracefully-curved lines, and enclosed the heaving heaps of reddish earth, which constrasted finely with the acacias and dark casuarinas around. Others, gilt with moss, shot far into the recesses of the bush, where slight traces of still more ancient graves proved the antiquity of these simple but touching records of humanity. With all our art we could do no more for the dead than these poor savages had done."—Vol. I., p. 317.

At another spot he saw a large lonely hut of peculiar construction; it was closed on every side, the materials consisting of poles and sheets of bark. It stood in the centre of a flat of bare earth

The body is buried generally within one or two hundred yards of the spot where the death occurred. When a man approaches his end, his relatives and friends remove him a short distance from his miam-miam—say five or six yards—and, without regard to the weather, lay him upon the grass. One supports his head and shoulders, holding him tenderly in his arms. By his side are placed a cord, made of grass or some fibre, his opossum rugs, which are to form his pall, and perhaps some favorite weapons or utensils. If of a good heart and stout, the dying man regards these preparations without fear, and talks freely of his coming end. Watching him carefully, the attendant sees at length that the awful change has come; and when the last breath has been breathed, he raises the body, throws the pall over the head, and, with the help of his neighbours, fastens it tightly, passing the cord twice or thrice around the neck. The knees of the body are brought quite up to the breast, the elbows over the trunk and near the hips, and the hands raised and pressed against the chest, and in this position the corpse is made fast with the cords. The pall, meanwhile, has been so kept as to conceal the body, and the attendants have scrupulously avoided actual contact with the flesh. Three minutes, or less, are sufficient for these preparations, and the corpse is then ready for the last ceremonials and the tomb.

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of considerable extent, which was enclosed by three small ridges, the surface within the artificial area having been made very level and smooth. The floor of the hut was covered with a bed of rushes, and it was plain it had been recently occupied. A near friend of the deceased had rested here and watched the grave, in accordance with custom, until the flesh had left the bones. No fire had ever been made in the hut, but fires had been kindled on the heath outside.—Vol. II., p. 71.

Near the junction of the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, Major Mitchell found several graves all enclosed in separate parterres of exactly the same remarkable form, consisting of the same kind of double or triple ridges as those first seen in the lower part of the Lachlan. There were three of these parterres all lying due east and west. On one, apparently that most recent, the ashes of a hut still appeared over the grave. On another, which contained two graves (one of a small child), logs of wood mixed with long grass were neatly piled transversely; and in the third, which was so ancient that the enclosing ridges were barely visible, the graves had sunk into a grassy hollow. Major Mitchell learnt from the widow that such tombs were made for men and boys only, not for females, and that the ashes over one of the graves were the remains of a hut which had been burnt and abandoned, after the murder of the person whose body was buried beneath had been avenged by the tribe to whom the brother or relative keeping it company above ground had belonged.—Vol. II., p. 87.

Major Mitchell makes the following general observations:—"The graves on these hills [near the junction of the Darling and the Murray] no longer resembled those on the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, but were precisely the same as those we had seen on the Darling, viz., mounds surrounded by and covered with dead branches and pieces of wood. On these lay the same singular casts of the head in white plaster which we had seen only at Fort Bourke. It is indeed curious to observe the different modes of burying adopted by the natives on different rivers. For instance, on the Bogan, they bury in graves covered like our own, and surrounded with curved walks and ornamented ground. On the Lachlan, under lofty mounds of earth, seats being made around. On the Murrumbidgee and Murray the graves are covered with well-thatched huts, containing dried grass for bedding, and enclosed by a parterre of a particular shape, like the inside of a whale-boat; and on the Darling, as above stated, the graves are in mounds, covered with dead branches and limbs of trees, and surrounded by a ditch, which here we found encircled by a fence of dead limbs and branches."—Vol. II., pp. 112–13.

The same explorer noticed in one place a large ash-hill (mirrn-yong heap) on whose ample surface the vestiges of a very ancient grave were just visible, the grave having been surrounded by exactly the same kind of ridges which had been observed around the inhabited tomb near the junction of the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee.—Vol. II., p. 148.

The ground around the body is now cleared of grass, which is burnt; and it is then carefully swept, so that the deceased lies in the centre of a circular piece of dry earth, a few feet in diameter. On the ground near the body is placed the tomahawk of the dead man, and his nearest of kin stands within or near the margin of the circle. The male mourners then assemble. The first who arrives seizes the tomahawk and endeavours to maim himself with it, aiming a blow usually at the head; but the relative of the deceased whose duty it is to see that all rites are fulfilled wrenches it from him, and prevents him from inflicting any deadly hurt; and the mourner then quietly seats himself at a distance of three or four or five feet from the corpse. Other mourners follow in like manner, performing the same ceremony, and with the same result. None is suffered by the attendant to maim himself.

Very soon a circle is thus formed on the marge of the cleared space within which the body lies; and if the deceased has made himself remarkable by his deeds or his wisdom during life, and if his tribe is large, two, three, or four circles of male mourners assemble on such occasions.

This ceremonial, simple as it is, strikes one with a kind of awe, and begets respect for this people, when seen for the first time in the glade of a dense forest. The mourners daubed with clay, their faces changed and made strangely to resemble one another by the rings around their eyes, which they have carefully painted with white earth; their bent figures, and their looks cast to the ground; the appearance of order and decency which they exhibit—make one regard this rite as scarcely less solemn than that which is performed when a great warrior of our own people is committed to his last resting-place.

The women are not suffered to come nigh the corpse at this stage of the ceremonial. As soon as it is known that death has stricken their companion, they muffle the dogs in opossum rugs, and collect in groups beside the trees adjacent to the spot where the body lies. They approach not nearer than fifty or sixty or one hundred yards. They give utterance to wild lamentations. They cry piteously, and make heard the sounds of their sorrow far beyond the space occupied by the mourners. There are, however, no screams or hideous outcries. We hear the tones of distress. Their notes are plaintive. They swell, and fall, and grow faint, and rise again. Theirs is truly the wail of bereaved creatures, and there is nothing vulgar in the demonstration, because in their wildest grief and sorrow there is the natural and not the affected outpouring of the heart's misery and desolation. The nearest group, generally composed of three women, leads and directs the sounds of lamentation; the next responds in fainter and yet wilder notes; and, if the tribe is numerous, the dirge is continued far into the forest.

When the body has lain about half an hour, the doctor, or sorcerer, or priest approaches, and he provides each of the inner circle of mourners with a stick about six inches in length. The mourners begin to turn up the earth of the cleared space with the sticks, making trenches about two inches in depth and three inches in width, each trench formed by one mourner meeting that formed by his neighbour—so that a circular trench is quickly excavated around the body.

The women at this stage cease their lamentations—and all thoughts are directed to the result, the thoughts even of those who cannot see but yet know that a solemn enquiry has been commenced.

As soon as the trench is finished, the doctor and the old men examine it. If an aperture or hole or excavation made by some insect or worm be found in the trench, and if that correspond with some other hole between the trench and the dead body, a connection between them is sought for. A straw or a small reed is used to discover the connection, and if it be determined, their future proceedings are settled; but if that cannot conveniently be done, a line is drawn from the corpse to the aperture in the trench.

In some such way a line is finally drawn, and to whatever point of the horizon it is directed, there must the avengers go to get the kidney-fat of the slayer of their friend. They must bring back to the tribe not only the kidney-fat, but the kidneys and a piece of the flank of the murderer, as a peace offering. By the depth of the aperture in the trench the doctor knows and tells the avengers how far they must travel to find the sorcerer who has caused the death of their friend.*

* This belief in sorcery is firmly implanted in the minds of all the Aboriginal natives of Australia, and the customs arising out of the belief are various. Mr. Samuel Gason finds a curious form of superstition in the Cooper's Creek district. He says that the natives attribute great power to a bone—*Mookooellie-duckana* (literally, *Mookoo*, bone; and *duckana*, strike); the compound word signifying *struck by a bone.*

As soon as a native becomes at all unwell, fears are entertained that some enemy has used the power of the bone to his injury, and the council of old men assemble to ascertain who is the guilty person.

"Should the patient remain a considerable time without a change, or his malady increase, his wife, if he have one—or if he have not, the wife of his nearest relative—is ordered to proceed to the person who is supposed to have caused the sickness. She does so, accompanied by her paramour, and on arrival immediately makes a few presents to the person suspected of her relative's illness, but makes no accusation against him, contenting herself with simply stating that her relative is fallen ill, and is not expected to recover; whereupon he sympathises with her, and expresses a hope that the invalid will soon be well again. He knows, however, perfectly well, though not accused, that he is suspected of having caused the malady; and, on the following morning, acquaints the woman that she can return to her relative, as he would draw all power away from the bone by steeping it in water. Accordingly, the woman carries back the joyful tidings that she has seen the party who has the bone, and he has promised to take all the power out of it. Now, should the invalid happen to die, and be a person of any influence, the man who acknowledged to having the bone is murdered on the first opportunity. Men threaten their wives (should they do anything wrong) with the bone, causing such dread in their wives, that mostly, instead of having a salutary effect, it causes them to hate their husbands. The bone is not an ordinary one, but the small bone of the human leg; and one of every two of the natives is charged with having one in his possession wherever he may go; but, in my own experience, I have never seen more than a dozen, and those at one of their ceremonies; as, for instance, when the whole tribe desire to kill at a distance—say from fifty to one hundred miles—some influential man of another tribe, they order several of the old men to despoil the dead—that is, to take the small leg-bones from many skeletons. Of these, the relics of their own tribe, they take from three to eight, which they wrap in fat and emu feathers; all the most noted men of the tribe taking them and pointing towards the place where their intended victim is supposed to reside, while doing which they curse the man they desire to kill, naming the death they would wish him. All present are bound to secrecy, and the ceremony lasts about an hour. Should they learn, after a few weeks, that the man they destine to destruction is alive and hearty, they account for it by supposing that some one of the tribe of the person cursed had stopped the power of the bone. So strongly are men, women, and children convinced of the power of the bone, that no reasoning can shake their belief."

This inquest being concluded, the digging of the grave is ordered. Two men are selected for this duty. A dry but not a much elevated spot is generally

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Revenge for the death of a member of a tribe is very deliberately planned.

"Should a man of influence and well connected—that is, have numerous relatives—die suddenly, or after a long illness, the tribe believe that he has been killed by some charm. A secret council is held, and some unhappy innocent is accused and condemned, and dealt with by the Pinya.

"The armed band [Pinya] entrusted with the office of executing offenders is appointed as follows:—A council is called of all the old men of the tribe; the chief—a native of influence—selecting the men for the pinya, and directing when to proceed on their sanguinary mission. The night prior to starting, the men composing the pinya, at about seven p.m., move out of the camp to a distance of about three hundred yards, where they sit in a circle, sticking their spears in the ground near them. The women form an outer circle round the men, a number of them bearing fire-sticks in their hands. The chief opens the council by asking who caused the death of their friend or relative, in reply to which the others name several natives of their own or neighbouring tribes, each attaching the crime to his bitterest enemy. The chief, perceiving whom the majority would have killed, calls out his name in a loud voice, when each man grasps his spear. The women who have fire-sticks lay them in a row, and, while so placing them, call out the name of some native, till one of them calls that of the man previously condemned, when all the men simultaneously spear the fire-stick of the woman who has named the condemned. Then the leader takes hold of the fire-stick, and, after one of the old men has made a hole a few inches deep in the ground with his hand, places the fire-stick in it, and covers it up, all declaring that they will slay the condemned, and see him buried like that stick. After going through some practices too beastly to narrate, the women return to the camp. The following morning, at sunrise, the pinya attire themselves in a plaited band, painted white (charpoo), and proceed on their journey until within a day's stage of the place where they suppose the man they seek will be found, and remain there during the day in fear they may be observed by some straggling native. At sunset they renew their journey until within a quarter of a mile of their intended victim's camp, when two men are sent out as spies to the camp, to ascertain if he is there, and, if possible, where he sleeps. After staying there about two hours, they report what they have seen and heard. The next thing done is the smearing of the pinya with white clay, so as to distinguish them from the enemy, in case any of the latter should endeavour to escape. They then march towards the camp at a time when they think the inmates are asleep, from about midnight to two a.m.; and, when within one hundred yards of it, divide into two parties—one going round on one side of the camp, and the second round on the other—forming a complete circle to hinder escape. The dogs begin to bark, and the women to whimper, not daring to cry aloud for fear of the pinya, who, as they invest the camp, make a very melancholy grunting noise. Then one or two walk up to the accused, telling him to come out and they will protect him, which he, aware of the custom, does not believe, yet he obeys, as he is powerless to resist. In the meanwhile, boughs are distributed by the pinya to all the men, women, and children, wherewith to make a noise in shaking, so that the friends and relatives of the condemned may not hear his groans while he is being executed. The pinya then kill the victim by spearing him and striking him with the two-handed weapon, avoiding to strike him below the hips, as they believe, were they to injure the legs, they would be unable to return home. The murder being consummated, they wait for daylight, when the young men of the pinya are ordered to lie down. The old men then wash their weapons, and, getting all the gore and flesh adhering to them off, mix it with some water; this agreeable draught being carried round by an old man, who bestows a little upon each young man to swallow, believing that thereby they will be inspired with courage and strength for any pinya they may afterwards join. The fat of the murdered man is cut off and wrapped round the weapons of all the old men, which are then covered with feathers. They then make for home."—*The Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines*, by Samuel Gason, Police-Trooper, 1874.

Threlkeld mentions a bone—*Mur-ro-kun*—which is obtained by the Ka-ra-kul, a doctor or conjuror. Three of the doctors sleep on the grave of a recently-interred corpse, and in the night, when the doctors are asleep, the dead person inserts a mysterious bone into each thigh of the three doctors, who do not feel the puncture more than if an ant had stung them. The bones remain in the flesh of the doctors without causing them any inconvenience. When they wish to kill any person, by means which cannot be known, they use the bone in a supernatural manner. The bone enters the body of the victim, and he dies.

chosen, and the grave, when formed, is about three feet six inches in length, two feet or a little more in width, and five feet in depth. With rude implements, and sometimes deeply affected by the circumstances attending this, one of the last rites to be performed in disposing of the body of their deceased friend, it has again and again been observed that the diggers of the grave are never careless or slovenly, and never fail to make it neatly. The sides are straight, and the lines are truly parallel. When the excavation is finally completed, the sides pared clean, and the whole interior carefully swept, it is ready for the reception of the body. At this moment the women renew their lamentations; and the voices of the mourners are raised suddenly, so as to startle those amongst the Aborigines who have not attended many burials. But the sounds are not suffered to interfere with the serious work of interment. One of the men cuts a piece of bark from a suitable tree in the vicinity, and trims it until it is exactly the size of the bottom of the grave, where, as soon as it is finished, it is placed, and over it are strewn fresh leaves and very small twigs of the gum-tree, so as to form a soft bed. The chief mourner now approaches, and standing over the grave, one foot on one side of it and one on the other, he suddenly, and with passion and energy, tears off his reed-necklace and the band which encompasses his forehead, and throws them into the grave. He then runs from the grave towards the women, and attempts or seems to attempt to spear them. This attack is well understood by the old women, and generally by both old and young, and the sorrowful man is allowed to expend his energy, each one taking care to avoid injury. The dead man's effects are produced while this is going on, and the sorcerer now takes the foremost place. He opens the small bag, and slowly and mournfully shakes out the contents; and in like manner empties the large bag. The contents—consisting of pieces of hard stone suitable for cutting or paring skins, small relics, twine made of opossum wool, bones for boring holes, and perhaps some articles obtained from Europeans—are placed in the grave; and the bags and the rugs of the deceased are torn up and thrown in likewise. The sorcerer enquires if there is any other property belonging to the dead man: if there is, it is brought forward and placed beside the bags and rugs. All the articles which he owned in life must be laid beside his body now that he is dead.

On the completion of these duties, the body is borne towards the grave. This is done without ceremony, and in some cases hardly with decency. A stout blackfellow takes the deceased on his shoulders, and hastens with his load to the grave, where he drops it suddenly into its resting-place, but not so as to disturb the earthen walls of the grave. After the breath is out of the body it must not be brought into contact with human hands nor with the earth. As the heavy weight falls with a dull sound on the resounding bark, the sorcerer cries aloud "Koor-re-koor!" He cries "Blood for blood!" or "Life for life!" And though a savage cry, not more mournful is the voice of the officiating priest who says over the body of one of our nation "Ashes to ashes—dust to dust." The wild and weird and mournful cry of the sorcerer has scarcely died away when one of the men steps into the grave and adjusts the body. The widow—as this is done—begins her sad ceremonies. She cuts off her hair above her forehead,

and becoming frantic, seizes fire-sticks, and burns her breasts, arms, legs, and thighs. Rushing from one place to another, and intent only on injuring herself, and seeming to delight in the self-inflicted torture, it would be rash and vain to interrupt her. She would fiercely turn on her nearest relative or friend and burn him with her brands. When exhausted, and when she can scarcely walk, she yet endeavours to kick the embers of the fire, and to throw them about. Sitting down, she takes the ashes in her hands, rubs them into her wounds, and then scratches her face (the only part not touched by the fire-sticks) until the blood mingles with the ashes which partly hide her cruel wounds. In this plight, scratching her face continually, she utters howls and lamentations and quick-voiced curses on the murderer of her husband, which interrupt strangely and harshly the soft and tender sounds of woe which come from the groups of women in the distance.*

Neither the cries of the bereaved woman nor her frantic movements are much noticed by the men who are charged with the duty of interring the corpse. An opossum rug is now put over the body, and carefully wrapped about it, and the spaces between it and the walls of the grave are filled in with leaves and tender twigs; and the body itself is now covered with leaves. Another piece of bark, similar to that lying in the bottom of the grave, and as well and as neatly trimmed, is laid over the covering of leaves and twigs, and little pieces of bark are so placed at the sides as to prevent the earth from falling upon the coverings of the dead man. This brings the whole within two feet and a half of the surface of the ground. These arrangements being satisfactorily completed, a few of the principal mourners approach. Each one after the other steps into the grave, and, standing on the bark, mournfully contemplates for a few moments the last bed of his departed friend. With eyes cast down, and lip and brow expressive of deep sorrow, he is not surely far removed from his white brother in performing this last not unholy office. Mourners not nearly related to the deceased merely cast a glance towards the covered body, and give place to others.

As soon as these simple rites are performed, the men, not hastily and not without respect to the dead, fill in the grave with earth, using their hands, and sometimes a stone tomahawk. They stop now and again, and trample the earth, and when the work is finally accomplished the sorcerer cries, "No-gee-mee," "That is enough."

This voice is the signal to the women, whose wild music is at once stilled—the dogs are let loose, and the members of the tribe are again in motion, and mingle with one another as before. A few women assemble around the widow, minister to her wants, and attempt to console her.

The grave is finally completed by raising over it a mound of earth, which is generally twelve or eighteen inches in height, and about nine yards in length, and six yards in width. If the surface of the ground is level, a gutter is made to

* "The custom among the Australians of putting dust or ashes on the head, of shaving the head, of clipping the beard, and of lacerating the body at death or in sign of mourning, appears very similar to the practices among the Israelites in the time of Moses.—*Vide* Leviticus xix., 27, 28; Leviticus xxi., 5; Jeremiah xlviii., 37; Ezekiel xxvii., 30, 31, 32; Revelation xviii, 19, &c."—*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, by Edward John Eyre, 1845, vol. II., p. 353.

carry off the rain-water. The grass and weeds for a small space around the grave are cut with a tomahawk and removed, the roots burnt off, and the place is made smooth, and swept. Boughs of trees are placed around it as a fence, a fire is made at the eastern end of the grave, and the tribe then desert the spot.

They desert the spot because they say they believe that the wild black who has taken the kidney-fat of the deceased, or the spirit which has destroyed him, will wander about the site of the old encampment. This is the reason they give for keeping away from the grave; but it is probable that the strong human instinct which leads men to refrain from amusements, cheerful talk, and the common acts of life in the vicinity of tombs and burial places, and the superstitions which are interwoven with all our thoughts of death, rather than any dread of wicked spirits, are the causes which lead them to abandon the sepulchre. No thought of danger nor dread of ghosts deters the widow from performing her duties if the performance of them be practicable. If the new encampment is within any reasonable distance of the grave, she visits it every night before sunset and every morning before sunrise, and remakes the fire, and sweeps the ground, and sits by the lonely bed of her deceased husband, sometimes in silent sorrow, sometimes wailing or singing a dirge* as she wanders slowly through the forest. Watching her figure, white with the ashes which cover her wounds, and feeble from torture, we see a picture of real distress which is far more affecting in its simplicity than the more elaborate mourning which civilization requires of one bereaved. The fire at the grave is usually kept burning for about ten days.†

If the deceased had in his life performed any remarkable feats, or rendered himself notorious as a great hunter, or as a wise counsellor, the sorcerer would have made a great speech on the occasion of the burial. Sitting cross-legged at the side of the grave, and sometimes lying on his stomach with his head a little raised, and sometimes with ear bent down, as if listening to the words of the deceased, he would have alternately praised him as a valiant man, or a good hunter, or as wise and skilful in deliberation or debate, and then listened for his

* On one occasion when Major Mitchell was near Rodrigo Ponds he heard a female singing. He says, "While I stood near this spot attending the arrival of the party, which was still at some distance, I overheard a female voice singing. The notes were pleasing, and very different from the monotonous strains of the natives in general. . . . . The soft sounds so expressive of tranquillity and peace were in perfect unison with the scene around." . . . . On approaching the natives, he found that they took no notice of him. One young man continued beating out a skin against a tree without regard to the presence of a stranger; and he discovered long afterwards that the female was singing a funeral dirge. It is usual for the relatives of one deceased to seem inattentive and insensible to whatever people may be doing around them.—Vol. I., pp. 117–18.

† The late Mr. W. H. Wright made mention of the following incident in a note to me:—"Sometime about 1844-6 I was informed that the tribe of Aborigines living near Wellington Valley were coming—some twenty-five miles—up the Macquarie River on important business. They proceeded by very easy stages—perhaps five miles a day—men, women, and children huddled together—and some of them bore a sort of hand-barrow, or bier, on which a fire was, with much care, kept constantly burning. In this way they proceeded to a grave situated on the Bell River, and there the proceedings terminated, and they dispersed. I saw them *en route*. An intelligent black, who was my tracker, informed me that their object in proceeding to the grave in question, and of maintaining the fire so vigilantly, was to relieve the widow of the deceased (whose remains were interred in the grave) from the bar to her marriage with another blackfellow. After the performance of certain ceremonies she would be at liberty to marry again—not before."—30th October 1876.

replies. The sorcerer would have told the people that as their deceased brother had killed many wild blackfellows, so, in justice, should many die for him, and that the dead man had promised that if his murder should be sufficiently avenged his spirit would not haunt the tribe, nor cause them fear, nor mislead them into wrong tracks, nor bring sickness amongst them, nor make loud noises in the night. Such a speech would have nerved the arms of the young men, and the strongest exertions would have been used to kill many wild blackfellows. The women would have urged speed, and the young children would have given the men strength by their tears and their alarm; because all believe that if a dead man's wrongs be not avenged, his spirit will return and cause calamity to the whole tribe of which he was a member.

If the death of a black occur after sunset, when there is not time to use all the proper ceremonials in the light of day, the body is left in the place where the spirit fled; and the nearest of kin—male and female—sit by the side of it during the long hours of night. Two fires are made, one at the east side of the corpse, and one at the west; and the male watches the east fire, and the female the west. Not until the glare of the morning light has turned the green tree-tops to gold does the camp move or the ceremonials begin.

On the occurrence of the death of a Goulburn black, on the south bank of the River Yarra, a circumstance attending the last rites baffled the ingenuity of the sorcerers not a little. After digging the small trench around the body, no aperture was found, neither in the trench nor in the space between that and the corpse, and the sorcerers and the mourners were perplexed and uneasy. But the wise men were troubled but for a short time. If there was not the ordinary manifestation, it was a sign that they were to look for another; and one sorcerer lying on his stomach spoke to the deceased, and the other sitting by his side received the precious messages which the dead man told. The sorcerer, thus informed, rose after the lapse of a quarter of an hour, and delivered his speech. He told the credulous mourners that the dead man had given instructions as to the way which they should go to find the wild black who had taken his kidney-fat; and the people were satisfied.

Sometimes a black, when he knows that he is dying, will save trouble by naming the tribe to whose wicked arts he has become a victim. Gen-nin—well known in Melbourne many years ago, and called by the whites "Jack Weatherly"—was bitten by a snake, and all the usual remedies failing, and Gen-nin knowing that his end had come, told his friends that a man of a tribe living in the north, whose country he described minutely, had entered the snake and taken his kidney-fat; and he gave sufficient information to lead to warfare, if not to the avenging, by the murder of the right man, of his blood.

In some cases a strong and often successful effort is made to screen the real offender where injury is inflicted on a black. At the gathering of three tribes on the banks of the River King, and during a fight which occurred as the result of the meeting, one black belonging to the Ovens River tribe was pierced through the lungs by a spear. Before he died he screened the tribe he had been fighting with by declaring that a wild Murray black had directed the spear, and that the black who hurled it had nothing to do with the result.

When a woman or a child dies, none but the bereaved exhibit sorrow. Ceremonies there are none. A grave is dug, and the body is buried, and one might suppose that the deceased was uncared for but for the fire which is lit near the tomb. In burying a young girl, they raise a tumulus, and make a fire on the top of it.

Some tribes inhabiting the country to the north and north-east are said to be more than ordinarily scrupulous in interring the dead. If practicable, they will bury the corpse near the spot where, as a child, it first drew breath. A mother will carry a dead infant for weeks, in the hope of being able to bury it near the place where it was born; and a dead man will be conveyed a long distance, in order that the last rites may be performed in a manner satisfactory to the tribe.*

When a man is killed in a fight, the tribes enquire whether or not the slain was *N'uther jum-buk*—sulky or sullen. If violent or mad, *N'ya-arunning*, or vicious, *Karndooith*—that is to say, if he pursued his enemy with malignity, and not in the calm manner of a man seeking merely for victory, but rather with savage bloodthirstiness—he would be held to be unworthy of decent burial. He would be left to chance mutilation and decay in the place where he fell. If he were the aggressor, and suffered death, the rites would not be performed. But if the victim acted merely in self-defence, his body would be burned, and his bones gathered together, and placed with decent care in the hollow branch of a tree.

The tribes holding country on the Delatite River, Ovens River, Broken River, and King River, appear to have burned the bodies of those who had been married; and a man killed accidentally was thought to deserve more than common care in regard to the disposal of his body. His bones were collected and placed in a hollow tree. The bodies of dead children were, in most cases, also placed in the hollow branches of trees. In thus disposing of the body of a child, there was neither negligence nor indecent haste. The hollow branch

* The people of the Wimmera follow some remarkable customs:—"In August 1849 a small tribe of blacks was encamped on Pettit's Creek, a branch of the Wimmera, near its sources in the Pyrenees, where one of their number, named 'Georgey,' a remarkably fine young man, and a great favorite with them, was carried off by consumption. Having first asked permission, his people chose an elevated spot within my paddock, and dug a grave, in which, after the bottom had been covered with dry grass, 'Georgey's' remains were placed compactly 'folded' within a good blanket, tied round and across with a woollen comforter, and his pannikin and sundry small articles besides. The grave was closed with a sheet of bark, and the vault so formed covered with the heaped-up soil, and further, a fence was put up to keep the horses off it. In the month of November following a great storm of wind and rain swept through the country, and almost as soon as it had cleared off 'Georgey's' friends again presented themselves and begged for the loan of spade and shovel. In reply to my enquiry why they wanted these, I was told that 'poor fellow "Georgey" was too much cold and wet and miserable where he was buried,' and they wished to remove him. Having exhumed the body, they wrapped an additional blanket and comforter round it, placed it on a bier made of saplings, and carried it across the creek to another spot in the paddock, and placed it in a hollow tree, all the openings in which they carefully stopped with dead sticks, so that no animals could get in. The tree was frequently visited, and swept round about; and the wails of the women used to be heard on these occasions. The remains of the poor fellow remained here until a bush-fire consumed the tree some years afterwards, a heap of ashes and a few calcined bones marking the spot when I revisited it."—*W. H. Wright, MS.*, 30th October 1876.

was cleared of rotten wood, and well swept. The bottom was lined with leaves and small twigs, well beaten down with a stiff piece of bark. Over those was placed a piece of bark, cut neatly, so as to fit the aperture. The body was placed in a rude bark coffin. This was made by peeling the bark off a sapling, which formed a sort of tube, in which the deceased child could be securely encased.

The coffin was placed in the hollow, twigs and leaves thrust in between the coffin and the sides of the hollow branch, more leaves and twigs over the top, and, finally, a lid of bark so adjusted as to make a very close covering, almost impervious to rain.

The manner of burning the dead is simple enough. The men gather dry branches, dry logs, and dry brushwood, and raise a pile about three feet in height, three feet in width, and six or seven feet in length. The woods are selected of those kinds which not only ignite easily, but which will continue to burn without attention until quite consumed. When the pile is ready—when it is of the proper height, and every cranny has been stuffed with dry leaves and brushwood—two blacks place the dead body on a rude hurdle made of branches, and carry it to the pile. Without touching any part of it, they gently and carefully slide it on to the heap, where it is laid in a becoming attitude. Preceding the carriers are three or four aged blacks, who, with their spears raised, walk solemnly and silently. Throughout the proceedings no word is spoken. Green boughs and bark are laid over the body, and the pile is built to a height of five feet or more. While the men are busy building the pile, there may be seen, about thirty yards off, a black woman sitting by a very small fire. The smoke is barely perceptible. She is silent and mournful, and gazes now and again at the pile. At the right time, an older woman goes to the fire, and takes a lighted stick. Thereupon the younger female weeps passionately, but never speaks. The old woman says nothing, but slowly takes her way to the heap of brushwood, and lights it. In a moment the whole is in a blaze; and all the men at once return to the encampment. Thus silently do they complete their part of the duty. After lighting the pile, the old woman returns to the younger, who sits by the fire. The elder is really, or affects to be, in great grief, and the two mourn together and weep, and wait until the body is entirely consumed.*

The Goulburn blacks made graves altogether different from those of the Yarra or Western Port tribes. For the burial of the body of a deceased warrior they dug a grave about five feet in depth, and from the bottom of it they made an excavation in a horizontal direction, about three feet in length and two feet six inches in height. A bed composed of leaves and small twigs was made in the cave thus formed, and the body was placed on it, and the spaces between it and the sides packed with leaves and twigs. The mouth of the cave was closed with a door, formed of a thick piece of bark, and was fastened securely by stakes driven into the ground. The grave was then filled in with earth. At the end of the grave most remote from the body, and at right-angles to it, was raised a low tumulus in the shape of a shield (*Gee-am*).

* Amongst the Romans it was the next of blood that performed the ceremony of lighting the pile.

The Barrabool blacks generally stuck a fighting-stick (*Worra-worra*) at the eastern end of the grave of a young man.

Mr. Daniel Bunce,* an intelligent observer, and a gentleman well acquainted with the habits of the blacks, says that no tribe that he has ever met with believe in the possibility of a man dying a natural death. If a man is taken ill, it is at once assumed that some member of a hostile tribe has stolen some of his hair. This is quite enough to cause serious illness. If the man continues sick and gets worse, it is assumed that the hair has been burnt by his enemy. Such an act, they say, is sufficient to imperil his life. If the man dies, it is assumed that the thief has choked his victim and taken away his kidney-fat. When the grave is being dug, one or more of the older men—generally doctors or conjurors (*Buk-na-look*)—stand by and attentively watch the laborers; and if an insect is thrown out of the ground, these old men observe the direction which it takes, and having determined the line, two of the young men, relations of the deceased, are despatched in the path indicated, with instructions to kill the first native they meet, who they are assured and believe is the person directly chargeable with the crime of causing the death of their relative.

Mr. John Green says that the men of the Yarra tribe firmly believe that no one ever dies a natural death. A man or a woman dies because of the wicked arts practised by some member of a hostile tribe; and they discover the direction in which to search for the slayer by the movements of a lizard which is seen immediately after the corpse is interred.

There are several methods of ascertaining the direction in which the avengers must go for the purpose of finding the wicked person who has compassed the death of an Aboriginal. Mr. F. M. Hughan, who is competent to speak of the habits of the Aborigines of the Lower Murray, thus describes one very curious ceremony which he himself observed in 1851. On the death of an aged headman of a tribe, there gathered together near the grave very many mourners. The women, as is customary, burnt themselves with fire-sticks, and howled dismally; and all the proper rites having been performed around the grave, which was dug in a sandhill having a gentle slope towards the bank of the Tarn Creek, a mound was finally raised and smoothly coated with wet clay. Around the mound a circle of spears was formed, and by each spear sat a warrior. Another set of less prominent men sat in a circle, each by his spear. Around these, and at a little distance, and sitting further apart, the women formed an outer circle. Not a sound was heard from the mourners. Sadly and patiently they awaited an event which was to be caused by the fierce sun overhead. The heat was oppressive, but no murmur arose in the circles. At length the clay which covered the grave cracked. The old men drew nigh, and having ascertained the direction of the first main fissure in the drying clay, they indicated the path which the warriors were to take in order to find the person who had practised sorcery on their deceased relative. There, as elsewhere, it was the duty of the avengers to bring back the kidney-fat of the first man of another tribe whom they might meet.

* Since deceased. He was Curator of the Botanical Gardens at Geelong.

Mr. Stanbridge, writing of the natives of the central part of Victoria, says that "when a person dies of a loathsome disease, the body is burned; while that of a young person, whose death is attributable to a different cause, is put into a tree to decay. The bones are afterwards collected and buried, the mother sometimes securing the small bones of the legs, to wear round her neck as a memorial. Persons of matured life, especially old men and doctors, are buried with much ceremony. The grave is made in a picturesque spot, to which the body is borne by the relatives; and with it are interred the weapons and other articles belonging to the deceased. The grass is cleared away around the grave for about a yard at each side, and eight yards at each end, in the form of a canoe, and the ground carefully swept daily by the female relatives; and for a time a small fire is made every night at the foot of the grave. If the person were much respected, a little covering of boughs or bark upon four supports is placed over it, and the canoe-shaped space neatly fenced with stakes." Mr. Stanbridge adds that they have the same belief in sorcery as in other parts, and that they select men to avenge the death, who go forth and kill the first persons they meet, whether men, women, or children; and the more lives that are sacrificed, the greater is the honor to the dead. When a death occurs, the women weep and lament, and tear the skin of their temples with their nails. The parents of the deceased lacerate themselves fearfully, especially if he be an only son. The father beats and cuts his head with his tomahawk, and groans bitterly; and the mother sits by the fire and burns her breast and abdomen with a fire-stick until she wails with pain. This continues for hours daily, until the time of lamentation is completed. Sometimes the burns are so severe as to cause death. The relatives of the deceased cover their heads and the upper part of their faces with white clay, which is worn during the time of mourning, and widows in some cases have the hair first taken off with a little fire-stick, by the doctor or priest, before they assume this badge of woe. The dead are rarely spoken of, and never by name. To mention the name would excite the malignity of *Couit-gil*, the spirit of the departed, which hovers over the earth for a time, and finally goes towards the setting sun.

The following account of the burial ceremonies of the tribes living near the mouth of the River Murray is compiled from a report written by the Rev. Geo. Taplin. The report was published in the *South Australian Register*:—

The Narrinyeri, inhabiting the Lakes and the Lower Murray, believe, when a death occurs, that sorcery has caused it. When a man dies, his nearest relative sleeps with his head on the corpse, and dreams a dream and discovers the name of the sorcerer who has caused the death of his friend. When the body is being carried to the grave, the male members of the tribe gather around it, and they call out the names of those who they think may have practised sorcery, watching the dead body all the time. If it moves when a name is mentioned, then they know on whom to be avenged. As a rule, the body stirs not until the dreamer tells the name of the sorcerer of whom he has dreamt. At that sound the bearers bend forward towards the dreamer, believing, and making others believe, that the impulse is given by the corpse; and thereupon the tribe is satisfied that the murderer is discovered. The deceased, lying on a

bier, is placed over a slow fire for a day or longer, and when the skin blisters it is removed. All the apertures of the body are sewn up, and it is rubbed with grease and red-ochre. Finally, it is set up naked on a stage, formed of branches and boughs of trees, and protected by a covering of branches. A small fire is lighted under it, which is kept up by the attendants until it is dry; and finally it is wrapped up in mats and placed in a wurley. The friends of the deceased, both male and female, lament and wail during the performance of these rites. They cut off their hair; they smear their faces with fat and pounded charcoal; they beat and cut themselves; and in other ways give expression to their great grief. Not one is indifferent. Any want of proper feeling would expose a native to the suspicion of sorcery, and might cause his life to be forfeited. While the body is drying, the relatives live, eat, drink, and sleep under the putrefying mass, and the females weep continuously, and, if they can, copiously. One always stands weeping in front of the corpse during the process of drying.

The dead body, all anointed with red-ochre and raised in a sitting posture; the smoke now partially hiding it and now sweeping behind it and spreading in thin wreaths amongst the boughs; the old men moving their long wands, on which they have tied bunches of feathers, in order to paint the body with ochre; the patient grief-stricken groups standing by; the weeping and disordered females—together make up a picture which harmonises with the untilled branch-strewn ground, the gaunt grey limbs of the sparsely-foliaged trees, and the somewhat harsh lights and shadows of an Australian forest.

When any one leaves the wurley for a few days, he is expected, on his return, to place himself in front of the body and to weep and lament. Not until the sorcerer is destroyed, or other expiatory sacrifice made, is the spirit of the dead man appeased. If the person named by the dreamer belongs to some tribe of the Narrinyeri, a difficulty arises. They may not desire to kill the sorcerer. Under such circumstances, they despatch messengers, in order to ascertain the temper of the friends and relatives of the sorcerer. Probably the negotiations result in the injured tribe formally cursing the slayer of their friend, and all his people. If this is done, arrangements are made for a fight, and the hostile tribes meet without delay. The men of the tribe to which the dead man belonged commence to weep and lament as soon as they see their foes. Their opponents mock and deride them, and some of them dance wild dances, flourishing their spears the while. They shout, they laugh wildly, and take all means known to them to provoke a fight. If they have long unsettled disputes between them, in addition to the immediate quarrel, they fight somewhat savagely, and one or two may perchance be killed, and the like number severely wounded; but if they are met merely to "give satisfaction" for the injury done to the dead man, the fight is interrupted, after a few spears are thrown, by some old man, who declares that enough has been done. If the old men on both sides agree, the hostile tribes mingle on friendly terms, and there is an end of the business. The death is avenged.

It is usual to preserve the hair of a dead man. It is spun into a cord and fastened around the head of a warrior. Wearing it, he sees clearly, is more active, and can parry with his shield or avoid the spears of his foes in a fight.

The funeral rites—as observed by the people of the Encounter Bay tribe, in South Australia—are thus described by Mr. H. E. Meyer :—

"Children still-born, or that have been put to death immediately after birth, are burned. If a child dies a natural death, it is carefully packed up, and the mother or grandmother carries it about with her for several months, or a year; after which it is exposed upon a tree until the bones are completely cleaned, after which they are buried. Young and middle-aged persons are buried in the following manner :—As soon as the person is dead, the knees are drawn up towards the head, and the hands placed between the thighs. Two fires are kindled, and the corpse placed between, so as to receive the heat of the fires and of the sun. After a few days the skin becomes loose, and is taken off. Such a corpse is then called *Grinkari*. This custom may explain why this name has been applied to Europeans, from the resemblance between their color and that of the native corpse after the skin has been removed. After this all the openings of the body are sewn up, and the whole surface rubbed with grease and red-ochre. Thus prepared, the corpse is placed upon a hut so arranged that the head and arms can be tied. It is then placed with the face to the east, and the arms extended, and a fire is kept constantly beneath. It remains thus until quite dry, when it is taken by the relations and packed up in mats, and then carried from one place to another—the scenes of his former life. After having been thus carried about for several months, it is placed upon a platform of sticks, and left until completely decayed. The head is then taken by the next of kin, and serves him for a drinking vessel; and now his name may be mentioned, which if done before would highly offend his relations, and is sometimes the cause of a war. This may be the reason of there being several names for the same thing. Thus, if a man has the name *Ngnke*, which signifies water, the whole tribe must use some other word to express water for a considerable time after his death. If a man is killed in battle, or dies in consequence of a wound, he is supposed to have been charmed with the *plongge*. And, in addition to the above-mentioned ceremonies, they hold a kind of inquest over the corpse, to ascertain to whom he owes his death. One of the nearest relations sleeps with his head resting upon the corpse until he dreams of the guilty person. As soon as this is ascertained, which is generally after the first or second night, he orders wood to be brought to make a kind of bier, upon which the corpse is placed. Several men then take the bier upon their shoulders, and the dreamer—striking upon the breast of the corpse—asks, 'Who charmed you?' He then mentions the name of some person. All remain quiet. After he has asked this question many times, and mentioned several names, he mentions the name of the person he saw in his dream. The bearers then immediately begin running, as if mad, pretending that the corpse has moved itself. The corpse is then erected as above described, and all the friendly tribes come to lament. The nearest relations cut off their hair and blacken their faces, and the old women put human excrement on their heads—the sign of the deepest mourning. If the supposed guilty one should come to the lamentation, the dreamer looks narrowly to his countenance, and if he does not shed tears, is the more convinced of his guilt, and considers it now his duty to avenge his relation's death. The person who sews up the apertures

of the corpse runs some risk if he does not provide himself with good string; as, if the string should break, it is attributed to the displeasure of the deceased, who is supposed to make known in this manner that he has been charmed by him: also if the small quill used as a needle should not be sufficiently sharp to penetrate the flesh easily, the slightest movement caused by pressing the blunt point into the flesh is supposed to be spontaneous motion of the corpse, and to indicate that the sewer is the guilty person. Rather aged persons are not treated with all the ceremonies above mentioned, but are merely wrapped up in mats and placed upon an elevated platform, formed of sticks and branches, supported by a tree and two posts, and, after the flesh has decayed, the bones are burned. The very old are buried immediately after death."

In these observances the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay tribe appear to transgress the rule which forbids the touching by the naked hands of a dead body. The above is given in Mr. Meyer's own language. It is undoubtedly an accurate statement, and serves to show that no particular description of burial ceremonies can be held applicable to all tribes, or even to any one tribe if the age, character, or position of the deceased was such as to procure for him more than ordinary respect. It is probable, however, that the customs of any one tribe were rarely departed from without some strong and sufficient reason, even when the most distinguished amongst them was consigned to his final resting-place.

Mr. Charles Wilhelmi gives the following account of the practices of the Aborigines of the Port Lincoln district, South Australia:—

"Although, on the one side, they possess a fierce and hostile spirit, still, on the other, it must be observed that they are capable of the more noble feelings of pity and compassion. This is called forth by a dangerous wound, as also by a severe sickness, but still clearer is it observed at and after the death of a friend. On such occasions they are accustomed, and particularly the female sex, to assemble and to weep bitterly. The loud lamentations to which they give vent upon the death of a relative or friend may perhaps be a custom inherited from their forefathers, for they always weep together and at the same time. They also employ foreign means to produce tears. They rub the eyes and scratch the nose, if their own frame of mind should not be sufficiently sorrowful, or if the example of others should fail to produce tears. Their weeping and groans at the commencement of a lamentation seem to be somewhat formal and forced, and thus the suspicion arises that they seem more sorrowful than is warranted by their true feelings. Nevertheless, the Rev. Mr. Shurmann believes that the Aborigines feel deeply and mourn heartily the death of a friend. One of them is accustomed to break out suddenly into a long-protracted plaintive tone, and gradually his example is followed by the others. After this lamentation, a profound silence is observed, and in truth their behaviour is such as belongs to persons oppressed by great grief. For years after the death of a friend on no occasion whatever do they pronounce his name. This, as one might suppose, does not proceed from superstition, but from the simple reason that they do not wish again to awake their slumbering feelings, or, to use their own expression, *that they do not wish to weep too much.*

Should it be absolutely necessary to indicate a deceased person, it is done in the following manner:—I am a widow—I am fatherless, brotherless, or the like, as the case may be, instead of saying my husband, my father, or my brother is dead. The last ground on which Mr. Shurmann bases the sincerity of their grief is that they risk their lives to revenge their deceased friend, if suspecting his death to have been caused by foul means.

"Although at the interment of the dead certain rites and customs are generally observed, these are at times dispensed with, as was instanced in the case of an old man. After having dug a hole five feet deep and four feet long, and spread some dry grass in the bottom, they lowered the corpse into it, with the legs bent upwards, as the hole was too short to receive it in its proper position. [This is surely a mistake. The dead bodies of the natives are not laid at full length.] The head, as is invariably done, was placed at the west end, from the notion that the departed souls all reside in an island situated eastward. The body was then covered with a kangaroo skin, and sticks having been driven immediately above it lengthwise into the sides of the grave, leaving a vacant space above it, the whole was then filled up with earth. As the last of this simple proceeding, some branches or bushes were collected around the grave, with the view, as I should think, of preventing stray cattle and horses from trampling upon it. In the immediate neighbourhood only of European settlements, where they can obtain the necessary tools, are they able to dig such deep graves. Further up in the interior, where they are confined to the yam-sticks for the operation of digging, the graves are made only sufficiently deep to admit the body, the sticks being driven in immediately above it. This custom is always observed, very probably in order to prevent the wild dogs from scraping up the body."

These observations appear to refer to the practices of blacks who have been contaminated by intercourse with the lower class of whites. They are in other respects not in accord with what is known of the wild Aborigines. A blackfellow with a yam-stick can dig out a wombat, and two or three or four would quickly dig a grave four or five feet in depth, if they considered it proper to make it of that depth. Mr. Wilhelmi's observations, however, are not without value.

Capt. Grey very graphically describes the burial ceremonies of the natives of Perth, in Western Australia:—

"Yen-na and Warrup, the brothers-in-law of Mulligo, were digging his grave, which, as usual, extended due east and west; the Perth *boyl-ya*, Weeban by name, who, being a relation of the deceased, could of course have had no hand in occasioning his death, superintended the operations. They commenced by digging with their sticks and hands several holes in a straight line, and as deep as they could; they then united them and threw out the earth from the bottom of the pit thus made. All the white sand was thrown carefully into two heaps, nearly in the form of a European grave, and these heaps were situated one at the head and the other at the foot of the hole they were digging, whilst the dirty colored sand was thrown into two other heaps, one on each side. The grave was very narrow, only just wide enough to admit the body of the deceased. Old

Weeban paid the greatest possible attention to see that the east and west direction of the grave was preserved, and if the least deviation from this line occurred in the heaps of sand, either at the head or foot, he made some of the natives rectify it by sweeping the sand into its proper form with boughs of trees. . . . . During the process of digging, an insect having been thrown up, its motions were watched with the most intense interest, and as this little insect thought proper to crawl off in the direction of Guildford, an additional proof was furnished to the natives of the guilt of the *boyl-yas* of that place. When the grave was completed, they set fire to some dried leaves and twigs, then, throwing them in, they soon had a large blaze in it; during this part of the ceremony, old Weeban knelt on the ground at the foot of the grave, with his back turned towards the east, and his head bowed to the earth, his whole attitude denoting the most profound attention; the duty he had now to perform was a most important one, being no less than to discover in which direction the *boyl-yas*, when drawn out of the earth by the fire, would take flight. Their departure was not audible to common ears, or visible to the eyes of ordinary mortals, but his power of *boyl-ya gaduk* enabled him to distinguish these sights and sounds which were invisible and inaudible to the bystanders. The fire roared for some time loudly in the grave, and every eye rested anxiously on old Weeban; the hollow, almost mysterious, sound of the flames as they rose from the narrow aperture evidently had a powerful effect upon the superstitious fears of the natives, and when he suddenly raised his *meerro* [*womerra*—throwing-stick], and then let it fall over his shoulder in a due east direction (the direction of Guildford), a grim smile of satisfaction passed over the countenances of the young men, who now knew in what direction to avenge the foul witchcraft which they felt assured had brought about the death of their brother-in-law. The next part of their proceedings was to take the body of Mulligo from the females: they raised it in a cloak; his old mother made no effort to prevent its being removed, but passionately and fervently kissed the cold, rigid lips which she could never press to hers again. The body was then lowered into the grave, and seated upon a bed of leaves, which had been laid there directly the fire was extinguished, the face being, according to custom, turned towards the east. The women still remained grouped together, sobbing forth their mournful songs, whilst the men placed small green boughs upon the body, until they had more than half filled up the grave with them; cross pieces of wood, of considerable size, were then fixed in the opposite sides of the grave, green boughs placed on these, and the earth from the two side heaps thrown in until the grave was completed, which then, owing to the heaps at the head and foot, presented the appearance of three graves, nearly similar in size and form, lying in a due east and west direction. The men having now completed their task, the women came with bundles of black-boy tops which they had gathered, and laid these down on the central heap, so as to give it a green and pleasing appearance; they placed neither *meerro* nor spear on the grave, but whilst they were filling in the earth, old Weeban and another native sat on their hams at the head of it, facing the one to the north and the other to the south, their foreheads leaning on their clasped

hands, which rested on one end of a *meerro*, whilst the other was placed on the ground."

The following suggestive and highly interesting account of the ceremonies of the blacks of the Vasse River, in Western Australia, as described by Mr. Bussel in Capt. Grey's work, is valuable :—

"The funeral is a wild and fearful ceremony. Before I had finished in the stockyard, the dead man was already removed, and on its way to the place of interment, about a quarter of a mile from the place where the death took place, and I left our house, entirely guided by the shrill wailing of the female natives, as they followed, mourning, after the two men who bore the body in their arms. The dirge, as distance blended all the voices, was very plaintive—even musical; nor did the diminution of distance destroy the harmony entirely. Some of the chants were really beautiful, but rendered perhaps too harsh for our ears, in actual contact; for as I joined myself to the procession, and became susceptible of the trembling cadence of each separate performer—the human voice in every key which the extremes of youth and age might produce—there was a sensation effected which I cannot well describe—a terrible jarring of the brain. The fact that the involuntary tears rolled down the cheeks of those infants who sat passively on their mothers' shoulders, not appreciating the cause of lament, but merely as listeners, must prove that these sounds are calculated to affect the nervous system powerfully. The procession moved slowly on, and at length arrived at the place fixed upon for the burial. There had been a short silence previous to coming thus far, as if to give the voice a rest; for as the body touched the ground, and the bearers stood erect and silent, a piercing shriek was given, and as this died away into a chant, some of the elder women lacerated their scalps with sharp bones, until the blood ran down their furrowed faces in actual streams. The eldest of the bearers then stepped forward and proceeded to dig the grave. I offered to get a spade, but they would not have it; the digging-stick was the proper tool, which they used with greater despatch than from its imperfect nature could have been expected at first sight. The earth, being loosened with this implement, was then thrown out with the hands with great dexterity, in complete showers, so as to form, in the same line with the grave, at both ends, two elongated banks, the sand composing them so lightly hurled as to seem almost like drift sand on the sea-shore. In the throw, if perchance the right limit was out-stepped, the proper form was retained by sweeping. The digging, notwithstanding the art displayed, was very tedious; they all sat in silence, and there were no chants to understand, or to fancy one understood, or perhaps to make meanings to. But at length the grave was finished, and they then threw some dry leaves into it, and setting fire to them, while the blaze was rising up, every one present struck repeatedly a bundle of spears with the *mearu*, which they held with the butts downwards, making a rattling noise; then, when the fire had burnt out, they placed the corpse beside the grave, and gashed their thighs, and at the flowing of the blood they all said, 'I have brought blood,' and then stamped the foot forcibly on the ground, sprinkling the blood around them; then, wiping the wounds with a wisp of leaves, they threw it, bloody as it was, on the dead man; then a loud scream

ensued, and they lowered the body into the grave, resting on the back, with the soles of the feet on the ground and the knees bent; they filled the grave with soft brushwood, and piled logs on this to a considerable height, being very careful all the time to prevent any of the soil from falling into the apertures; they then constructed a hut over the wood-stack, and one of the male relations got into it and said, 'Mya balung einya ngin-na'—('I sit in his house'). One of the women then dropped a few live coals at his feet, and having stuck his dismantled meerro at the end of one of the mounds, they left the place, retiring in a contrary direction from that in which they came, chanting."

At King George's Sound the body is laid in a short, narrow, and rather shallow grave. It is covered with a cloak, and the knees are bent and the arms crossed. At the bottom of the grave is placed a sheet of bark, over which are strewn leaves and branches. Leaves and green twigs are heaped on the body also, and the hole is then filled with earth. Green boughs are placed over the grave, and the weapons of the deceased are laid likewise on it. The mourners carve circles on the trees that grow near, at a height of six or seven feet from the ground; and, lastly, make a small fire in front. Their mourning is black or white, laid on in blotches across the forehead, round the temples, and down the cheek-bones, and is worn for a considerable time. They scratch the cheeks to produce tears.—(Mr. Scott Nind.)

Capt. Grey observes that the natives of many parts of Australia, when at a funeral, cut off portions of their beards, and singeing these, throw them upon the dead body. In some instances they cut off the beard of the dead body, and, burning it, rub themselves and the body with the singed portions of it.

All that relates to the customs of the natives of Cooper's Creek is of more than common interest, because they appear to be in many respects inferior to those tribes living in parts where food is more abundant and of better quality than that obtainable in any part of the great depression towards which Cooper's Creek trends; and I was glad to receive through Mr. A. W. Howitt the following paper from Senior Constable James:—

"During a residence of about eight years in that portion of South Australia that is inhabited by the Dieyerie tribe of blacks (Cooper's Creek), I had only two opportunities of observing the full funeral rites performed by them. As both were precisely similar, I will only describe one. The deceased was an old man who had been sick for a long time, and there was a considerable number of the tribe assembled, having probably come to be present at the obsequies. As soon as the breath was out of the body, all the women and children left the wurleys, and, sitting down about fifty yards off, the women set up a great wailing, and covered their heads and smeared their bodies with pipeclay. Pipeclay on the head of a black of this tribe always denotes that the wearer is lamenting the death of one of their number. The wailing was kept up for hours; it was a kind of monotonous howl, in which a sort of time was kept, and which now and again would almost altogether subside; then suddenly break out afresh as loud and as vehement as ever. I may add that tears often course down the cheeks of the women when they are lamenting the dead thus, but there appears to be little grief in reality, for, if spoken to, they will at once stop lamenting, and answer

just as at any other time, the features and voice assuming the ordinary expression and tone. Directly the women left the camp, the men gathered round the dead man and pulled his wurley down, so that they could get close around the body. An old man then advanced, and, with a green bough of gum in each hand, stood astride over the body, facing the head, and, waving the boughs, began to utter a sort of chant (keeping time with the boughs) over the body; at times he would make a sudden pause, and then call the deceased sharply by name; again pausing, as if for a reply. The chant would then go on again in precisely the same manner as before, always ending with the abrupt pause and sharp call on the dead man by his name. His incantation, or whatever it was, was kept up for fully two hours, the rest of the men standing silent around the while; the old man at length appeared to have satisfied himself that he could not cause the dead man to answer, and so finished his conjuration; and saying something in his own language to the other men around, they all proceeded to put pipeclay on their heads and little spots of alternate red and white all over their bodies. This done, some of the younger men were sent off to dig a grave, and the elder ones proceeded to tie the great toes of the body together very securely, with strong, stout string, and then tied both the thumbs together behind the back, the body being turned face downwards whilst the latter operation was going on. From the manner in which the strings were tightened and the care taken over that part of the business, one would think that even a strong, healthy living man could not break or rise from such bonds. In reply to me, they said the tying was to prevent him from 'walking.' The tying of the body being completed, and the grave ready, eight men knelt down, four on each side of the body, and, taking it up, placed it on their heads, and thus carried it to the grave, followed by the rest of the men in a disorderly, straggling crowd. The grave was about a quarter of a mile from the camp. It was about four feet deep, and into this two men jumped and assisted the bearers to place the body; then, getting out of the grave, aided those present in bringing and laying lengthwise on the body a large quantity of dead wood, filling up the grave, and piling it above to the height of about four feet and around the ends and sides of the grave, forming thus a pile of about twelve feet in diameter, being round on the top. They said that wood was used instead of earth to prevent *Kintala* (native dog or dingo) from scratching into the grave and eating the body. The grave was then swept carefully all around, so as to obliterate the traces of footsteps, and every one at once returned to the camp, and proceeded to re-erect the wurleys a short distance from the camp in which the death had taken place, as this tribe never again occupies a camp in which a death has occurred. Every night for one moon (four weeks) two old men went to the grave about dusk, and carefully swept all round it; each morning, for the same period, they visited it, to see if there were any tracks of the dead man on the swept space. They told me that if they were to find tracks they would have to remove the body and bury it elsewhere, as the foot-marks would denote that the dead man was 'walking' and discontented with his present grave. For some days after a death the women indulge in an occasional howl of lament. The men never howl or give utterance to grief; merely wearing the pipeclay and

red-ochre till it rubs off. All who are aware of the death abstain from the mention of the dead man's name. They do not like the conversation to be about a dead man; but if it should take that direction, the dead are not mentioned directly by name. Should a white man offend by doing so, they always tell him 'That one tumble down, no you call im,' which is their method of saying in English 'That man is dead, don't mention his name.' When a death has occurred, messengers are despatched to the various camps of the whole tribe with the intelligence, and the pipeclay mourning is then put on the heads of all, young and old of both sexes, and the wailing is raised by the women just as at the place where the death has taken place; but the absent men do not spot their bodies with red and white; only those who assist personally at the funeral rites do that, asserting that by that means they run no risk of getting sick by contact with the corpse, or, as my informant expressed it, 'You see very good make-im like that; suppose me no make-im, me tumble down too: that one' (indicating the body) 'growl along-a-me.'"

Mr. Samuel Gason, the author of the little work on the manners of the Dieyerie people already referred to, gives the following description of the modes of disposing of the dead. It appears that the fat of the corpse is eaten :—

"When a man, woman, or child dies, no matter from what cause, the big toes of each foot are tied together, and the body enveloped in a net. The grave is dug to about three feet, and the body is carried thither on the heads of three or four men, and on arrival is placed on its back for a few minutes. Then three men kneel down near the grave, while some other natives place the body on the heads of the kneeling men. One of the old men (usually the nearest relative) now takes two light rods, each about three feet long (these are called *coonya*), and holds one in each hand, standing about two yards from the corpse; then, beating the *coonya* together, he questions the corpse, in the belief that it can understand him, enquiring how he died, who was the cause of his death, and the name of the man who killed him—as even decease from natural causes they attribute to a charm or spell exercised by some enemy. The men sitting round act as interpreters for the defunct, and, according as the general opinion obtains, give some fictitious name of a native of another tribe. When the old man stops beating the *coonya*, the men and women commence crying, and the body is removed from the heads of the bearers, and lowered into the grave, into which a native (not related to the deceased) steps, and proceeds to cut off all the fat adhering to the muscles of the face, thighs, arms, and stomach, and passes it round to be swallowed; the reason assigned for this horrible practice being that thus the nearest relatives may forget the departed and not be continually crying. The order in which they partake of their dead relatives is this :—The mother eats of her children; the children eat of their mother. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law eat of each other. Uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, grandfathers, and grandmothers eat of each other. But the father does not eat of his offspring, or the offspring of the sire. After eating of the dead, the men paint themselves with charcoal and fat, making a black ring round the mouth. This distinguishing mark is called Munamuroomuroo. The women do likewise, besides painting two white stripes on their arms, which marks distinguish those

who have partaken of the late deceased; the other men smearing themselves all over with white clay, to testify their grief. The grave is covered in with earth, and a large stack of wood placed over it. The first night after the burial the women dance round the grave, crying and screaming incessantly till sunrise, and so continue for a week or more. Should the weather be cold when a native dies, fires are lighted near the grave, so that the deceased may warm himself, and often they place food for him to eat. Invariably, after a death, they shift their camp, and never speak of or refer to the defunct."

In Fraser Island (Great Sandy Island), Queensland, they have strange methods of disposing of the dead. Old men, old women, and young women that are not fat, are rolled in their blankets or rugs, and buried in a grave which is dug to a depth of about four feet. They place a sheet of bark over the corpse, near the surface, to leave room, as they say, for the spirit or ghost (*Mothar-mothar*) to move about and come up.

When a young man dies, they first skin him, then cut off his flesh, which is placed on their spears to dry; the bones are then taken to pieces, the large ones are cut asunder, and the marrow emptied out. The various parts—skin, flesh, bones, &c.—are finally distributed among the kinsfolks, and carried about by them in their bags and baskets, as charms to ward off evil. When old and stale, they are placed up in trees, on boughs laid across for this purpose. Sometimes they burn the bones of the dead and carry the ashes about with them. Sometimes the dead bodies are placed (whole) in trees. They do not like to speak about the dead; among themselves, it is generally done in a sort of a whisper; and they are firm believers in ghosts.

There is great mourning and crying when a *young man* dies, and the female relatives cut themselves about in a frightful manner with shells, &c. But there is very little weeping or wailing when a woman or an old man dies.*

Capt. Grey, quoting Dr. Duncan, says that when a black of North Australia dies, or is killed, the body is buried in the earth, and at the end of five days it is dug up again, and the bones, &c., are wrapped up in the bark of trees, and these are carried about by the tribe.

At Cygnet Bay, an officer of the *Beagle* found a skeleton enveloped in three pieces of papyrus bark. All the bones were closely packed together, and the head surmounted the whole.

Comparing the modes of burial as practised by the Aborigines of Australia with those of other uncivilized races, there are so many customs and rites exactly the same, or similar, that we are not entitled to regard the Australian as peculiar in his habits. A stranger who sees a burial of an Australian black is apt to suppose that he has witnessed ceremonies unknown elsewhere. But, separated by wide seas and vast continents, there are other races who follow the like practices, and strangely even those of them which seem, before we reason as to the causes, absurd and inhuman. For instance, the avenging of the deceased man's blood—under the belief that sorcery has caused his death, and that stratagems and subtleties have been used by some enemy—a man of

* From information obtained through the Rev. L. Fison.

another tribe—is known amongst the Ajitas, natives of the Philippine Islands. A dead warrior amongst them cries from his grave for vengeance. His friends arm themselves and disperse through the forests, and kill something—man or beast—in order that the dead may rest in peace. They break little twigs as they pass along as a warning to friendly natives; but if accident brings them near even a friend, then he is regarded as the enemy of the deceased, and must die. The same idea moves the Wanyamuêzi and other African tribes to ascribe the sickness of a man to sorcery.

The placing of the dead body on a bier in the woods is a custom always observed by the natives of the Niue or Savage Islands; by the Tahitans; by the Dyaks of Borneo; by the Araucanians, by the Ahts, and by other tribes of American Indians.

The custom of neglecting the body of a man who has been killed in a quarrel brought on by his own misconduct is found, with some modifications, in many parts of the world. Amongst the Kaffirs, a man who has been killed by order of the king is left to become the prey of wild beasts. A man of the Latooka tribe killed in battle remains unburied on the field to be eaten by hyenas.

The curious method of interring the body in the bed of a running stream is practised by the Obongos of Africa;* and the body is placed in the hollow branch of a tree in Central Africa, in New Zealand, and in Borneo. The Ashira tribe, and the Krumen in Africa, and the Kingsmill Islanders, keep a fire burning beside the corpse. The Australian places a bunch of acacia or a throwing-stick at the head of the grave of a warrior, and the Manganja tribe lay a weapon or an implement of some kind on the tomb.

The repugnance which some of the Australians have to touch a dead body is as strong in the Kaffir and the Bechuana.

The Latooka and Camma tribes in Africa, and the New Zealanders, smear their faces and other parts of their bodies with red-ochre and grease and throw wood ashes on their heads when they mourn.

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* "When an Obongo dies, it is usual to take the body to a hollow tree in the forest, and drop it into the hollow, which is afterwards filled to the top with earth, leaves, and branches. Sometimes, however, they employ a more careful mode of burial. They take the body to some running stream, the course of which has been previously diverted. A deep grave is dug in the bed of the stream, the body placed in it, and covered over carefully. Lastly, the stream is restored to its original course, so that all traces of the grave are soon lost."—*The Natural History of Man*, by J. G. Wood, vol. I., p. 540.

I have already stated that interring bodies in the beds of running streams is practised by some of the natives of Australia; and when I informed Professor Hearn of this fact, he at once drew my attention to the description of the funeral of Alaric, King of the Goths, as given by Gibbon:—"The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of a hero whose valour and fortitude they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labor of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the course of the Busentinus, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot where the remains of Alaric had been deposited was forever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work."—*Gibbon's Decline and Fall* (Dr. W. Smith's edition), vol. IV., p. 112.

A Native Encampment, and the Daily Life of the Natives.

It is necessary for a tribe to move very frequently from place to place, always keeping within the boundaries of the country which it calls its own—now to the spot where eels can be taken in the creeks; often to the feeding-grounds of the kangaroo; sometimes to the thicker forests to get wood suitable for making weapons; to the sea-coast continually for fish of various kinds; and, at the right season, to the lands where are found the native bread, the yam, and the acacia gum. Constantly under the pressure of want, and yet, by travelling, easily able to supply their wants, their lives lack neither excitement nor pleasure. When the head of a tribe, advised by the council of old men, has fixed upon a camping ground at some distance away, notice is given to all the families at early morning. Such things as they require on their journey they carry with them, but property of another kind is secreted in their miams or in the hollows of trees, or under stones, or in some thick patch of scrub. In leaving it they know well that they will find it when they return. Laden with their bags and rugs, and implements and weapons, they wend their way through the forest in small parties: the males generally with the males, the females with the females; and the constant chatter and noise, and sometimes the loud calls of the men, serve to amuse and cheer the tribe on its journey. Picking up what pleases them, observing and noting what they subsequently may require, hunting an opossum, gathering buds or flowers or grubs, or lazily polishing and improving some favorite weapon when there is a halt—men, women, and children find the ramble pleasant enough.

When evening arrives, and the splendid deep blue-purple and rose and yellow tints of the anti-twilight cover the eastern sky, the leader, having well regulated the pace, comes to the site of the new encampment. He stops, throws down his kangaroo rug (*Mogra*), sticks his spears in the ground, and at once commences important duties. Immediately there is bustle and excitement, running hither and thither, and loud "cooeys" from the young men. The leader quietly and calmly surveys the forest, and seeing some stately tree having bark suitable to his wants, advances slowly towards it. He chops a hole for his foot, takes his tomahawk (*Kal-baling-elarek* or *Karr-geing*) between his teeth, and gravely ascends, chopping holes as he proceeds, managing the whole business easily and gracefully. When he has ascended to a proper height, he commences to notch the bark, descends and notches it also in the lower part, cuts the sides, and in a short time removes with some care a large smooth sheet (*Koon-toom*). Each head of a family in like manner procures bark, no one interfering with his neighbour; and in a short time a number of lean-tos are constructed.

The women gather sticks for the fires, and get water; and each and all find employment of some kind.

The proper arrangement of the miams is well understood. The Aborigines do not herd together promiscuously. There is order and method. If the whole of the tribe be present, the dwellings of those comprising the little village are divided into groups, each group being composed of six or more miams. Each miam is five or six yards distant from its neighbours, and the groups are at least twenty yards apart.

Mr. Thomas says that he was often struck with astonishment when, on approaching a large encampment occupied by several tribes, he observed how carefully they had grouped the miams. Most often he could see at once, from the position of any one group, from what part the natives had come. The groups were arranged indeed as if they had been set by compass. At a great encampment formed on a hill about three miles north-east of Melbourne there were assembled, more than thirty years ago, eight tribes—in all about eight hundred blacks—and they arranged their camps according to the following plan :—

(1) (4)

(2) (3)

(5)

(6)

(7) (8)

1. Loddon. 2. Campaspe. 3. Mount Macedon. 4. Goulburn. 5. Yarra. 6. Bar-ra-bool. 7. Western Port. 8. Bun-yong (or Bun-ung-on) and Leigh.

At an ordinary encampment the miams are arranged in such a way as to admit of each having a separate fire, and the fires are so placed that the embers cannot ignite the leaves or branches or bark of the miams. Accidental fires are of rare occurrence; but sometimes in a sudden squall the lighted sticks are blown about, and cause the destruction of the frail dwellings.

In arranging the miams, care is taken to separate the young unmarried men from the unmarried females and the families, and it is not permitted to the young men to mix with the females. They are strict in preserving order amongst the young of both sexes, but it happens frequently that all their precautions are evaded. The young people find means of communicating with each other, and arrange for meetings, notwithstanding that their parents may have forbidden them to meet or to speak to each other. These stolen interviews are often the cause of quarrels.

When several tribes meet there are sometimes as many as one hundred and fifty or two hundred miams in a camp; and though each man has to supply his wants from the forest, where all is common property, there is seldom a dispute, and rarely is an angry word used.

As soon as the fires are kindled, all the game that has been collected during the day is produced and roasted; and a strong odour of singed wool and burning

meat begins to prevail. If the tribe has travelled far—say fifteen or sixteen miles—and the men are very hungry, the cooking process is conducted hurriedly; and the women and children are prompt in delivering the roots, tubers, and fruits they have gathered on their journey.

As a rule, they are lazy travellers. They have no motive to induce them to hasten their movements. It is generally late in the morning before they start on their journey, and there are many interruptions by the way. If they are wandering through a tract where there is much game, the women and children are left to the guidance of only two or three of the men, the rest rambling from spot to spot, holding their weapons ready for slaughter, and hunting keenly in every likely place. At such times, though the native mind is probably not much impressed with the aspects of the landscape, the effect on a stranger who comes suddenly in sight of the hunters is strong. To see them stalking through the forest with their spears in their hands, now in the deep shades and sunless depths of some cleft in the mountains, where their forms are only occasionally visible, as they pass through the thick undergrowth of shrubs, or beneath the broad green shelter of the tree-ferns—or, again, as they ascend some steep slope, with their faces towards the sun; their dark figures bronzed by the strong light as they move in the sheen of the low fern, whose leaves, reflecting the rays of the sun, make the bank a bath of molten silver, in which they seem to wade—to see them thus, or when stepping from the gloom of the forest into the lights which fall through the scanty foliage of some of the gums, is a picture which cannot be easily described, nor, once seen, forgotten.

When the miams are built, the fires lighted, the roasting and eating quite done, and their family affairs settled to their satisfaction, the men, women, and children give themselves up to amusements, or employ themselves in light labors. The old men hold grave converse, the warriors and younger men attend to the repairs of their weapons and implements, the women chatter together, the lads romp on the grass or amidst the fern, or practise themselves in useful exercises, and the girls and very young children gather such food as they can find on the ground or in the dead timber.

The forest that an hour before was silent, or echoed only the infrequent notes of the bell-bird, or rung with the weird "ha! ha!" and "hoo! hoo!" of the laughing jackass, is now peopled with happy families. Its aspect is changed. Great trunks have had the bark stripped off, branches have been broken, notches appear where the hunter has climbed, and the smoke of the fires rising slowly through the branches of the tall trees tells the wanderer afar off that the tribe is encamped.

Each little miam is built partly of bark and partly of boughs, or wholly of bark or wholly of boughs, according to the state of weather or the whim of the builder.*

* The late Mr. Thomas believed that at one time, in some districts of the Colony of Victoria, the natives built and inhabited huts of a much more substantial character than the ordinary bark miams. His belief was based on information received from one of the earliest settlers in the Western district, who said he saw a native village on the banks of a creek, about fifty miles to the north-east of Port Fairy, composed of twenty or thirty huts, some of them capable of holding

The government of Aboriginal tribes is not a democracy. There are the doctors or sorcerers, who, under some circumstances, have supreme power; there are the warriors, who in time of trouble are absolute masters; there are the dreamers, who direct and control the movements of the tribe until their divinations are fulfilled or forgotten; there are the old men—councillors—without whose advice even the warriors are slow to move; and, finally, there are the old

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twelve people, and strongly built. Each hut was shaped somewhat like a bee-hive, was about ten feet in diameter, and more than six feet in height. There was an opening about three feet six inches in height, which was generally closed at night with a sheet of bark. There was also an aperture at the top about nine inches in diameter, through which the smoke of the fire escaped. In wet weather this aperture was covered with a sod. These buildings were firmly built, and plastered with mud, and were strong enough to bear the weight of a man. It is said that they also constructed dams in the creek for the purpose of taking fish.

In Gellibrand's memoranda of a trip to Port Phillip (1836), mention is made of native huts, and at one place he says about one hundred native huts were found near water. He found also many "native wells."—*Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria*, vol. III., p. 63–85.

A squatter—who was one of the earliest settlers in the Wannon district—says that the natives had comfortable huts at the time he first occupied the country. They were dome-shaped, made of branches of trees, and covered with grass and clay. The opening, protected by a porch, was always towards the north-west, whence came only gentle breezes occasionally—never strong winds or storms. Observing this peculiarity—and having ascertained that a house presenting such a front was protected from gales—he built his own bush residence with its doors and windows towards the same quar ter.

Similar accounts are given by explorers who have visited other parts of Australia.

Grey found on the Hutt River, in West Australia, "native villages, or, as the men termed them, towns. The huts of which they were composed differed from those in the southern districts, in being much larger, more strongly built, and very nicely plastered over the outside with clay, and clods of turf, so that, although now uninhabited, they were evidently intended for fixed places of residence. This again showed a marked difference between the habits of the natives of this part of Australia and the south-western portions of the continent; for these superior huts, well-marked roads, deeply-sunk wells, and extensive warran grounds, all spoke of a large and, comparatively speaking, resident population, and the cause of this undoubtedly must have been the great facilities for procuring food in so rich a soil."—*North-West and Western Australia*, by George Grey, vol. II., pp. 19–20.

Similar huts were found by Grey on the road to Water Peak; and in his progress towards Hanover Bay he discovered a hut "built of a frame-work of logs of wood, and in shape like a bee-hive, about four feet high and nine feet in diameter. This hut was of a very superior description to those he found afterwards to be generally in use in South-Western Australia, and differed from them altogether, in that its low and narrow entrance rendered access impossible without stooping; and, with the exception of this aperture, the hut was entirely closed."—*Ibid*, vol. I., p. 72.

The following is M. Péron's description of the habitations of the Aborigines, which he saw at Cape Lesueur (lat. 25° 40′ S.), Shark's Bay, in Western Australia:—"Au fond d'une petite crique qui se trouve immédiatement à l'est du Cap Lesueur, j'aperçus trois ouvertures semicirculaires assez rapprochées les unes des autres, et trop régulièrement semblables entre elles pour qu'il fût possible de les attribuer au hasard seul. Je m'avançai; un grand nombre d'empreintes de pieds humains paroissaient sur le sable; et des débris de feux recemment allumés à l'entrée de ces èspèces de souterrains, ne me permettoient pas de douter qu' ils ne fussent l'ouvrage des indigènes et qu' ils ne leur servissent de retraite. Pour lever toute espèce d'incertitude, je m'engageai dans l'un de ces réduits obscurs: à peine il avoit un mètre de hauteur à son orifice; il fallut donc me courber pour y entrer, et m'y traîner pour ainsi dire, à quatre pattes. Sa profondeur étoit d'environ 5 mètres, sur une largeur du tiers de cette dernière dimension. La partie supérieure de la voûte étoil assez unie; mais de distance en distance on avoit pratiqué dans le bas plusieurs petites cavités qui me semblèrent propres à recevoir quelques ustensiles de ménage. Le plancher inférieur de cette habitation étoit tapissé d'une couche épaisse d'herbes marines. L'éloignement où je me trouvois alors de la chaloupe, mon isolement, et surtout la nuit qui s'approchoit, ne me permirent pas de parcourir les deux autres souterrains; mais par tout ce que j'en pus voir, ils me parurent absolument sem-

women, who noisily intimate their designs, and endeavour by clamor and threats to influence the leaders of their tribe. The young men, and those amongst the elders who have not distinguished themselves, and the women and the children, are led by the principal man of the tribe; but he acts only in such manner as the old men and the sorcerers and the dreamers have agreed to approve. Though each of the principal men and priests seeks for his food, and

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blables à celui que je viens de décrire. Quelque grossiéres que de tettes habitations puissent être, elles n'en sont pas moins les plus parfaites que nous ayons en l'occasion d'observer à la Nouvelle-Hollande; sous ce rapport, il en est de même des cabanes dont j'ai déjà parlé, mais qu'il convient de faire connoître ici dans tous leurs détails. Sur un sol de sable précédemment dépouillé de toute espèce de végétaux, s'elèvent ces cabanes de la terre d'Endracht; elles ont la forme d'une demi-sphère légèrement déprimée dans sa partie supérieure; le developpement de leurs parois décrit un tour de spire; de manière que l'entrée en est oblique et latérale, à-peu-près comme celle d'une coquille de limaçon. Leur hauteur est de 12 à 16 décimètres (4 à 5 pieds) sur un diamètre de 20 à 25 décimètres (6 à huit pieds). Elles se composent d'arbrisseaux implantés dans le sable, rapprochés entre eux, le plus ordinairement disposés sur deux ou trois rangs; et dont les rameaux, recourbés dans toutes les directions, entrecroisés dans tous les sens, forment la voûte supérieûre, et comme le plancher de ces habitations. Sur cette voûte sont appliquées à l'extérieur plusieurs couches de feuillages et d'herbes sèches, recouvertes d'une grande quantité de sable. A peu de distance et vis-à-vis l'ouverture de chacune de ces espèces de fours, on voit les restes d'autant de gros feux, autour desquels gisent ça et là quelques débris d'alimens."—*Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, pendant les années* 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, *et* 1804, par M. F. Péron, vol. II., p. 207.

Ernest Giles says, "At ten miles, I came to a number of native huts; they were of large dimensions and two-storied."—*Travels in Central Australia*, p. 81.

In another place—near Glen Osborne—Giles found several native huts in the scrub, of large dimensions, the natives having used the largest trees they could get to build them with. He supposed that the natives get water in this arid tract from the roots of the Mulga-tree. Near some of the Mulga-trees he noticed that circular pits had been dug. The trees, he says, die after being tapped.—*Ibid*, p. 103.

In tracing the course of the Gwydir, Sir Thomas Mitchell found "huts of a native tribe tastefully distributed amongst drooping acacias and casuarinæ; some resembling bowers under yellow, fragrant mimosæ; some were isolated under the deeper shades of casuarinæ; while others were placed more socially—three or four huts together fronting to one and the same fire. Each was semicircular or circular, the roof conical, and from one side a flat roof stood forward like a portico supported by two sticks. Most of them were close to the trunk of a tree; and they were covered —not, as in other parts, by sheets of bark, but with a variety of materials such as reeds, grass, and boughs. The interior of each looked clean, and to us, passing in the rain, gave some idea not only of shelter, but even of comfort and happiness."—Vol. I., p. 76.

In sight of the Nundawàr Range, the same explorer found huts substantially constructed, and well-thatched with dry grass and reeds.—Vol. I., p. 121.

On the Lower Darling, he saw huts of a strong and permanent construction, each forming a semicircle, and facing inwards or to the centre, the open side of the curve being towards the east. One hut was unusually capacious and on a commodious plan, and might easily have contained twelve or fifteen persons. Sir Thomas Mitchell gives a plan of this hut in his work. In it were many small bundles of the wild flax, evidently in a state of preparation for making cord or line nets, and for other purposes. Each bundle consisted of a handful of stems twisted and doubled once, but the decayed state of these showed that the hut had been deserted.—Vol. I., p. 262.

Bunce describes the formation of a camp when a tribe was overtaken in a storm:—"There were signs of rain, the sky became overcast, thunder was heard in the distance, and forked lightning played amongst the branches of the trees. The women were busy with their tomahawks in stripping large flakes or sheets of bark from the stringybark trees, and setting forks and saplings whereon to place the bark for the erection of *willams*, or dwellings, as a shelter. The only parties disengaged were the blackfellows, whose duties appeared to be to pray for fine weather by a continued melancholy chant. This office they continued for a short time after the rain commenced, and when all the rest of us had retired under shelter; but finding that their good divinity, in the

ministers to his own wants (with such help as he gets from his wives), and has no one whom he can call servant, yet he enjoys the pleasures belonging to the exercise of power. If a doctor, he orders, and he is obeyed; if a dreamer, he dreams, and the interpretation of his dream is received as truth; if a warrior, the fighting-men obey him; if an old man, all pay respect to him. The women

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present instance, was deaf to their appeals, they exclaimed—'*Marmingatha bullarto pork-wadding: quanthueeneera?*' 'Marmingatha is very sulky—and why?'; and they commenced throwing ashes in the direction in which they believed she resided, saying '*T'see Waugh, l*' an exclamation of contempt and defiance—after which they returned to the willams."—*Australasiatic Reminiscences*, Bunce, p. 73.

Sturt found, on or near the banks of the Macquarie River, a group of seventy huts, each capable of holding from twelve to fifteen persons. They appeared to be permanent habitations, and all of them fronted the same point of the compass. In another place he found in the thickest part of a brush of *Melaleuca* a deserted village. The spot had evidently been chosen because of the shelter afforded by the shrubs. The huts were large and long, all facing the same point of the compass, and in every way resembling the huts occupied by the natives of the Darling.—*Sturt's Expedition*, 1828–9.

"The native camps as far north as the seventeenth parallel of south latitude are generally bark *lean-tos*, made of two upright forked sticks, with a sapling resting in the forks, and a sheet of bark laid against the sapling and curving over it. Further north there are what are called 'two-story' camps. These are formed of four forks, with saplings on each side, and with cross pieces laid on them. On these rests a sheet of bark bent in the centre, tent fashion. Fires are always found at each end. These camps are usually on high ground, and out of the reach of floods. The fires, it is believed, are intended to drive off the mosquitos. In some instances, where forked saplings were not obtainable, the roots of trees were utilized. They were turned end up, the stems being buried in the ground. In the dry season, a sheet of bark doubled in the middle with the ends resting on the ground is the usual covering. On the coast their camps are all made of bent and arched saplings, and filled in with boughs, forming closed chambers, either round or oblong; sometimes of considerable size, and having a hole to get in at. At other places only bough *lean-tos* occur."—*Mr. Norman Taylor, Geological Surveyor, MS.*

Ordinarily their dwellings are of a very unsubstantial character. In the Port Lincoln district "their habitations are of a very simple and primitive construction. In the summer and in dry, fine weather they heap up some branches of trees in the form of a horseshoe, for protection against the winds; in the winter, and in wet weather, however, they make a kind of hut or bower with the branches of the casuarina, in the shape of a deep niche, and erect them as perpendicularly as they can, thereby to facilitate the dripping off of the rain. In those parts of the country where they have gum-trees (Eucalypti) they peel off the bark, and fix it so well together as to make the roof quite waterproof. In front of these huts they always burn a fire during the night for warming their feet; and in the cold weather every one lies between a small heap of burning coals in front and at the back; for keeping warm the upper part of the body. As the slightest motion must bring them into contact with these burning coals, it naturally occurs that they at times seriously burn themselves."—*C. Wilhelmi.*

Collins saw on the sea-coast huts formed of pieces of bark from several trees, put together in the form of an oven, with an entrance, and large enough to hold six or eight persons. Their fire was always at the mouth of the hut, rather within than without. Those living in the bush, at some distance from the coast, contented themselves with, for each, a sheet of bark, bent in the middle and placed on its two ends on the ground.—*New South Wales*, Collins, p. 360.

Shortly after the Europeans came to occupy Victoria the natives ceased to build huts, and they no longer assembled in villages. The inducements to plunder, their fear of the invaders, the depression caused by the appearance of a race possessing appliances so much superior to any known to them, and the impossibility of preserving inviolate the lands which their people had held for ages, caused them to wander aimlessly from place to place, and to seek shelter and find refuge in the more advantageous localities belonging to tribes to a certain extent removed at that time from the influences of the white men—localities which, before they met the whites, they would never have been permitted to enter except as guests or as conquerors.

have rights as well as duties; and the government of a tribe might well serve as a model to peoples claiming to be civilized but more inclined to vices than the Australians.

Each miam is placed under the control of the head of a family; whose duty it is to keep order and settle any differences that may arise between the members of the household or with those of any neighbouring miam. If any man is jealous, and charges another with having paid unnecessary attentions to his wife or his daughters, the head-man investigates the matter. Those who are implicated become much excited, and not unfrequently come to blows, and a fight follows. Under such circumstances, the head-man has to act judicially and executively. He determines who is in fault, and he chastises him. The quarrel, however noisy and violent, calls forth no interference from the inhabitants of the neighbouring miams. They stare at the men and women who are quarrelling, and they whisper and talk; but even when two or three are fighting, and with dangerous weapons, they never attempt to interrupt the proceedings. The business of controlling the fight, it is well understood, belongs to the head-man, and whatever he does is right. He stands by with his *Leonile* and *Mulga*, ready to ward or to strike, and he seldom fails to preserve that just mean between too slight punishment and revengeful injury which is not enough considered amongst Europeans when disputes and crimes have to be dealt with.*

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* The mode in which offences are dealt with by the natives is highly interesting.

Mr. Samuel Gason says that the natives of Cooper's Creek do not punish their children for committing theft, but the father or mother has to fight with the person from whom the property was stolen; and upon no occasion are the children beaten.

Should any native steal from another, or should one accuse another wrongfully of any offence, the injured person challenges the wrongdoer, and a fight settles the difficulty.

If two or more men fight, and one of the number be accidentally killed, he who caused his death must also suffer death. But should the offender have an elder brother, then he must die in his place; if he have no elder brother, his father must be his substitute; but in case he has no male relative to suffer for him, he himself must die. He is not allowed to defend himself, nor indeed is he informed of the time when sentence will be executed. On some night appointed, an armed party surround and despatch him. Two sticks, each about six inches in length—one representing the killed and the other the person executed—are then buried, and upon no occasion is the circumstance afterwards referred to.

In the year 1869 I sent a memorandum to the gentlemen in charge of Aboriginal Stations in Victoria, asking them, amongst other things, how lying and other like offences are dealt with by the natives, and I received much interesting information on the subject.

The Rev. John Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, Gippsland, states that the blacks would only hurt a man for telling a lie if the lie were told to hurt another black; but they would take no notice of a simple lie. A black in giving an account of an expedition would generally speak the truth; only some would not; but the blacks have a good idea as to whom they may trust in this respect. As to their mode of punishment, they have no authorized method; if a man became obnoxious to certain members of the tribe, they would quietly steal upon him and kill him. When a black has committed himself, he will, what is called, stand out before those he has offended, so that they may have their revenge. Blacks never like a quarrel to be of long standing: they do not like to bear a grudge; nothing would make a man more miserable than to think that some of his tribe had a "down" on him. He would rather take a good thrashing than live in such a state. This is partly owing to the practice which is very common among blacks of bewitching any one who has offended them. This they would do by getting a piece of hair or something belonging to the person they

It is difficult to convey an accurate notion of the domestic affairs of the Australian black. I have endeavoured to give a description of an encampment, but necessarily there are many details connected with the arrangements of each hut, the duties devolving on the male parent, the work that the women have to perform, and the education of the young savages, which must be dealt with elsewhere.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, a Missionary in Gippsland, writes thus in a letter to me:—

"The life of an Aboriginal was one of trouble. He lived in dread of his enemies. Sometimes he was not able to keep a fire in his camp lest it should light some secret foe to his place of shelter. At other times he himself would have some wrong to redress, and would then act on the offensive, and strive to kill some one for some fancied injury. Sometimes their camps were surprised while the men were away hunting. The hunters would return to find most of the women who happened to be at home murdered, and some of the younger ones taken away to be wives for their enemies. Thus they had often real grievances to avenge, but their complaints were more often fancied. Should a member of their tribe die suddenly, or even by gradual decay, they would charge some one with the crime, and would seek to have the death avenged. On these occasions they generally went away from their camp fully armed and liberally daubed with red-ochre or pipeclay, and if they chanced to fall upon some unfortunate member of the tribe amongst whom the obnoxious person was supposed to dwell, they would at once despatch him, and have a cannibal feast, usually satisfying themselves by eating his skin. In their domestic life everything was as simple as possible. They had no cooking utensils: all they required was fire to roast with. They would have a wooden vessel to hold water for drinking, but as they never washed their faces, they did not require an extra basin for that purpose. They had also a large grass bag for holding food, &c. The man had a small grass bag in which to keep his private effects. A look into such a bag would be interesting to a lover of the curious. First, there would be several pieces of round stones, which he would tell you are

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wish to enchant, so that when a black thinks or knows that his hair has been stolen, he is in misery until it is restored again. This is one great reason why the blacks do not like to have enemies.

The Rev. Mr. Hartmann, late of Lake Hindmarsh, says that the blacks had no particular mode of punishing deception or lying. One found guilty of such offences was generally warned by the chief, and if he persisted in his evil courses, the matter was settled by a fight. The stronger the black, the more likely he would be to stand his ground. The blacks usually chose for messengers and to send on expeditions such men as they could trust, and men who could talk well. Whatever report they brought back was generally believed.

Mr. Green, of Coranderrk (Yarra Yarra River), informs me that, for bringing a false report from another tribe to his own tribe, a man was for the first offence well beaten with the waddy; for the second speared in the thigh; and for the third he might be killed. For seduction and for fornication with any young woman in his own tribe, the punishment was for the man death, and for the woman a spear in the thigh.

The Rev. F. A. Hagenauer writes thus:—"The Aborigines punished in their wild state all deception and lying by open fight. If children did it, their parents had to stand and fight for it. The blacks always gave quite correct reports of their expeditions, and do so to the present day."

Boolk. He would look very serious if you touched these, and he would not fail to inform you that you might die at once if you touched them. They are his instruments of sorcery. With them he makes any of his enemies sick. There is also something very carefully wrapped up with bark and well painted with red-ochre. He might hesitate to tell you what this is: it is the fat of some one whom he has killed. There are also several knick-knacks in his bag which show that he has an eye to business. A glance into the large grass bag of his wife proves that she attends to the provisions. There are a few roots—some *Katwort* (fruit of the pig-face), the leg of a native bear (*Koola* or *Goola*), and the head of a kangaroo. There are also a few opossum skins, for she is busy making a rug (*Marook*), a few shells which are used in marking the skins, and the end of the tail of an opossum, to which are attached the sinews of the tail. These are used for sewing the rug. Perhaps mixed up with these may be seen the hands of some defunct member of the tribe—that of some friend of the woman's, or perhaps one belonging to a former husband. This she keeps as the only remembrance of one she once loved—and, though years may have passed, even now, when she has nothing else to do, she will sit and moan over this relic of humanity. Sometimes a mother will carry about with her the remains of a beloved child, whose death she mourns. What cares she that it is in a state of decay! She cannot forget the love she bore it, and being without hope of seeing it in a future state, she clings to its decaying body—until at length, becoming too loathsome even for her, she is obliged to put it out of sight. As to their dead—whether infants or adults—they usually keep them long after the proper time. It is a pity that men in a savage state should take delight in doing that which is nasty. But such is the fact. It is a very common custom for the tribe, or that portion of it who are related to one who has died, to rub themselves with the moisture that comes from the dead friend. They rub themselves with it until the whole of them have the same smell as the corpse. The writer will never forget his attending the funeral of a young man who had been kept much too long. As he stood on the grave, trying to improve the occasion, he was disgusted with the sickly smell which all had; and even for days after, when he came near one of the blacks, he was assailed with the same disagreeable odour." *

There is a very amusing and truthful description of a native family given by Grey. Speaking of the people of Western Australia, he says:—

"The natives nearly always carry the whole of their worldly property about with them, and the Australian hunter is thus equipped:—Round his middle is

* "While dead bodies were being thus dried, it was very trying to one's stomach to have divine worship on Sabbaths. We had to have it in our own house. The little room would be crammed with some forty or fifty blacks. They crowded the room as full as it would pack, and thronged about the open door and window. As they had been living and sleeping in the wurley with a putrefying body, the smell seemed to have been absorbed by their skins, and the odour which arose from my congregation was excessively unpleasant."—*The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, p. 56.

This custom is probably restricted to certain districts. In many parts the body of the deceased is not touched with the naked hand, nor is any part allowed to come into contact with the bodies of the living.

wound, in many folds, a cord spun from the fur of the opossum, which forms a warm, soft, and elastic belt of an inch in thickness, in which are stuck his hatchet, his kiley or boomerang, and a short heavy stick to throw at the smaller animals. His hatchet is so ingeniously placed that the head of it rests exactly on the centre of his back, whilst its thin short handle descends along the back-bone. In his hand he carries his throwing-stick and several spears, headed in two or three different manners, so that they are equally adapted to war or the chase. A warm kangaroo-skin cloak completes his equipment in the southern portions of the continent; but I have never seen a native with a cloak anywhere to the north of 29° S. lat. These weapons, apparently so simple, are admirably adapted for the purposes they are intended to serve—the spear, when projected from the throwing-stick, forms as effectual a weapon as the bow and arrow, whilst at the same time it is much less liable to be injured, and it possesses over the bow and arrow the advantage of being useful to poke out kangaroo rats and opossums from hollow trees, to knock off gum from high branches, to pull down cones from the Banksia trees, and for many other purposes. The hatchet is used to cut up the larger kinds of game, and to make holes in the trees the owner is about to climb. The kiley is thrown into flights of wild-fowl and cockatoos, and with the *Dow-uk*, a short heavy stick, they knock over the smaller kinds of game much in the same manner that poachers do hares and rabbits in England. Thus equipped, the father of the family stalks forth, and at a respectful distance behind him follow the women; a long stick, the point of which has been hardened in the fire, is in each of their hands, a child or two fixed in their bags or upon their shoulders, and in the deep recesses of these mysterious bags they carry, moreover, sundry articles which constitute the wealth of the Australian savage—these are, however, worthy of a particular enumeration, as this will make plain the domestic economy of one of these barbarian housewives. The contents of a native woman's bag are:—A flat stone to pound roots with; earth to mix with the pounded roots; quartz for the purpose of making spears and knives; stones for hatchets; prepared cakes of gum to make and mend weapons and implements; kangaroo sinews to make spears and to sew with; needles made of the shin-bones of kangaroos, with which they sew their cloaks, bags, &c.; opossum hair to be spun into waist-belts; shavings of kangaroo skins to polish spears, &c.; the shell of a species of mussel to cut hair, &c., with; native knives; a native hatchet; pipeclay; red-ochre, or burnt clay; yellow-ochre; a piece of paper-bark to carry water in; waist-bands and spare ornaments; pieces of quartz which the native doctors have extracted from their patients, and thus cured them of diseases: these they preserve as carefully as Europeans do relics. Banksia cones (small ones), or pieces of a dry white species of fungus, to kindle fire with rapidly, and to convey it from place to place; grease, if they can procure it from a whale, or from any other source; the spare weapons of their husbands, or the pieces of wood from which these are to be manufactured; the roots, &c., which they have collected during the day. Skins not yet prepared for cloaks are generally carried between the bag and the back, so as to form a sort of cushion for the bag to rest on. In

general, each woman carries a lighted fire-stick or brand under her cloak and in her hand."*

When a tribe is encamped, it is not permitted to any other tribe to approach the camp without warning. Bent on revenge, or with an intent to murder, or for the purpose of stealing a young woman, a warrior will sometimes invade a camp in the night and seek to effect his purpose, but such enterprizes are not of very common occurrence. Whether for friendly intercourse or for war, the tribe which seeks a meeting must give notice of its coming in due form. A messenger (*We-ar-garr*), whose duty it is to proceed to the camp and state the intentions of the visitors, or to invite them to come to the camp of his tribe, is formally appointed by the principal man of the tribe, assisted by the old men in council. The young men are not allowed, under any circumstances, to take part in such deliberations as may be preliminary to so important a matter as a visit to or the reception of another tribe. On very solemn occasions two ambassadors or messengers are appointed; ordinarily, only one. The messenger has to carry a token, by virtue of which he passes safely through the lands of the several tribes.† The token is a piece of wood, eight or ten inches in length, sometimes round and sometimes flat, and seldom more than one inch in thickness. On it are inscribed hieroglyphics which can be read and interpreted, and which notify all persons of the nature of the mission. If the mission is a friendly one, the stick is streaked mostly with red-ochre (*Werrup*); but if unfriendly, or for the purpose of demanding satisfaction for injuries done, or for war, then it is mostly streaked with white-ochre (*Ngarrimbul*). The principal man, in putting this stick into the hands of the messenger, and having named the tribe for which the invitation is intended, says, "You hold this now" (*Koong-ak kinee Mirrambinerr*). "Look out and find plenty of blackfellows" (*Yane-wat benjer oonee kolen*). "You tell all blackfellows to come here" (*Toombooni boole-anin kolen-yan-an niool* or *Tom-buk U-mar-ko Koolin Ner-lin-go*).

The messenger, on approaching the camp of the tribe to which he has to deliver his message, does not at once break in upon their privacy. He sits down at a considerable distance from the camp, but usually within sight of it, and makes a very small fire of bark and twigs for the purpose of indicating his presence by the smoke. After the lapse of a quarter of an hour, one of the aged blacks approaches him, carrying in his hand a fire-stick, or a piece of thick bark ignited at one end. The messenger presents his token to the old man, who scans it and orders his conduct accordingly. Some hours after, if the messenger has announced visitors, the members of his tribe arrive, and, if they are friendly, there is a corrobboree at night. If the purpose is war, the messenger has to hold a debate with the old men of the tribe, which sometimes lasts far into the night.

However unpleasant the tidings may be, the persons of the messengers are held sacred, and they are always patiently heard and hospitably treated. If the message is of such a kind as to require an answer, the answer is given, and the bearer is conducted safely to the boundaries of the district he has invaded.

* *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., pp. 265–6.

† The message-sticks used by the natives are described in another part of this work.

The visitors usually so time their steps as to arrive at the camp some two or three hours before sunset. When the principal man gives warning, they all sit down, and they remain quiet for the space of half an hour or more. The influential Aborigines from each tribe then approach and confer respecting the business to be transacted. If it is a friendly visit, or for the purpose of procuring wives, or for arranging plans of any kind likely to be mutually beneficial, they enter the camp, and everywhere are heard kindly greetings, lamentations for those departed since they last met, and enquiries respecting relatives and others. The visitors immediately after form an encampment at some little distance from their friends.

When, in accordance with some arrangements suggested by the old men of the tribes, and approved by the warriors, a strange tribe is invited to come into a district which they have not previously visited, there are some practices to be observed, the omission of which might lead to quarrels. The strangers are preceded and introduced by members of some tribe having relations both with the strangers and with the tribe that is about to receive them. The duty of those who have to introduce the strangers is something like that which devolves on a master of ceremonies. Both parties must be consulted by them, and their wishes ascertained, before any attempt is made to bring the tribes together. The responsibility of the introduction, to a great extent, rests on the members of the intermediate tribe. If all difficulties be removed, the strange tribe is permitted to approach the camp—the metropolis of what to them is a new country.

The strangers carry lighted bark or burning sticks in their hands, for the purpose, they say, of clearing and purifying the air. Their entertainers make them welcome, first to the forest lands of which they are the owners; then to the trees, from which they cut boughs and present them to their visitors; then to the shrubs, of which they gather bundles and offer to them; and then to the grass and the herbs, which are freely spread before them; and the boughs and the branches and the leaves and the grass are symbols of friendship which are well understood by all—the givers and the receivers.

To each family is appropriated a separate seat, which is usually a dead prostrate tree. At one end sits the head of the family, with his sons next to him in the order of their birth; at the other, his principal wife, with the other wives and the female children. Two fires are made, one at each end of the log, and at these the males and the females warm themselves and cook their food without interference with each other.

During the first day the visitors are not permitted to minister to their own wants in any way. A male amongst the entertainers fills a *Tarnuk* with water, and carries it to the head of the family, and, looking at him fixedly, stirs the water with a reed or a twig, and takes a deep draught of it, thus satisfying him that it is good, and then leaves it for the use of him and his sons. A female does the same office for the strange wives and the female children.

Food, consisting of all the varieties which the country affords, is laid before the guests. They carry to them the kangaroo, the opossum, the bandicoot, and the bear, birds of several kinds, fish and eels, and the native bread and gum.

During the performance of all these duties silence prevails. There is no loud talk or cries or shouts such as are heard ordinarily in camp. The very aged guests, male and female, occasionally weep copiously, and exhibit by their tears and their gestures gratitude for the attentions shown them; but the younger members of the strange tribe simply stare and wonder.

When night falls, the strangers find that miams have been prepared for them. Each family has one, and one is set apart for the young unmarried men. Silence prevails throughout the night, and it would be a breach of etiquette to indulge in the usual squabbles which serve under ordinary circumstances to relieve the tedium of the night in an encampment.

The duties performed and the ceremonies used in receiving and attending to the wants of a strange tribe have meanings quite intelligible to the Aborigines. When they welcome the strangers to the forest lands they signify that as long as they are friendly, and under such restrictions as their laws impose, they and their children may come there again without fear of molestation; the presents of boughs and leaves and grass are meant to show that these are theirs when they like to use them; and the water stirred with a reed is understood as a token that they may thereafter drink of it, and that no hostile spear will be raised against them.

The Aborigines have many rather peculiar ways of welcoming their friends when they arrive at an encampment after a long absence. The women usually cry with joy, and the men make a howling noise until the visitors actually appear. Strangers and visitors have various means of making known their approach to a camp. Sometimes they raise a singular cry. When the cry is heard by those in the camp, they know that a stranger or a visitor is approaching, and at once they begin to shout, and the shouting and noise are continued until the face of the visitor is seen and recognised. Strangers do not walk straight into a camp; some ceremony is observed. They sit down at a great distance from the place where the tribe is stationed, and remain there quietly until they are noticed. Sometimes they sit a long time before any one goes to them. If one from the tribe goes to the strangers and welcomes them, they then approach, and all kinds of civilities are paid to them by the men and women. Buckley says that when he first encountered a tribe of Aborigines the natives invariably struck their breasts and his also, making a noise between singing and crying—a sort of whine.

Sir Thomas Mitchell observed that when strange blacks met, the men did not at once begin to converse with each other; but there did not appear to be any such restraint on the women, who entered freely into conversation without check or rebuke. Piper—Sir Thomas's black follower—on one occasion encountered a strange native, and in vain was he entreated to ask a question of the unknown traveller; both stood facing each other for a quarter of an hour. They stood about eight yards apart, neither looking at the other, and only gradually and slowly did they at last enter into conversation. The female native was in the beginning the intermediate channel of communication.

The mode of receiving a stranger in the Cooper's Creek district is thus described by Mr. Gason:—"A native of influence, on arriving at one of the

camps of his own tribe, is usually received in the following manner:—On approaching the camp, the inmates close in with raised arms, as in defence; upon this, the person of note rushes at them, making a faint blow as if to strike them, they warding it off with their shields; immediately after, they embrace him and lead him into the camp, where the women shortly bring him food. Should any female relatives to him be present, they cry with joy. If he visits a neighbouring tribe, he is received in the same manner as by his own. A native of no influence or note, on returning after considerable absence, takes his seat near the camp without passing any remark. After remaining a few minutes as if dumb, the old men close round him, ask where he came from, and what befel him, when he tells them plenty of news, not forgetting to embellish. Then two old men stand up, one retailing it, and the other repeating the sentences in an excited manner. Upon this, as on all other occasions, the new-comer is hospitably received, plenty to eat being furnished him."*

The practice of these ceremonies, as here narrated, will cause surprise in the minds of those who have been accustomed to regard the Australian blacks as little above the beasts that perish.

The account given by the late Mr. Thomas of a great gathering of Aborigines at the Merri Creek, near its junction with the River Yarra Yarra, when a very old man appeared as a guest, is somewhat curious. More than one hundred and fifty Aborigines came from the country which lies to the north-west of Gippsland and north-east of the Delatite River, and assembled at the camp of the Yarra tribe, and they brought with them an aged head-man named *Kul-ler-kul-lup*. He was supposed to be more than eighty years of age. He was at least six feet in height, fat, and with a fine upright carriage. His forehead was corrugated; the fine horizontal wrinkles looked scarcely natural; it seemed as if a native artist had been at work on his countenance; and his cheeks too were finely and strangely wrinkled. His friends—indeed, all who saw him—paid respect to him. They embarrassed and encumbered him with their attentions. He could not stir without an effort being made by some one to divine his wishes. At sunrise, the adult Aborigines—strangers and guests—sat before him in semicircular rows, patiently waiting for the sound of his voice, or the indication by gesture of his inclinations. None presumed to speak but in a low whisper in his presence. The old man, touched by so much fealty and respect, occasionally harangued the people—telling them, probably, something of their past history, and warning them, not unlikely, of the evils which would soon surround them. Whenever Mr. Thomas approached for the purpose of gathering some hints of the character of his discourse, the old man paused, and did not resume his argument until the white listener had departed. Mr. Thomas endeavoured through the chief-man—*Billi-billari*—of the Yarra tribe, to gain some information touching the nature and substance of these long speeches, but though he succeeded in gaining a seat amongst the adult Aborigines, *Kul-ler-kul-lup* would not deliver a speech in his presence. Whatever the old man suggested as proper to be done was done; what he disliked was looked upon with disgust

* *The Dieyerie Tribe*, pp. 14–15.

by all the men of all the assembled tribes; what he liked best was by all regarded as good. And he did not approve of the attempts of the white man to hear his discourses, and care was taken accordingly to prevent him from learning anything relating to them. But when *Kul-ler-kul-lup* and his people went away, Mr. Thomas ascertained from *Billi-billari* that the old man had come from a tribe inhabiting the Australian Alps (probably the north-western slopes), which was not in any way connected with any of the Gippsland tribes, and which had never had intercourse with any Gippsland people. He said that *Kul-ler-kul-lup* had informed them that there was a race living in the Alps who inhabited only the rocky parts, and had their homes in caves; that this people rarely left their haunts but when severely pressed by hunger, and mostly clung closely to their cave-dwellings; that to this people the Australians were indebted for corrobborees; that corrobborees were conveyed by dreams to *Kul-ler-kul-lup's* people and other Australians; and that the men of the caves and rocks were altogether superior to the ordinary Aboriginal.

It is probable that *Billi-billari* gave a truthful account of *Kul-ler-kul-lup's* statements. It is more than probable that the Australians have always had a belief in the existence of races both superior and inferior to their own; and it is certain that the accidental intrusion of members of distant and strange tribes, acquainted with modes of fighting and decoration somewhat different from their own, must always have been regarded as proofs of the existence of peoples *different* from them. If easily taken and killed, such intruders would be regarded as inferior; if superior in skill, and greater in daring, and able to put to flight the warriors, then the visitors would be regarded as superiors. In the latter case, the adoption of any other hypothesis would have cast a slur on the fighting-men.

The Aborigines everywhere, and on all occasions, pay great respect to old persons. If a number of strangers are going to a camp, the oldest man walks first, and the younger men follow. Amongst the Murray blacks it is considered a very great fault to say anything disrespectful to an old person. It is deemed a serious thing to say, *Kur-o-pi ther-a-ka wirto* (you grey-haired old man!). It is only when a young man is very much enraged that he will venture to use such words; and if used, the consequences are sometimes serious.

"Respect for old age," says Sir Thomas Mitchell, "is universal amongst the Aborigines. Old men, and even old women, exercise great authority among assembled tribes, and 'rule the big war' with their voices when both spears and boomerangs are at hand."*

In the country occupied by the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek) the old men direct the movements of the people. "Should any matter of moment have to be considered—such as removing the camps, making of rain, marrying, circumcision, or what not—one of the old men moots the subject late at night, before the camp retires to rest. At dawn of the succeeding day, each question, as proposed by the old man, is answered at once, or, should they wait until he has finished, three or four speak together; with this exception, there being no

* *Interior of Eastern Australia*, vol. II., p. 300

interruptions, and stillness prevailing in the camp. At first they speak slowly and quietly, each sentence in its delivery occupying three or four minutes, but generally become excited before the conclusion of their speeches."*

On all occasions, when I have seen a number of blacks gathered together, they have shown the utmost affection to the aged persons amongst them. It has always been regarded by the principal men as a privilege to introduce to me the very old men and old women, and I have observed with pleasure the tokens of respect and regard exhibited whenever the old people spoke. When in the Western district many years ago, the natives brought to me, carrying her as carefully as a mother would carry her child, the principal woman of the Colac tribe. She was very feeble, and probably very old—how old it would be impossible to guess. They evidently looked upon her as one deserving of all care and affection, and seemed very proud of her.

It is pleasant, too, to note how quiet the people are when an old and respected black is speaking to them. They never interrupt him. He begins very slowly, uttering a few words at a time, and the sounds are soft and pleasing. He makes a long pause, and drops his voice as he concludes a sentence. Then, as he warms to his work, his eyelids quiver, he speaks more rapidly, always pausing at the conclusion of a sentence, and soon his sentences become longer, his voice a little louder, and he emphasizes a word now and again in a very impressive manner. He ends abruptly, and sits down. When, however, a man who is not much esteemed essays a speech, he is interrupted by both men and women. All of them talk together, and, though he may raise his voice, he is soon silenced by the clamor of the throng. In many things the blacks are very like the whites.

The natives are "good haters," and they have, as good haters should have, the greatest love for their friends and relatives. They testify the liveliest joy when a companion after a long absence returns to the camp. When a young man—a warrior—departs on an expedition as a messenger, tears are shed by the old people, and the leave-taking is quite a solemnity. When a near relation, or a dear friend, or any distinguished fighting-man is removed by death, they testify their sorrow in the same way as the people of the Eastern nations of antiquity did when overwhelmed with a great affliction or compelled by custom to appear to be in deep grief.

Men show strong affection towards each other; they love their wives; women are faithful, and die on the graves of their husbands; and indeed it would not be without labor to find amongst civilized races more touching instances of affection than those that can be related of the Aborigines of Australia.

The late Mr. Thomas has given an account in his writings, prepared at my request, of the behaviour of the natives of Victoria under very painful circumstances:—

Bun-ger-ring, an old Mount Macedon black, of a great family, of whose exploits he would often speak, had four wives. One day he came to the

* Samuel Gason, p. 14.

encampment accompanied by the youngest of his wives, and both *Bun-ger-ring* and this woman were sick and feeble. They had caught cold, and were suffering from low fever. Mr. Thomas got medical aid, and the young woman recovered, but old *Bun-ger-ring* died. At the funeral the young widow was inconsolable. She burnt and mutilated herself very much. She mourned *Bun-ger-ring's* death for many days, refused food, and sat daily and nightly moaning plaintively. She stated boldly that she would starve herself to death and follow *Bun-ger-ring;* and sixteen days after his death she too was buried. The wife of *Ning-er-ra-noul*, of the Western Port tribe, sickened and died when her husband was taken away from her. She survived him but a few days. King Benbow, well known in Melbourne in 1848, whose wife was with him always, and was always clinging fondly to him, literally died on his grave, from which she could not be got away. Native men have shown the same great grief when their wives have been removed by death. A great man of the Yarra tribe, whose wife died at the foot of Mount Disappointment, was so much afflicted that he too died two days after, and was buried in the same grave with her.

As an instance of the strong affection which men show towards each other, when trouble and affliction overtake them, and when they have jointly to share the burden, Mr. Thomas has recorded the case of two Portland Bay blacks, who were imprisoned in the gaol in Melbourne many years ago. Up to the time of their imprisonment they kept together, and clung to each other as newly-caught wild animals are seen to keep together when caged. During the period they were in gaol one of them fell sick, and was separated from his companion, and finally he died. When Mr. Thomas communicated the tidings to the friend of the deceased, he, though apparently in good health, felt the stroke so keenly that he too sickened and died almost immediately. His body, cold and stiff, was found in his cell the morning after he had received the tidings.

A number of cases of the like kind could be given: but enough has been adduced to show that the Australian—in his domestic relations; in his dealings with friends; in his intercourse with strangers; in his ceremonious reception of ambassadors; in his sorrows; in his lamentations for relatives departed; in his strong affections, as well as in his hatreds—is altogether like ourselves, when we are on our best behaviour, and not grimacing and attitudinizing, and making a pretence of sorrow when there is no grief, and simulating joy when there is no real cause for rejoicing. The Aboriginal is indeed usually very sorry when he exhibits any tokens of sorrow; and he is glad, beyond anything he can himself exhibit of gladness, when there is occasion for the expression of such a feeling. In this he is childish; but it must be remembered that he has not had eighteen hundred years of civilization, and is still in the state he was created.

Life during the Four Seasons.

The tract of land owned by each tribe was well known to every member; as well known and as accurately defined as if the metes and bounds of it had been set out by a surveyor. In most cases the area was very large, and presented different aspects during the several seasons of the year. In the months of June,

July, and August—the winter season of the year—the flats near the rivers and creeks were often flooded; and the low lands generally were wet and cold, and unsuitable for camping ground; and necessarily the natives moved to the best sheltered spots on the uplands, where they were able to catch native bears, wallabies, and wombats—and on these and on the pupæ of the ant, and on the grubs that are found in the trees, they chiefly supported themselves. In wet and very cold weather they were often miserable. When the rain fell heavily—perhaps for many days—the men kept sulkily to their willams, and no inducement would lead them to hunt game in the forests. The aspect of a camp at such times was dismal in the extreme. The fires were maintained, it is true; but the dripping trees, the wet grass, the rain pouring heavily on the bark of the miams, and penetrating them; the absence of children before the openings of the dwellings, and the forlorn appearance of the dogs moving occasionally from miam to miam, in search of better accommodation—made a picture only to be equalled by those that are familiar to the English people in the quarters of the cities and in the districts inhabited by the poorest and most neglected of the inhabitants. In the wet season the natives were undoubtedly unhappy—often starved—and never in a condition to indulge in mirth or amusements.

In the spring—during the months of September, October, and November—when the acacias blossom, and the watercourses in many places are resplendent with the rich yellow flowers of these trees; when the birds mate; when the coldness of winter is almost past, and only rarely, in exceptional periods, snow is seen or hail falls; when the first hot breath of the north wind makes itself felt in the spring—the natives moved slowly towards the lower lands. There they were able to snare ducks, to catch other kinds of wild-fowl, and, as the season advanced, to procure eggs from the nests of all kinds of birds. This was a time of rejoicing. They spent many hours in pleasant ramblings and in fishing and hunting when the moon was shining; and as the earth renewed her strength, and nature sprinkled the sward with flowers, and filled the heath-clad downs and the scrub-covered hill-sides with rich colors of flowering shrubs, the natives, too, awakening from the torpor that the coldness of winter had induced, put forth their strength, and, active and lively, hunted regularly and feasted heartily on the good things that were easily procurable by their skill. They never killed any creature that was not in good condition if they could help it, and any that was poor or lean was thrown aside. They cooked only the best of the birds and beasts, as a rule; but when pressed by hunger, everything that was taken was eaten, unless it was something forbidden by the laws, and these no one dared violate.

During the summer season—in the months of December, January, and February—when the temperature is very high, and the hot winds so scorching as sometimes to kill even indigenous trees; when the ground is baked into a hard crust, and cracked and fissured in all places where a thin soil covers granite or basalt, and when the earth is dusty even to the very edge of the fast disappearing swamps; when the snakes are active, and bask in broad day in any ungrassed patch of ground; when the small lizards dart to and fro, and the large iguanas slowly ascend their favorite trees for shelter or food; when the native bear goes

to sleep at mid-day in the open forest, or dozes stupidly on the branch of a tree; when the air is filled with the hum and whirr of innumerable insects; when the fading flowers of the trees and shrubs begin to give place to the succeeding fruits; when the grass is no longer green, and the streams even in the mountainous districts flow somewhat feebly—the natives resorted to the large rivers, and amused themselves and fed themselves by catching fish. They also hunted the kangaroo, and killed opossums and porcupines. Their vegetable food, in the Yarra district, was chiefly the heart of the fern-tree; but roots and bulbs and fruits were gathered by the women and children in all places where these had matured.

In the summer time there was no lack of amusements. Hunting, fishing, fighting, and dancing—pursued in the day or night, as best suited their inclinations—were to them as exhilirating as any of the practices of civilized peoples, and many of them, perhaps it may be said, as innocent.

The warmth of this season caused them to be careless, to a certain degree, of their willams; and they often camped in small parties, in places remote from their accustomed haunts, where they never thought of providing shelter, unless when overtaken by a storm.

When the hot winds ceased to blow—when the shelter of a bark willam was welcome, and the aspect of nature was no longer encouraging for such pursuits as they followed in the summer—the natives moved to the higher grounds belonging to them. The rains had wetted the green slopes formerly so delightful; cold blasts came from the south-west; and the autumn, bringing to them no rich harvests, no stores of corn, suggested only the discomforts of the approaching winter.

Their food at this season consisted of kangaroo, opossum, porcupine, and other animals, eels and various kinds of fish, and, of vegetables, the bulbous roots of plants growing in the marshes, fern-trees, and the gum of the wattle.

They were always mindful of the seasons in selecting the localities in which to spend their time, taking into account not only the natural features of the ground, but the facilities for obtaining food. They constructed tolerably good bark willams in the winter, while in the summer they were content with such shelter as a few broken branches afforded. They were rarely without good fires.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, in a letter to me, gives the following interesting account of the movements of the natives in the south-eastern part of Victoria during the several seasons. He says:—

"In summer time their days were spent chiefly in fishing for eels and fat mullet (*Pert-piang*). They camped at the entrance to the Lakes, where they are plentiful at this season. They would find also in the gullies near the entrance plenty of *Koonyang* (kangaroo apples), and these, with the fish, would form their chief diet. Excepting when they desired a change of food, a day would be spent in going back into the bush for wallaby. The entrance to Reeves River has always been a very favorite camping ground, as food in the

summer is very plentiful. In a wild state, a black did very little more, I think, than attend to the wants of his stomach. In summer his nights would be spent in getting eels or other fish, as at night they can be more easily taken. He would go into the shallow water with a torch and a spear; the fish would be attracted by the light, and they would fall an easy prey to the spear. The natives are very skilful with the spear, seldom missing their stroke, but they use great caution in striking at the fish. The day was spent by the men in idleness, and in sleeping and eating. The women made bags of grass for themselves or their husbands, and sometimes, if a man could rouse himself, he would get up from his rug and employ himself in making a spear or some other instrument of use, and towards evening the torches would have to be made for the night's fishing. In winter the greater part of the time was occupied in hunting native bears, kangaroo, &c. The long nights would be passed, if in good humour, in joking; their great delight would be to hit off the peculiarities of some absent member of the tribe, or of some dead black who was no relation of any black present. If not in a good humour, they would find some grievance to redress; or perhaps some refractory young man would rush into a camp to seize one of the young women, in order to give the parents a hint that that particular female ought to be given to him. This would cause a general fight, and the young man would get a good thrashing, and then, perhaps, the tribe, smitten with remorse for their conduct, would make atonement by giving up the lady to him. In spring their time was devoted to fishing, as the fish then begin to be plentiful. The autumn was spent in visiting other tribes and getting up new corrobborees. Their food during this season was various, chiefly opossums, bears, kangaroo, &c.

"As to their shelter—in summer, in their temporary camps, a few boughs would suffice, as the nights were warm, and indeed, as they occupied themselves at night in fishing, they did not require much shelter. In case of wet they made a grass camp. In winter the camp was more substantial, as they remained longer in one locality at that season. It was thatched with grass or made of sheets of bark. In spring, as well as in summer, they lived much on vegetables and fruits.

"In summer they fished mostly on the coast, or at the mouths of the rivers which run into the sea, as at this season the fish were either going to or returning from the sea. In winter they would more likely procure fish in the rivers with grass nets, and often with hooks of bone with a line made of the bark of the *Yovan* or lightwood. I believe they found the bone-hook as good for fishing as the hooks supplied by Europeans, though no doubt it would be very troublesome to make it, as it had to be scraped out with flint and shells. The time when they had most wild-fowl was and still is in the spring, when the birds are moulting. At this season they kill swans in large numbers. The wild-fowls they get principally are swans and ducks.*

"I believe in their wild state the Aboriginals had more system, or worked more by a plan, than at present. As they had only themselves to rely upon,

* The vegetable productions eaten by the natives are described in another part of this work.

they took care to keep themselves supplied with food each day.* Had a stranger come suddenly upon their camps, when the natives were in a wild state, at any time during the day, he would have found them almost totally deserted. Had he inspected them, he would have found them inhabited by a few old people and children. But towards evening he would have observed blacks coming from all quarters, some laden with game, some with fish, and a few with a stick of firewood on their shoulders. Each had been away seeking food and necessaries for the supply of the camp. In times of peace, when they had no fear of enemies lurking about, they would move from place to place without caution. The men would go in a mob to have a grand battue among the kangaroos, which would be done by a number of men driving the animals into some corner where they could spear them as the creatures tried to pass them. The women would also go away in large numbers in canoes to fish; but they would take care to return to the camp before the arrival of their husbands, in order to have the fires lighted and some of the produce of their day's labor roasted for the hunters. The appetite of their husbands would probably not be so keen as that of the hunters who are proverbially named when hunger is mentioned; for, if successful in their day's sport, they would have made an astonishing meal long before reaching home. It is the custom of the blacks, when they catch a kangaroo, to roast and eat part of it on the spot. And here a remark may be made respecting the much talked of enormous eating of the blacks. This is accounted for by the way in which they live. As hunters, they would, at most, have a very precarious living, for sometimes they would be unsuccessful in their hunting, and their fishing would also fail. At such times they would have to allay hunger by eating some of the various vegetable productions which are common. The blacks are capable of enduring long fasts, and when they get food in abundance, they are very liable to exceed the usual limits; but let an Aboriginal be fed regularly every day, and it soon becomes apparent that he eats just as much as is sufficient for him. In fact his appetite is not at all out of the common."

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* The natives are not so improvident as is generally supposed. They take great care of birds' nests, and they sink wells, and protect the natural water-holes against the encroachments of animals. They cover the springs of water with stones and branches of trees; and show, by burning off the grass and in many other ways, that it is their duty to make provision for their future wants.

Mr. Charles Coxen writes thus:—"Much has been said of the imprudence of these poor creatures, and I do not intend to deny the general truth of such statements, but I believe that had we been better acquainted with their habits before the colonists came among them, we should give them credit for more thoughtfulness than we now do. In corroboration of this opinion, I may inform you that, during an exploration trip into the interior, made by me in 1836, I found a considerable store of grass-seed, gum from the mimosa, and other stores, carefully packed up in large bags made from the skin of the kangaroo, and covered over with pieces of bark, so as to keep them properly dry. The weight of the bags containing the grass-seed and gum was about one hundred pounds; the seeds had been carefully dried after being collected from the small grasses of the plains. It is used as food after being ground into a kind of paste. The gum is also one of their favorite articles of consumption, and when made into a thick mucilage, and mixed with honey or sugar, is really very nice. Such instances of forethought are doubtless rare, and I believe are only to be found beyond the influence of civilization."—*The Kommillaroy Tribe.* A paper read before the Queensland Philosophical Society, 1866.

"A huntsman's life," says Wilhelmi, "under any circumstances is a migratory one, but it becomes the more so in this country, where Nature's products are obtainable only according to the season, and in districts far off one from the other. On this account the Port Lincoln blacks are obliged at times to resort to the sea-coast for catching fish; at others, to rove over hill and dale in pursuit of game and roots; and during the unproductive months they are forced, for the smaller kinds of game, to roam through the whole country, some parts of which are covered with an almost impenetrable small scrub, and other parts complete deserts, all the time having to contend against a dreadful heat, rendered almost insupportable by the reflection of the rays of the sun and of the surrounding burning scrub, and being, in addition to all this, deprived of a sufficiency of water. . . . . The habit of constantly changing their places of rest is so great that they cannot overcome it, even if staying where all their wants can be abundantly supplied. A certain longing to revisit this or that spot, for which they have taken a particular fancy, seizes them, and neither promises nor persuasion can induce them to resist it for any time; only in time and by degrees is this feeling likely to give way. As they travel greater distances during the summer months than during winter, they then also more frequently change their places of rest." *

Property in Land.

Though the land occupied by each tribe was the common property of the tribe, insomuch as they could hunt over it, kill the wild animals on it, and gather the fruits and roots and tubers growing within its area, there were some obscure personal rights of property. Members of the tribe, it is said, had lands which they called their own; the right to such lands descended from generation to generation; and these rights were respected by all, and jealously guarded by the proprietors.

Grey says that "landed property does not belong to a tribe, or to several families, but to a single male; and the limits of his property are so accurately defined, that every native knows those of his own land, and can point out the various objects which mark his boundary."

And Dr. Lang, in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, quoted by Grey, states that "particular districts are not merely the property of particular tribes; particular sections, or portions of these districts, are universally recognised by the natives as the property of individual members of these tribes; and when the owner of such a section, or portion of territory (as I ascertained was the case at King George's Island), has determined on burning off the grass on his land—which is done for the double purpose of enabling the natives to take the older animals more easily, and to provide a new crop of sweeter grass for the rising generation of the forest—not only all the other individuals of his own tribe, but whole tribes from other districts, are invited to the hunting party, and the feast and

* *Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives*, &c., pp. 176-8.

dance, or corrobboree that ensue; the wild animals on the ground being all considered the property of the owner of the land."*

Mr. Gideon Lang asserts that the natives have also individual property in various trees. On one occasion, when exploring, and suffering severely from the want of food, and particularly the craving from the want of vegetables, his black guide pointed to a bee passing over them, loaded, and evidently in straight flight for the hive. Mr. Lang told the native to follow it, and he did so; but when they reached the tree, the black had scarcely got off his horse when he remounted, as if to go on again. Mr. Lang asked the reason for his action, when he pointed to a mark on the tree, evidently made by a stone tomahawk, and said that it belonged to "N'other one blackfellow," and that he could not touch it—and at this time he was almost on the point of starvation, as well as the others of the party.†

Reference is made in the same place to the statement of Sir George Grey, that if two or more men have a right to hunt over the same portion of ground, and one of them breaks off the tops of certain trees, by their laws the grubs in these trees are his property, and no one has a right to touch the tree; but Sir George here refers to the grass-trees, which, unless the top is broken or it naturally decays, is not a proper receptacle for the grubs which supply the natives with food. The man who took the trouble to break the tops of the grass-trees was surely entitled to gather the grubs; but he acquired no right to the trees, and they could not, by his simply breaking the tops, become his property, as a huge gum-tree might, or a parcel of land.‡

The natives of the Darling had a mode of asserting their rights to the land they inhabited which seemed to surprise Major Mitchell. The "Spitting Tribe" caused the explorers to pour out the water from their buckets into a hole which they dug in the ground; and when a river chief had a tomahawk presented to him, he pointed to the stream, and signified that the white men were at liberty to take water from it.§

This, however, was no more than the assertion by the principal man of tribal rights, and did not indicate any individual property in the waters or soil.

Eyre affirms that every male has a piece of land which he can call his own, that he knows its boundaries and can point them out; that the father divides his lands amongst his sons, and that there is almost hereditary succession; that a female never inherits, and that primogeniture has no peculiar rights or advantages;‖ and Grey adds that, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, a boy can point out the portion of land which he eventually is to inherit, and that if the male children of a family become extinct, the male children of the daughters inherit their grandfather's land.

Lieut.-Col. Collins says, "Their spears and shields, their clubs and lines, &c., are their own property; they are manufactured by themselves, and are the whole

* *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., pp. 234–5.

† *Aborigines of Australia*, by Gideon S. Lang, 1865, pp. 13–14.

‡ Sir George Grey's account of this matter is very clear. *See* vol. II., p. 289.

§ *Eastern Australia*, vol. I., p. 305.

‖ Eyre's *Australia*, vol. II., p. 297.

of their personal estate. But, strange as it may appear, they have also their real estates. *Ben-nil-long* gave repeated assurances that the island *Me-mel* (known at the settlement by the name of Goat Island), close by Sydney Cove, was his own property; that it had been his father's, and that he should give it to *By-gone*, his particular friend and companion. To this little spot he appeared much attached. He likewise spoke of other persons who possessed this kind of hereditary property, which they retained undisturbed."*

In Fraser's Island (Great Sandy Island) it is said that there are parts of the land which the natives look upon as individually theirs, and on the death of the father it descends to the sons. On the death of a mother, her property descends to her brother.

This is strong evidence in favor of there being individual property in land amongst the Australians; but is it satisfactory? What rights, exclusive of those of other members of the tribe, were enjoyed by the proprietor? What, in short, were his advantages? This personal property would naturally suggest the existence in each tribe of chieftainship; but nothing of the kind is known in Australia. The council of old men rule the affairs of the tribe. The principal man or principal men cannot act without their advice and approval. If they did act without authority, they might incur punishment. How could the sons of a daughter inherit? The people are not endogamous. A girl, it is true, is betrothed at an early age to a man not of her own class or to a man of another tribe with whom intermarriage is lawful; but girls and women are exchanged, and are not seldom stolen by men of neighbouring tribes; and, moreover, an old man has usually not one wife but several; and how would the succession be settled?

It is not at all clear from the statements here quoted that there was anywhere, *in the ordinary sense of the word*, individual property in land. How, indeed, could it consist with the maintenance of tribal rights, the rules of hospitality, and the preservation of the common interests of the people?

The Rev. John Bulmer informs me that the fact that an Aboriginal is born in a certain locality constitutes a right to that part, and it would be considered a breach of privilege for any one to hunt over it without his permission. Should another black have been born in the same place, he, with the former, would have a joint right to the land. Otherwise, no native seems to have made a claim to any particular portion of the territory of his tribe. Mr. Bulmer says he has found this birthright common to the Murray tribes, and he suspects it is common to most of the tribes of Australia. In old times a fight would ensue if any one wilfully trespassed on the land thus acquired as a birthright.

This is intelligible, and seems to accord with other customs of the natives.

In any large area occupied by a tribe, where there was not much forest land, and where kangaroos were not numerous, it is highly probable that the several families composing the tribe would withdraw from their companions for short periods, at certain seasons, and betake themselves to separate portions of

* *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, 1804, p. 385.

the area (always keeping within the boundaries of the district lawfully owned by the tribe), and it is more than probable—it is almost certain—that each head of a family would betake himself, if practicable, to that portion which his father had frequented. In this manner—and where certain privileges were acquired in consequence of a native having been born in a locality that could be appropriated—individuals would claim a property in the land. There is nothing to be discovered in the records relating to the Aborigines of Victoria which would show such a proprietorship as would justify the statements made by Mr. Eyre. But he wrote of another part of the continent; and it is scarcely to be believed that so accurate an observer—so conscientious and careful a historian—would be misled on such a point.

This is a subject of great interest, and to the ethnologist of the highest importance: and it is not to be dismissed by a reference to any authority, however high. One has to consider, in connection with it, the laws that govern the tribes, the habits of the people, and the accidents, amongst men in the savage state, which would necessarily interfere with, and, in fact, render impossible anything in the nature of hereditary succession. And there are other difficulties.

If, when any man was called to account for a crime, he kept himself within the boundaries of his own land—how could he be brought to punishment? Not, if he were contumacious, without violating his rights as the proprietor of the soil. And in times of drought, if a water-hole was within his boundaries, would the tribe be prevented from resorting to it? Certainly not. What rights, what privileges could individual proprietorship confer in a community of savages?

Dogs.

Native dogs are found at every encampment. They are in all conditions—some very old, some mature and strong, and some in the stage of puppyhood. Not less than twenty, perhaps forty, may be seen at any time when a number of natives encamp for the night. Before European dogs were introduced, the blacks took the puppies of the wild dog, and brought them up, and trained them to hunt. They are very kind to their dogs, and indeed nothing more offends a black than to speak harshly to his dogs, or to depreciate them; and if any one gave a black man's dog a blow, he would incur bitter enmity. Mr. Gason has seen a woman crying over a dog that had been bitten by a snake; and he is of opinion that they take as much care of their dogs as if they belonged to the human species. Their dogs are not only affectionate and faithful companions, but they are of the greatest use to the natives. They assist them in finding opossums, snakes, rats, and lizards. They are, however, not generally well fed. The black eats the meat, and the dog gets the bones. A great many ribs, some belonging to the dead, and some to the living, may be seen whenever a black's camp is approached.

The native's affectionate care of the dog is not confined to gentle treatment and kind words. The black woman is often its nurse. Sir Thomas Mitchell

says that "the women not unfrequently suckle the young pups, and so bring them up; but these are always miserably thin, so that we knew a native's dog from a wild one by the starved appearance of the follower of man."*

The kindness they show to the domesticated animal does not prevent them from hunting and killing the wild dog. When they catch one, he is killed and thrown on the fire, his hair is singed off, his entrails are taken out, and he is roasted in an oven constructed of heated stones. The carcass is covered with bark or grass, and earth; and in the course of two hours or more he is well cooked and fit to be eaten.

Buckley says that the howling of the numerous wild dogs affected his spirits considerably.† I can well believe this. When on the Powlett River, some years ago, my hospitable entertainer, the superintendent of the station known as the Wild Cattle Run, killed a calf, in order to provide a sumptuous supper, and the scent of the blood, or the knowledge conveyed to them somehow that a beast had been slain, brought the wild dogs from the forest, and about midnight they came close to the hut and howled most dismally. Ever and anon a savage sound came from them too, as if they knew that blood was near. They did not leave until they had aroused every sleeper.

In the Cape Otway forest, and in the forests at the sources of the Goulburn, they are large and fierce. They generally follow any animal that they mean to kill in a long line, one after the other, several paces apart, the largest and strongest dogs keeping the lead. When snow lies on the eastern mountains, and food is scarce, they will not hesitate to track a traveller.

Their depredations on the flocks of the settlers were at one time of serious importance; and, in consequence, it became necessary to use poison. Great numbers were killed; and then another evil—a serious increase of grass-eating marsupials—followed. Their natural enemy, the dingo, being in any district exterminated or greatly reduced in numbers, they increased in proportion, and soon measures had to be taken to kill the large mobs of kangaroos that consumed the grass.

In one district, a correspondent informs me, the dingoes have become so cunning as to refuse the poisoned baits set for them. It is certain that some sheep-dogs are so well acquainted with the fact that poisoned meats are laid for dogs that they will not eat meat they chance to see when travelling.

The Australian dingo is not wanting in courage. When fairly pinned in a corner, he will attack a man, and exhibit the fierceness of a watch-dog. A rather small dingo was exhibited some years ago at a great dog-show in Melbourne. He attracted much attention, and while I was present he got loose. He was not in the least afraid. He looked carefully at the great number of dogs chained to pillars and posts, and selecting one, a bull-dog, as an antagonist, he walked slowly towards him, erecting his bristles and snarling, and would have attacked him had not a keeper appeared and secured him.

The dingo (*Canis dingo*) is called by many names in various parts of Australia; and of these, perhaps, the most common are the following:—

Yarra - - - -	*Year-angin* or *Wer-ren-wil-lum.*
Gippsland - - - -	*Ngurran.*
Western part of Victoria -	*Purnung* (male, *pip kuru;* female, *Nrung-yrreh*).
King George's Sound - -	*Toort.*
Raffles Bay - - -	*Alee.*
Karaula - - - -	*Myeye.*
Wellington Valley - -	*Mirree.*
Regent's Lake (Lachlan) -	*Mérry.*
Moreton Bay - - -	*Mèhee.*
Wollondilly River - -	*Merrigang* or *Warrigal.* (*Wuragul* or *Waragul* means wild or savage, in the dialect of the Yarra and Western Port natives.)

The dingo is not unlike a sheep-dog, but he resembles also the fox, and at times when he is enraged he has a wolf-like aspect. He is about two feet in height, and his length is about two feet six inches. His head is rather like that of a fox; his ears are erect and not long, and he has whiskers on the muzzle. He stands firmly on his legs, and shows a good deal of strength in his well-constructed body—a body not likely to be overloaded with fat even when well fed. His color varies from a yellowish-tawny to a reddish-brown, growing lighter towards the belly; and the tip of his brush is generally white. He cannot bark like other dogs, but howls, and utters a kind of screech if much irritated. He has a habit, too, of turning his head over his shoulder when he regards an enemy, that reminds one of the fox. He affords good sport to a pack of hounds.

The natives speared the wild dog, or took the pups from their lair and ate them. I cannot learn that they set traps for this animal.

It was believed by some for a length of time that the wild dog was of recent introduction to Australia; but this is not so. In sinking a well through volcanic ash, near Tower Hill (Western district of Victoria), the workman came upon dry grass, like hay, at a depth of sixty-three feet. Underneath this ancient grass-clad surface they sank a depth of sixty feet through a blue and yellow clay, and there they found the skull and bones of a dingo. And at Lake Timboon, also in the Western district, the bones of the wild dog are found with those of the Tasmanian Devil (*Sarcophilus ursinus*), now extinct on the mainland, and only found living in Tasmania; the bones and teeth of the gigantic extinct kangaroos (*Macropus Titan* and *M. Atlas*), as well as bones and teeth of the genera *Nototherium* and *Diprotodon.* In fact it is now beyond doubt that the dingo was alive and well when the now extinct marsupial lion (*Thylacoleo*) roamed through the forests of Australia; when the huge *Dromornis* fed peacefully

on the plains; and when the volcanoes, now cold and smokeless, sent forth clouds of ashes and pillars of fire.

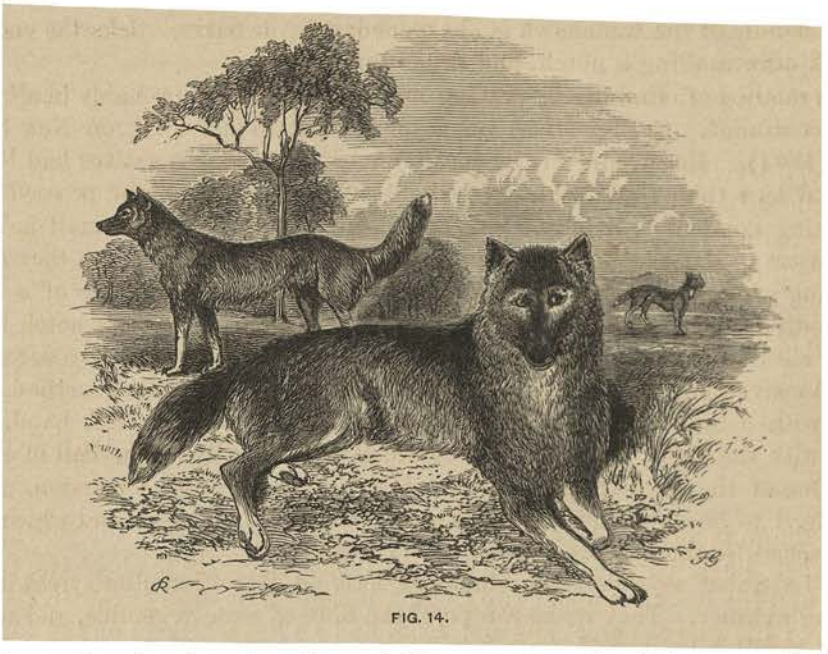

FIG. 14.

The native dog is not a decayed European species, but one entirely and exclusively Australian.* Fig. 14 shows him as he usually appears.

Climbing Trees.

The natives are compelled by their necessities to ascend trees very frequently, either for the purpose of catching animals, or for honey, or for bark for their canoes or *willams;* and they are very expert and nimble in climbing to a great height, whether the tree be straight or crooked, or of large or small dimensions. The clumsy attitudes of a European who attempts to climb a pole or a tree would excite the merriment of the Australian natives. They not only do their business well, but, as a rule, do it gracefully.

The common method of climbing trees is well known. The native takes his tomahawk and cuts a notch in the bark of the tree about three and a half or four and a half feet from the ground. He puts the great toe of one foot into this, and, raising himself as high as he can, and grasping the tree with one arm, he cuts another notch a stage higher, and thus ascends. He works very rapidly; and it is rare indeed that a black misses his hold and falls to the ground. In the basin of the River Yarra, and in the Western Port district,

* Grey mentions having seen a dog in North-Western Australia altogether different in appearance from the dingo or *Canis Australiensis.* It resembled the Malay dog common to the island of Timor. Grey never saw one wild—only domesticated and in the vicinity of the natives.—*North-West and Western Australia,* vol. I., p. 239

and in many other parts of the colony, there are large numbers of old trees to be seen with notches in the bark, which the blacks have climbed for the purpose of catching opossums, or for getting bark. In West Australia the end of the wooden handle of the tomahawk is sharpened, and the native sticks the end into the bark after making a notch, and drags himself up.

This method of climbing by cutting notches is practised probably in all parts of the continent. Collins gives an account of it in his work on New South Wales (1804). He says:—"It has been remarked that these natives had longer arms and legs than those who lived about Sydney. This might proceed from their being compelled to climb the trees after honey and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and opossum, which they effect by cutting with their stone hatchets notches in the bark of the tree of a sufficient depth and size to receive the ball of the great toe. The first notch being cut, the toe is placed in it, and while the left arm embraces the tree, a second is cut at a convenient distance, to receive the other foot. By this method they ascend with astonishing quickness, always clinging with the left hand, and cutting with the right, resting the whole weight of the body on the ball of either foot. One of the gum-trees was observed by a party on an excursion, which was judged to be about one hundred and thirty feet in height, and which had been notched by the natives at least eighty feet."*

Mr. Le Souef says that the blacks at Twofold Bay often climb trees in the following manner. They make a rope of the fibre of some vegetable, and attach wooden handles to it, and ascend with ease even very tall smooth trunks.—(Fig. 15.)

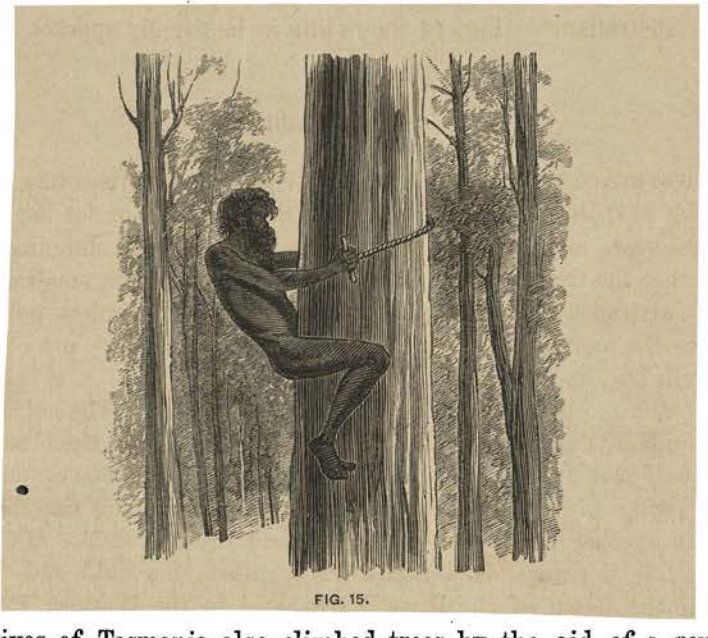

FIG. 15.

The natives of Tasmania also climbed trees by the aid of a rope in the same way.

* *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* by Lieut.-Col. Collins, p. 357.

Sometimes a tree is climbed with the help of a rope made of the fibre of stringybark. The rope is passed round the trunk of the tree and the body of the climber, and is so adjusted as to fit into the small of the man's back. His tomahawk is kept in his waist-belt. The rope is held by the hands; the body is pressed against the tree, and by quickly jerking the rope upwards a tall trunk is very easily climbed. Mr. Howitt obtained information respecting this method from two natives of Gippsland, who, when they saw the sketch he had made, expressed themselves as highly delighted. They suggested an alteration, and when that was effected, they exclaimed, "*Ko-ki!* berry good! that fellow all right now!"

In Queensland the native makes use of the strong creepers or climbing plants, instead of a rope, and ascends a tree with great ease.*

FIG. 16.

Fig. 16, showing a native of Queensland in the act of ascending a tree, is from a photograph.

Signals.

The natives have an easy method of telegraphing news to their distant friends. When Sir Thomas Mitchell was travelling through Eastern Australia, he often saw columns of smoke ascending through the trees in the forests, and he soon learnt that the natives used the smoke of fires for the purpose of making known his movements to their friends. Near Mount Frazer he observed a dense column of smoke, and subsequently other smokes arose, extending in a telegraphic line far to the south along the base of the mountains, and thus communicating to the natives who might be upon his route homewards the tidings of his return.

* The Indians of South America climb trees with the assistance of a hoop of wild vines; and a similar method is adopted in Ceylon and in some parts of Africa.—*See* Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, 1870, p. 173.

When Sir Thomas reached Portland Bay he noticed that when a whale appeared in the bay the natives were accustomed to send up a column of smoke, thus giving timely intimation to all the whalers. If the whale should be perceived by one boat's crew only, it might be taken; but if pursued by several, it would probably be run ashore and become food for the blacks.*

Jardine, writing of the natives of Cape York, says that "communication between the islanders and the natives of the mainland is frequent; and the rapid manner in which news is carried from tribe to tribe to great distances is astonishing. I was informed of the approach of H.M.S. *Salamander* on her last visit two days before her arrival here. Intelligence is conveyed by means of fires made to throw smoke up in different forms, and by messengers who perform long and rapid journeys."†

Messengers in all parts of Australia appear to have used this mode of signalling. In Victoria, when travelling through the forest, they were accustomed to raise smoke by filling the hollow of a tree with green boughs and setting fire to the trunk at its base; and in this way, as they always selected an elevated position for the fire when they could, their movements were made known.

When engaged in hunting, when travelling on secret expeditions, when approaching an encampment, when threatened with danger, or when foes menaced their friends, the natives made signals by raising a smoke. And their fires were lighted in such a way as to give forth signals that would be understood by people of their own tribe and by friendly tribes. They exhibited great ability in managing their system of telegraphy; and in former times it was not seldom used to the injury of the white settlers, who, at first, had no idea that the thin column of smoke rising through the foliage of the adjacent bush, and raised perhaps by some feeble old woman, was an intimation to the warriors to advance and attack the Europeans.

Oaths.

Capt. Grey makes a remarkable statement respecting the mode in which the natives swear amity to one another, or pledge themselves to aid one another in avenging a death. He says it is exactly the form referred to in Genesis, ch. xxiv., v. 9:—"One native remains seated on the ground with his heels tucked under him, in the Eastern manner; the one who is about to narrate a death to him approaches slowly, and with averted face, and seats himself cross-legged upon the thighs of the other; they are thus placed thigh to thigh, and squeezing their bodies together they place breast to breast—both then avert their faces, their eyes frequently fill with tears—no single word is spoken; and the one who is seated uppermost places his hands under the thighs of his friend; having remained thus seated for a minute or two, he rises up and withdraws to a little distance without speaking—but an inviolable pledge to avenge the death has by this ceremony passed between them."

* *Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S., vol. II., p. 241.

† *Overland Expedition*, p. 85.

I have made enquiries on this subject, and the Rev. Mr. Bulmer informs me that there is no particular mode of swearing amity known to him. The Murray blacks have a word to express a determination to prove faithful to a compact—*Merra mal i-imba*, which is an untranslatable term, but might have its equivalent in "Verily, I say to you." The sentence may be divided thus :—

Merra mal i-imba.
Verily, I to you.

When an Aboriginal uses this term, he is thought to be sincere. There is a similar term in use amongst the Gippsland blacks—*Mack Gnata*, which means "Really yes," or "Very yes." This word *mack* is generally used to express emphasis, as *Mack lane*, "Very good;" *Mack thar*, "A real name;" *Mack Naatban*, "Really no;" so that a black who wishes to inspire confidence will use such a term. In swearing amity, they would do it much in the same way as ourselves, by a hearty grip of the hand or an embrace. Mr. Bulmer believes that there is not any specified way of performing the ceremony, but that, no doubt, it would depend on the position of the persons at the time, whether reclining or otherwise, or it might be in case of sickness and probable death that such a mode as that referred to by Capt. Grey was adopted. Mr. Bulmer is inclined to think that the ceremony described by that explorer was some form of incantation, for that is exactly the way their medicine-men sometimes handle their patients.

Fights.

Those who have lived amongst the blacks cannot fail to have observed that they are always expecting a fight. Distant tribes send messages to them relating to various matters, and other messages are returned, which are not always of a satisfactory character—and anger and ill-will, at last, lead to an outbreak. Sometimes a man is sick in a tribe, and his friends at once conclude that he has been made ill by the evil practices of his enemies; suspicion is created—hints are given by wary old blackfellows who have old grudges unsatisfied, and at length some tribe is fixed upon with which it is deemed necessary to negotiate. Ambassadors are sent to the offending tribe; these return and make their report; there is much talking amongst the elders; and finally the excitement in the minds of the men and women of both tribes results in a meeting. The sick man is brought out of his miam, and the accused are required to stand beside him, and to clear themselves. They behave thus: The sick man is provided with a club and a shield; if the person who presents himself is considered innocent, he strikes the shield of the accused with his club, and the accused returns the blow lightly, and retires. If one is singled out as the guilty person, a young man is selected to fight him, and the two seldom cease fighting until blood is drawn.

Sometimes—but rarely—a fight is arranged for the purpose of testing the strength of a tribe. As a rule, fights are brought about by the misconduct of the women, the unauthorized killing of game, the sickness of some member of a tribe, the death of a prominent man, the quarrels of children of different families, or, not seldom, by trivial differences arising out of imaginary grievances.

In such encounters the women appear to suffer most, and in a great fight one or more of them may be killed; but the warriors are not often mortally wounded during an engagement.* Several of the men may be seriously hurt; and if the wounds be caused by jagged spears, they may be rendered helpless for a long time; but Nature is kind to creatures of her own rearing, and a gash that would kill a civilized European is easily repaired if inflicted on a black man, who has no mechanical contrivances, nor bitter medicines, nor spirituous liquors to vex him in his pain.† After a very serious battle, some of the conquered may be murdered—and in committing these crimes there is evinced a malignity which is not to be extenuated even amongst the most savage natives.

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* Fights amongst the natives were common in the early days of the settlement at Sydney. Collins relates that hostile tribes were frequently engaged in combat, often during two days and more, and that much blood was shed, but there was scarcely ever any loss of life.—P. 303.

He says, also, that the women almost invariably are the cause of quarrels and fights, and sometimes, when hostile tribes meet, a woman begins the battle, scolding the enemy, and hitting the men on the head with a club.—*Collins*, 1804, pp. 375-6.

† "The natives pay but little regard to the wounds they receive in duels, or which are inflicted on them as punishments; their sufferings from all injuries are much less than those which Europeans would undergo in similar circumstances; this may probably arise from their abstemious mode of life, and from their never using any other beverage than water. A striking instance of their apathy with regard to wounds was shown on one occasion in a fight which took place in the village of Perth, in Western Australia. A native man received a wound in that portion of his frame which is only presented to enemies when in the act of flight, and the spear, which was barbed, remained sticking in the wound; a gentleman who was standing by watching the fray, regarded the man with looks of pity and commiseration, which the native perceiving, came up to him, holding the spear (still in the wound) in one hand, and turning round, so as to expose the injury he had received, said in the most moving terms, 'Poor fellow, sixpence give it 'um.'"—*North-West and Western Australia.* Grey, vol. II., pp. 244-5.

A gentleman, formerly residing in Wellington Valley, in New South Wales, and holding a high position under the Government, informs me that on one occasion he saw a native pierced by a spear. It entered his chest, and the point came out under the blade-bone. When the spear was withdrawn, the man was seen by a surgeon, who declared that portions of the lungs were adhering to the spear. The sufferer plugged the holes with gum and grass, and recovered so rapidly as to be able to walk a distance of eighteen miles after the lapse of a week.

Another correspondent states that a blackfellow whose abdomen was perforated by a bullet used grass and gum in the same manner, and never seemed to suffer much from the wound.

Collins states that a black who had had a barbed spear driven into his loins, close by the vertebræ of the back, had recourse to the surgeons of the settlements. Their utmost skill failed to extract the weapon, and he went away trusting to nature for a recovery. He walked about for several weeks with the spear unmoved, even after suppuration had taken place. Finally the spear-head was extracted by *War-re-weer*, his wife, who fixed her teeth in it and drew it out. He recovered in a short time.—*Collins*, 1804, p. 316.

"Leigh relates the case of an Australian whose temporal bone had been fractured by a blow, and the temporal artery divided, and of another whose ulna and radius had been fractured in a terrible manner; that the first took part on the following day in some public meeting, and that, though worms appeared in the arm of the second, the recovery in both took place without any operation or even dressing."—*Introduction to Anthropology*, by Dr. Theodor Waitz, 1863, p. 126.

I have from time to time examined a large number of the skulls of natives, and I have seen on many of them indentations and marks of injuries, evidently, from the state of the bones and the sutures, inflicted long prior to death; and I have often wondered how Nature, unassisted, could repair such serious hurts. All the evidence I have collected goes to show that the native, uncontaminated by association with Europeans, is as independent of adventitious aids, in the cure of wounds and fractures, as the wild animals of the forest.

The natives seem to take great pleasure in these encounters. They have afforded them on such occasions the opportunity of displaying their skill as gymnasts and in the use of their various weapons, and of proving their superiority, not only to the enemy with whom they may be engaged, but to the warriors of their own tribe. Emulation leads them to attempt feats of daring, and during the excitement of a general engagement they freely risk their lives. In many cases warrior is pitted against warrior, and those thus engaged are not molested by either enemies or friends. It would appear that unfair advantage is seldom taken. They fight, too, when there is no actual ill-will between the combatants, rather for the display of skill and agility than for the purpose of shedding blood. A great battle between two tribes is not a brawl—a brutal, savage, bloodthirsty onset—but generally a well-devised set-to between the fighting-men of each side. Towards the end, when the blood is heated—when the yells and screams of the women and children are added to the hoarse shouts of the warriors, when wives rush in to protect their husbands, and mothers cling to their sons to shelter them and help them—there are many blows struck in anger, and much mischief is occasionally done; but the combats between the fighting-men are not usually attended by very serious consequences. The jumping, dancing, and spear-throwing induce a copious perspiration, and the war paint begins to take new forms, and the ornaments they have assumed get disarranged; but beyond these casualties and a few ugly knocks, they come out of the fight most often scatheless.

To a stranger—one new to the country—a great fight amongst the natives is calculated to create alarm. The decorations of the warriors (except for their paint and feathers or boughs, naked), their loud cries as they advance, the shaking of the spears, the rattling of the clubs and other weapons as they strike the shields or the trees, the wailing of the women, and the general aspect of the assembled tribes, all—even including the grouping of the dogs—showing a state of unusual excitement and turmoil, are likely enough to raise feelings of terror. And then the scenery, so little in keeping with the violent motions of the warriors and their savage yells, adds, by contrast, to the sternness of the picture. Bounding the space where the combat is going on are numerous ancient gum-trees, whose richly-colored boles, sheltering here and there a cherry-tree clad in bright-green foliage, present in themselves exquisite pictures, and perhaps, if the season is spring, the banks of the neighbouring creek will be clothed with wattle-trees in luxuriant blossom. The sward on which the warriors are trampling is a short smooth grass, and beyond, seen through the trees, are gentle slopes, at the foot of one or more of which are the miams of the tribe, from whose fires thin blue smoke rises and seems to blend in the color of the unclouded sky.

Only amongst uncivilized peoples and in forests where the axe of the white man has not been heard can such scenes be witnessed; and though they may induce disgust and abhorrence, they are not altogether devoid of those elements which serve to elevate our species. When the fight is over, the wounded are well cared for. The animosity which influenced some of the more truculent of the warriors is forgotten or concealed, and not seldom help is given

to the injured by both parties. Perhaps the day's work is concluded by a dance, and the reconciliation of the tribes completely effected—to be interrupted only when the winning graces and bright looks of some amongst the women enthrall a strange warrior, and lead to a new cause of quarrel.

Though there were commonly few deaths on such occasions, men and women were killed sometimes, and the wars consequently had a tendency to reduce the numbers of the tribes. When a warrior was slain, his wives were disposed of, and the youngest children of the wives, and the children born after the decease of the husband, most probably destroyed.

There have been no serious encounters—conducted strictly in accordance with the etiquette of savage life—in the Colony of Victoria for many years. After the arrival of Europeans, new implements were used, and new methods of warfare were adopted; and there are probably not very many now living who have seen a well-contested fight, after the Aboriginal fashion, in this colony. From the narrative of William Buckley one can gather, however, some accurate notion of how the fights of the natives were conducted. He seems to have given a very careful account of these, or the compiler of *Buckley's Life and Adventures*—Mr. John Morgan—must have had an excellent knowledge of the habits of the Australians.

One battle is thus described in Buckley's narrative :—"In a very short time the fight began, by a shower of spears from the contending parties. One of our men advanced singly, as a sort of champion; he then began to dance and sing, and beat himself about with his war implements; presently they all sat down, and he seated himself also. For a few minutes all was silent; then our champion stood up, and commenced dancing and singing again. Seven or eight of the savages—for so I must call them—our opponents, then got up also, and threw their spears at him; but, with great dexterity, he warded them off, or broke them every one, so that he did not receive a single wound. They then threw their boomerangs at him, but he warded them off also, with ease. After this, one man advanced, as a sort of champion from their party, to within three yards of him, and threw his boomerang, but the other avoided the blow by falling on his hands and knees; and, instantly jumping up again, he shook himself like a dog coming out of the water. At seeing this, the enemy shouted out in their language 'enough,' and the two men went and embraced each other. After this, the same two beat their own heads until the blood ran down in streams over their shoulders. A general fight now commenced, of which all this had been the prelude, spears and boomerangs flying in all directions. The sight was very terrific, and their yells and shouts of defiance very horrible. At length one of our tribe had a spear sent right through his body, and he fell. On this, our fellows raised a war-cry; on hearing which, the women threw off their rugs, and, each armed with a short club, flew to the assistance of their husbands and brothers; I being peremptorily ordered to stay where I was; my supposed brother's wife remaining with me. Even with this augmentation, our tribe fought to great disadvantage, the enemy being all men, and much more numerous. Soon after dark the hostile tribe left the neighbourhood; and, on

discovering this retreat from the battle-ground, ours determined on following them immediately, leaving the women and myself where we were. On approaching the enemy's quarters, they laid themselves down in ambush until all was quiet, and, finding most of them asleep, lying about in groups, our party rushed upon them, killing three on the spot and wounding several others. The enemy fled precipitately, leaving their war implements in the hands of their assailants, and their wounded to be beaten to death by boomerangs—three loud shouts closing the victors' triumph."

An account of another fight is given by Buckley :—" In the first place, they seated themselves on their rugs, in groups of half-dozens, or thereabouts, keeping their spears and shields and waddies all ready at hand; our party being prepared also. At length the young man already mentioned advanced towards us. He had bunches of emu's feathers tied to different parts of his body by a kind of yarn they make by twisting the hair of the opossum; he was cutting the most extraordinary capers, and challenged our men to fight—an offer which was accepted practically by a boomerang being thrown at him, and which grazed his leg. A spear was then thrown, but he warded it off cleverly with his shield. He made no return to this, but kept capering and jumping about until one of our men advanced very near to him, with only a shield and a waddy, and then the two went to work in good earnest, blow following blow, until the first had his shield split, so that he had nothing to defend himself with but his waddy. His opponent took advantage of this, and struck him a tremendous blow on one side of the head, and knocked him down; but he was instantly on his legs again, the blood, however, flowing very freely over his back and shoulders. His friends then cried out enough, and threatened general hostilities if another blow was struck; and this having the desired effect, they all soon after separated quietly; thus ending an affair which at one time promised to conclude very differently."

The late Mr. Thomas, in his notes prepared for this work at my request, describes a fight which he witnessed on the 5th December 1843. The tribes from Barrabool, Bun-ung-on, and Leigh River, encamped at a spot lying to the north of Melbourne, at half-past four o'clock p.m. They advanced in close lines, ten deep, and ten in each line, and squatted on the grass; the Barrabool west of the Bun-ung-on, and a little to the north-west of these the Leigh River tribe. After sitting in silence for about half an hour, King William, the principal man of the three tribes, advanced spear in hand, and quite naked, as indeed were all the warriors. King William harangued the groups. He stated that certain blacks were charged with killing two natives and abducting their wives; that the blacks so charged and their tribe were not afraid of appearing before the Goulburn, Mount Macedon, Yarra, and Coast tribes, and they were ready to have the accusers' spears thrown at them. While King William was speaking, another black came forward and produced a number of charges, challenged his enemies, and acted generally in a rather violent manner. Whereupon two warriors arose and made speeches, and expressed their willingness to receive the spears of their opponents in the face of the assembled tribes. Then ensued a general disturbance. All the men of all the tribes were greatly agitated, and

many seized the opportunity to re-furbish their weapons. Those accused of murder were quite naked and in mourning—that is to say, painted white—and those charged with a lesser offence, being accomplices or otherwise implicated, were also naked, but decorated with boughs (*Murrum* or *Mooran Karrang*) just above the ankles. The men with the boughs on their ankles were on this occasion stationed in front of the tribes, about ten yards from the nearest of those squatting on the ground. Their opponents advanced towards them, shook their weapons, threw dust in the air, and commenced stamping and hissing, and grinding their teeth, dancing from time to time through the ashes of a bark fire that was kept burning at the spot. Then they formed a line, and were headed by their principal men; then they arranged themselves in a moment in the shape of a crescent, and as quickly formed again a straight line, all the time hissing, grinding their teeth, stamping and grimacing, shaking their spears, and jumping to an extraordinary height. At one time they stretched themselves on the ground so as almost to touch the grass with their noses, keeping their spears parallel with their bodies, and, acting in concert, they presented a very remarkable spectacle. They ran backwards, sideways, and all ways, approaching often close to the line of the men in *murrum*. All these frantic gestures were used, however, merely to excite themselves and the accused. The principal men on both sides kept up their somewhat angry discourse during the whole of this procedure, and finally settled what was to be done. The word of command at length was given: each black was at his post armed with his wonguim, mulga, and leonile, either in his hand or lying on the grass at his feet; and in a moment a shower of missiles was directed towards the men in *murrum*. Some of the missiles hit others not implicated; their ire was aroused, and a general fight ensued. Spears were hurled, and those amongst the accused who were not struck were attacked with clubs and the leonile. (The latter, a most formidable weapon, is used to strike at the head only.) The men not engaged in the quarrel now interfered, going amongst the belligerents, with spears in their hands, not throwing them, but pretending to throw them, whereby they incurred danger in thus intermeddling, as spears were thrown by angry men at them. A blow of a waddy from a disinterested individual put an end, however, to this, and after a brief scrimmage the battle might be said to be over. At this stage the wives of the accused persons joined the mêlée; and wailing, howling, and jabbering, they commenced a fight of their own. Each woman, holding her yam-stick (*Kun-ang*),* advanced towards her opponent and aimed a blow. This was received on the yam-stick, which in defence is held in a horizontal position, so as to protect the head. She struck perhaps two or three blows, and then held her stick downwards but ready for defence, and received the blows of her antagonist. This strange fight was continued for some time, and the awful howls and execrations were deafening. At last the men interfered. They hurled spears at the women, but so as not to touch them, yet not until a strong man went to them spear in hand in a very threatening manner did they disperse. As they departed, shrieking defiance, they beat the ground

* A strong, stout stick, sharpened at one end, most often at both ends, and hardened in the fire, about seven feet in length, and used commonly for digging roots, &c.

with their yam-sticks. Finally the head-men, after much discussion, settled the differences, and this great battle was finished.

Mr. Thomas states that of all the fights he has seen he has never known but of one death to arise from their frays.* He has seen desperate wounds inflicted very often, but none but one was mortal. The one death referred to was that of *Ter-run-uk*, a fine young blackfellow of the Bun-ung-on tribe, who, in a fight with the Barrabool men, was struck with a wonguim, which passed through the lower part of his thigh. He was carefully attended to by Mr. Thomas, who had him removed to his own farm at Pentridge, but he died, contrary to the expectations of the large number of natives who were encamped near Melbourne at the time and witnessed the occurrence.

In the great fight above described six natives were severely wounded, one being penetrated by a double-jagged spear. It went quite through his thigh. The long part was broken off, and the remainder dragged through the wound. Ten of the women had their knuckles broken, and many of the men were injured by the wonguim.

Mr. Thomas does not say what punishment was finally inflicted on the men accused of murder. It is to be presumed that they were dealt with during the mêlée.

When the fighting is quite at an end there is, says Mr. Thomas, an end also to all animosity. The wounded are carefully attended to, sometimes by those who a short time before were bent on inflicting wounds; the injured parts are washed, and such simple remedies as are known to them are quickly applied.

The fights of the natives are conducted, in all parts of Australia, pretty much after the manner described by Buckley.

A very interesting account of a series of fights amongst the tribes living on the Macleay River (lat. 31° S.) is given in Mr. Clement Hodgkinson's work, entitled *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*. He says:—

"The fights of the natives are generally conducted on the principles of retributive justice. Their mode of warfare is fair, open, and manly; for tribes on hostile terms scorn to take the least undue advantage of each other, and the instant a fight is concluded, both parties seem perfectly reconciled, and jointly assist in tending the wounded men. In this respect the quarrels of the Aborigines of New South Wales present a striking contrast to the cruel and treacherous warfare of the North American Indians and the ferocious and implacable contests which used to take place among the *ci-devant* man-eating New Zealanders. Acts of treachery sometimes occur between individual natives; but these acts, though they involve the tribe to which the offending party belongs in war with the other tribe, are always punished, as the offender has always to bear the brunt of the engagement, and stand for some time alone, unassisted by his companions, as a butt for the spears of the immediate relations of the man whom he has killed or wounded. It seems to be a regular principle with the Australian Aborigines that blood must be shed for blood; and, as an example will better illustrate the warfare of the natives than a general

* *See* statement respecting loss of life in fights, p. 32.

description, I will give a short account of a quarrel among some Macleay River tribes during my stay there. Three young men belonging to the Yarra-Bandini tribe, which was also the name of our cattle station (as that locality was the head quarters of this tribe), had descended the river in a canoe to Verge's station, which is within the limits of the boundaries of the Calliteeni or Kempsey tribe. The object they had in view was to kill a Tryal Bay native, whom the savages had nick-named Cranky Tom from his comical hilarity; for it would appear that Cranky Tom had some time before killed one of the relations of these men in a fight, and they now determined to revenge his death. Poor Tom, who was my earliest acquaintance among the Tryal Bay natives, was stopping, with his 'gin,' Dilberree, near Verge's, without any suspicion of treachery, when he was suddenly confronted by his enemies. Having endeavoured in vain to protect himself with his shield, he soon fell, pierced with wounds, and his head was then cut off by his savage enemies, one of whom, named Henry, also took possession of the woman. This act of treachery roused the indignation of two tribes, the Kempsey or Calliteeni blacks, on whose ground the outrage had been committed, and the Tryal Bay blacks, to whom the murdered man belonged. On speaking to the chief men of the Yarra-Bandini tribe about this cowardly attack, they merely told me, in reply, that Henry and the other men were 'murry stupid' to act as they did, but that Cranky Tom was a 'murry saucy fellow,' and deserved what he had got. The Yarra-Bandini tribe were encamped, in the meantime, close to our stockyards. The first of their adversaries in the field were the Kempsey blacks, who came over one afternoon, and fought the Yarra-Bandini natives at our very doors. The battle was conducted in the most fair and open manner; each party drew up in two lines, armed with spears, shields, and boomerangs, and threw spear for spear for a considerable time before any damage was done. At length, a Yarra-Bandini black was slightly wounded in the forehead; and soon after a Kempsey native, whom the sawyers named 'Major Lovatt,' was transfixed with a spear, which apparently passed through his lungs. This concluded the fight. Both the hostile parties now mingled together in the most friendly way; and the Yarra-Bandini tribe was even more anxious than the other in their endeavours to alleviate the wounds of the dying man. My partner also rendered every assistance to him, but he expired in a few minutes. By a most extraordinary revulsion of feeling, the Kempsey blacks now became furiously enraged against the Tryal Bay tribe, whose cause they had just espoused so actively. Accordingly, under the pretence that an immense flock of ducks had settled on some lagoon down the river, the Kempsey natives, who are few in number, but more conversant with the customs of the whites than the others, succeeded in persuading some cedar dealers and sawyers at that place to lend them some muskets, which they loaded with slugs, and they then proceeded down the river in a boat. The Tryal Bay blacks, who were quite taken by surprise by this unusual manœuvre, were soon worsted, and several of them were wounded by the shot, but none killed. Matters now became more complicated, for one of the Nambucca River tribes, being indignant at the treatment of their neighbours at Tryal Bay, took part in the quarrel. A week

or two afterwards, being at Yarra-Bandini, a gin, who had been sent from our station on some message, returned in a great hurry, glistening with moisture from having swam across the creek, as she had seen the Tryal Bay tribe, who were coming up to fight the natives at our place. She had scarcely bounded away from us to warn them of the approach of their enemies, when the latter appeared, marching in Indian file, having their bodies painted with red stripes, and their bark shields whitened with pipeclay and adorned with double red crosses. They advanced with a measured tramp, carrying their spears aloft at a uniform slope, with their shields on the left side. They had just arrived where we were standing, when the Yarra-Bandini blacks, having been warned by the gin of the approach of their enemies, dashed out of the adjoining brush, and, throwing themselves into regular rows five or six deep, commenced a furious dance in defiance of the other party, leaping up and down at a measured tread, whilst they beat time with their nulla-nullas and waddies, accompanying each jump with a short loud shout. As soon as their adversaries had arrived opposite them, each party halted, whilst the chief men on both sides advanced, and commenced a most animated dialogue, occasionally threatening each other with their spears. A very old woman, whom the Tryal Bay blacks had brought up with them, seemed to be particularly active in abusing and insulting the Yarra-Bandini natives, whom she railed at unceasingly in a loud, screaming voice. As the Australian Aborigines look upon their women as very inferior animals to themselves, I suppose the Tryal Bay tribe had brought up this scolding old lady in order to evince the greater contempt for the other tribe; much on the same principle which once induced a king of France to send a defiance to an English prince by a scullion, instead of a herald, in order to insult him the more grievously. After a long altercation, the two hostile tribes mingled together as though they were on the best terms with each other; they encamped, however, for the night at some distance apart. Next morning the fight commenced, in which, according to the usual custom, the three natives who had been the original cause of the quarrel stood prominently forward, exposed to the spears of the Tryal Bay blacks for some time, without receiving any assistance from their companions, until one of them received a spear wound on the instep and another on the knee. The fight then became general, but no further damage was done, as each party was equally adroit in warding off with their shields the missiles that were flying about. This engagement seemed to conclude the quarrel between the Yarra-Bandini and Yarra-Hapinni blacks, as the gin, Dilberree, who had been carried off, was restored to her friends. It was, however, some time before the other quarrels which had arisen from this affair were fought out; after which a general peace had to be consolidated by solemn corrobborees, danced successively on the grounds of each of the belligerent tribes. Although the Aborigines are, in general, so honorable and open in their warfare with one another, their behaviour towards the whites is very different, being often treacherous in the extreme. It frequently happens that those persons who have been most liberal and kind to the natives are chosen as their first victims; for if a white man gives a present to a native without stipulating for some service in return, the latter imputes the generosity of the

white man to fear. Thus the sawyers at the Nambucca, who gave the blacks a large quantity of flour, tobacco, sugar, &c., in order to propitiate them, became immediately exposed to their murderous attacks, which did not cease until the natives had received a severe lesson or two, to convince them of the superiority of the arms of the white man."

The Rev. George Taplin says that on one occasion he witnessed a serious outbreak amongst the natives of the Lower Murray, when about one hundred people were engaged in earnest endeavours to knock each other's brains out. The quarrel arose in this way. He had permitted four girls, about sixteen years of age, to sleep in his kitchen, where the flour was kept; and the natives hearing of this, about a dozen of them, armed with spears and kanakis, called late one night, and demanded that one of the girls, named Pompanyeripuritye, should be given up, as they said she might have eaten of the flour from a bag from which the Narumbar had partaken; the Narumbar being the youths who were in course of being made young men, and forbidden to eat with women—lest they should grow ugly. The men took the girl away—though she was unwilling to leave Mr. Taplin's house. On the following morning a great disturbance arose. The natives had now firmly convinced themselves that the girls and the young men had eaten of flour taken from the same bag, and the youths and their friends attacked the tribe to which the girls belonged, and fired their wurleys. This led to a fight. By the time Mr. Taplin reached the spot there were men lying on the ground bleeding, and women were wailing over them. The warriors as yet unhurt were uttering hoarse shouts and yells of defiance, and flourishing their weapons when they were not striking at the heads of their opponents. Naked women were dancing about, casting dust in the air, and using obscene language to irritate their enemies and to encourage their friends. Mr. Taplin went fearlessly amongst them, during the uproar, and succeeded at length in persuading them to stop the fight and return to their camps, not, however, before he himself narrowly escaped death from a spear thrown by Dick Baalpulare. The spear passed within an inch of Mr. Taplin's head. The reverend gentleman adds that he had his revenge for this. Dick was bitten by a snake one day, and Mr. Taplin had the pleasure of curing him. A Missionary's life amongst the wild natives of Australia is not without its perils and excitements.

A fight amongst the Port Lincoln blacks is very well described by Mr. C. Wilhelmi:—

"The second fight, on account of attempted murder, took place in Port Lincoln, and the party about to be attacked were invited by heralds to attend the combat. The natives, upon their arrival, were painted with a white color, and wore little peeled sticks, which looked like plumes, in their hair. They marched in long line, three deep, making now and then a halt, and with one voice poured forth loud cries. As soon as they had completed these evolutions, the other party, who were rather surprised, set to work to answer the salutation. After having hastily painted themselves, and arranging themselves in single file, they marched in a regular quick short step towards the enemy, who had in the meantime formed a camp. After they had thus once or twice marched round

the enemy's camp, they formed themselves into a dense mass, bowed their heads, and uttered a piercing cry. They repeated these movements two or three times, and then returned to their own camp in the same order they had observed upon leaving it. That evening, and the greater part of the night, were spent in singing and dancing; but with sunrise of the next day the fight commenced. Eight men advanced from each side, making use of mimical gestures, although the most profound silence was observed. They formed into a row, two deep, about twenty paces from each other, so that they came to stand two to two. Each warrior stretched his legs apart, and planted his feet firmly on the ground, holding a spear and sling in the right hand, and the katta, or grubbing-stick, together with other spears, in the left. They pushed forward their chests, and moved their bodies from side to side, as a sort of challenge. Each one fixed his eyes upon his especial antagonist, and seemed to have no concern about any of the others, as if he had nothing to fear at their hands. Not a sound was audible. Many spears were thrown on either side, and were avoided by moving the upper part of the body to one side, or were parried by giving the spears a blow with the katta or other spears held in the left hand. Thus the spears of the opponents failed to reach their mark. At length some of the party who sent the challenge went over into the ranks of the enemy, to show that they wished to put an end to the combat. One quarrelsome old man, who had struck the first blow, did not seem to be content to stay his arm without having spilled a drop of blood. He stood opposed to a young man of not more than twenty years of age, and he threw several spears at him after the youth had ceased fighting. The old rascal made use of the most insulting and provoking language, and was paid back, however, in his own coin. At length some of the old man's friends interposed, and sought to intimidate him; but finding they could not succeed in this, they made a point of striking up his throwing-stick as often as he placed a spear on it, thus causing the weapon to fall useless on the ground. The skilful manner in which the Aborigines avoid or parry the spears is truly astonishing. Mr. Schürmann, who was an eye-witness of the last-mentioned affair, tells us that the old man, who was renowned as a good marksman, took such good aim that it seemed almost a certainty that he would hit his adversary; nevertheless, each spear was met and glided off the young man's katta and shot over his shoulder, passing in close proximity to his ear. This can only be accomplished by a sure and a firm glance, which are amongst the Aborigines looked upon as the highest virtues of which they can boast, and of which they are the most proud. It has been said that the Aborigines of this country are possessed of a cowardly disposition, and it may be that, when opposed to the whites, who are better armed and generally mounted, they have been found wanting in courage. But it is impossible for any one who has been an eye-witness to one of their own fights to form such an opinion; on the contrary, he will be forced to confess that, when stirred up by passion, they will brave any danger. They are extremely sensitive upon this point, and look upon being called a coward as the greatest insult that can be offered. That little blood is spilled in these Aboriginal contests is to be ascribed either to their skill or to the fact that they are by no means bloodthirsty. Although, on the one side, they possess

a fierce and hostile spirit, still, on the other, it must be observed that they are capable of the more noble feelings of pity and compassion. This is called forth by a dangerous wound. . . . . "

In a pamphlet entitled *Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales,* by a Colonial Magistrate, is a paragraph to the following effect:—"The only remarkable custom (differing from other savages) in their fighting expeditions is the adoption of the custom commanded to the Israelites on going out to war. [Deuteronomy, ch. xxiii., v. 12 to 14.] The natives believe that if the enemy discovered it they would burn it in the fire, and thus ensure their collective destruction, or that individually they would pine away and die."

In some parts of Australia the natives sent by a tribe to convey a challenge carry with them spears, decorated with the feathers of the emu;* and the warriors, when they prepare for battle, use various colors for painting their bodies. The colors, it is believed, are not selected at will by any of the warriors, but are chosen, according to well-known rules, to suit the occasion. The mode of painting, and the lines and figures depicted, are, however, left to the taste of the men. That they are sufficiently hideous, when arrayed for the fight, is agreed by all who have witnessed an engagement.

It cannot be denied that the natives of Australia exhibit all the worst features of savages on some occasions. They cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, and otherwise mutilate them; and when a man is killed for having caused, as they believe, the death of a member of their tribe, they take out the kidney-fat and anoint their bodies with it.† They rub themselves with the fat, it is said, that they may thereby acquire the strength and courage that formerly belonged to the slain man. They do not always wait for the death of the individual before resorting to this disgusting practice. A man, disabled by the blow of a club, is immediately seized upon, his body cut open, and his kidney-fat abstracted. Sometimes the miserable victim, on recovering consciousness, sees the conqueror anointing himself. A very strong man, of good constitution, will, in case the knife has been used skilfully, survive this operation for a day or two, enduring frightful agonies, and knowing well that a speedy death is certain. Neither doctor nor dreamer can help him, and his only consoling thought is that his death will be amply avenged. This subject is mentioned in another part of this work.—(*See* "*Marmbul.*")

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* Mr. Samuel Gason, writing of the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek), lat. 28° S., says, that when there is a misunderstanding between two tribes, the *women* of one are sent to the other as ambassadors to arrange the dispute, which they invariably succeed in doing, when women from the other return the visit to testify their approval of the treaty arrived at. The reason women are appointed in this capacity is that they are free from danger, while, should the men go, their lives would be in peril.

† "They take a man's kidneys out after death, tie them up in something, and carry them round the neck as a sort of protection and valuable charm, for either good or evil."—*Life and Adventures of William Buckley,* p. 77.

The practice of carrying portions of the bodies of deceased relatives is elsewhere referred to. Buckley was either not acquainted with the revolting practice described in the text or suppressed the facts.

Dances.

The natives of Australia have various dances—and in the performance of these exhibit a skill and dexterity that can be the result only of long practice. The young—both male and female—are encouraged to engage in these exercises; they are taught by the elders of the tribes, and they are required to observe the rules which have been in force amongst their forefathers with scrupulous care.

Little is known of their mystic dances, which some regard as connected with a form of religion, but the *Ngargee*, or *Yain-yang* (corrobboree), is familiar to all who have lived in the bush.

They have their war-dances, before and after fights; dances appropriate to the occasion of "making young men;" dances in which the women only take part; dances in which the movements of the kangaroo, the emu, the frog, the butterfly, &c., are imitated; and a canoe-dance.

The performers on all such occasions, whether during the day or in the night, are naked or nearly naked; grotesquely painted with white clay; and they carry clubs or spears, or other weapons suitable to the character of the dance. They decorate themselves, too, with boughs of trees and feathers. The women generally are the musicians, and the arrangements of the performance are governed by a leader (usually an aged man), who beats time with the corrobboree-sticks. At night a large fire is kept burning, near which the musicians sit. The dancers retire to rude bush miams to array themselves, and never appear until their decorations are completed to their satisfaction.

The late Mr. Thomas makes mention of the sacred dances, when the natives set up effigies or painted figures, but gives no description of them. Mr. Parker says he has witnessed ceremonies having resemblance to an act of worship, when the blacks have assembled to propitiate *Mindi*, an evil spirit, whose sole business it was to destroy.* They dwelt on this—the idea of a powerful and destructive spirit—with awe and dread. *Mindi*, they believed, caused death; and they used certain prescribed ceremonies in order to appease his anger and to avert death and other calamities from themselves, and to excite him to exercise his power for the injury or destruction of their enemies. "Rude images," writes Mr. Parker, "consisting of one large and two small figures, cut in bark and painted, were set up in a secluded spot; the place was strictly tabooed; the men, and afterwards the women, dressed in boughs, and having each a small wand, with a tuft of feathers tied on it, were made to dance in single file, and in a very sinuous course, towards the spot, and after going round it several times, to approach the main figure, and touch it reverentially with the wand. I believe this to be a relic of the ophilatria or serpent worship of India."†

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* *The Aborigines of Australia*, by Edward Stone Parker, 1854.

† Eyre witnessed a remarkable dance at Moorunde, in March 1844. The dancers were painted and decorated as usual, and they had tufts of feathers on their heads like cockades. Some carried in their hands such tufts tied to the ends of sticks, and others bunches of green boughs. After exercising themselves for some time, they retired, and when they re-appeared they were seen carrying a curious rude-looking figure raised up in the air. This singular object consisted of a large bundle of grass and reeds bound together, enveloped in a kangaroo skin with the flesh side outwards, and

On another occasion Mr. Parker was present when the natives performed the *Yepene Amydeet*, or dance of the separated spirits. It was new to the Aborigines of the Loddon, and was conducted by an old man, who stated that it was practised by the people of the north-west, amongst whom he had learnt it. It was never introduced on any other occasion, and was soon after nearly forgotten. "Holding boughs in each hand, which were waved in unison alternately over each shoulder, and dancing for some time in lines and semicircles, at length they gradually gathered into a compact circular body; then slowly sinking on the ground, and burying their heads under the boughs, they represented, according to the statement of the old native, who was master of the ceremonies, the approach of death, and in the perfectly still and motionless posture they maintained for some time the state of death itself. Then the old man, breaking suddenly into a new dance, and waving furiously his boughs over the prostrate mass, gave them the word; and, suddenly springing to their feet, they joined him in his rejoicings. This was explained to me as intended to represent the revival of the soul after death."

The ordinary dance of the natives of Victoria—the *Ngargee* or corrobboree—has been carefully described by Mr. Thomas. A number of males, twenty or thirty, or more, if three or four tribes have assembled for this dance, are selected as the principal performers, and, as a preliminary, they retire to the bush, away from the light of the fire, and decorate themselves, each according to his taste—not, as a rule, consulting one another, and yet no two appear exactly alike, except as regards the faces, which are generally painted pretty much in the same manner. The sockets of the eyes are white, a white ring surrounds the sockets, white streaks are drawn down the nose, and parallel streaks appear on the forehead. On their bodies the lines are arranged fantastically, but always according to some plan in the mind of the performer. During the time the men are thus engaged, a native prepares a blazing fire, and others employ themselves in cutting branches and gathering sticks and leaves, making a heap, so that the fire may be quickly and conveniently fed during the ceremonies, and without occasioning unseemly interruptions. As the flames leap up and the light flashes through the trees, the dancers may be seen emerging from their retreat. They wear boughs around their legs, just above the ankles, and a sort of apron made of dressed skins. They form themselves into groups as they wait for the signal to commence their feats of jumping and dancing. The women who have to act as musicians are seated at some little distance from the fire, arranged in

painted all over in small white circles. From the top of this projected a thin stick with a large tuft of feathers at the end to represent the head, and sticks were stuck out laterally from the sides for the arms, terminating in tufts of feathers stained red to represent the hands. From the front a small stick about six inches long was projected, ending with a thick knob formed of grass, round which a piece of old cloth was tied. This was painted white, and represented the navel. The figure was about eight feet long, and was evidently intended to symbolise a man. This figure was carried for some time in the dance. Subsequently there appeared in its place two standards made of poles and borne by two persons. The standards again were abandoned, and the men advanced with their spears. Eyre believed that these dances and the image and the standards had some connection with their superstitions, and that the figure was regarded in the light of a charm.—*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. II., pp. 236–8.

a horseshoe-shaped line. They are quite naked, and each holds on her knees an opossum rug, neatly folded up and stretched tightly, skin outwards. The leader appears in the ordinary costume of a native. He wears his opossum rug, and is not painted or otherwise decorated. He carries a corrobboree-stick in each hand. His station is between the group of women and the fire. When all things are prepared, he advances carelessly towards the women, making a droning sound as he walks, and suddenly strikes his two sticks together, which is the signal for the performers to come forward. These arrange themselves in a straight line, and then there is a pause. The leader eyes the line attentively, and, if all of them are present, he commences to beat his sticks together; the performers strike their sticks in time with the leader, and the grand dance commences. The time kept by the performers and the women who beat the opossum skins—which are the only drums they possess—and the exactness with which all the movements are conducted, are astonishing. The dancers, acting strictly in concert, put themselves into all kinds of postures, moving sideways, advancing slightly, retreating, extending their limbs, and anon standing straight in line. The leader, all this time, is not idle. He beats his sticks vigorously, and keeps up the nasal drone, raising his voice occasionally as he takes a few steps to and fro, now turning his face towards the dancers and now towards the women. As he faces the women, they raise their voices in song. After posturing for some time, and getting heated with their exertions, the chief performers become violent; they hasten their movements in obedience to the more rapid beating of the leader's sticks; they shake themselves, and jump to an incredible height, and at last, each taking a deep inspiration and inflating his lungs, utters a loud, shrill noise. The sound, so accurate is the time, appears to come from one mouth. This is the signal for retreat. Without any hint from the leader, but in this instance in obedience to their own instinct, probably feeling that they have done enough for the time, they precipitately flee to the shelter of their bushes, where they rest for a short period. When they re-appear, they arrange themselves in a curved line, and go through the same strange antics as before, with such variations as may have been agreed upon. The women remain seated in their places, beating time with their hands on their rugs, and singing occasionally as the leader turns towards them. The singing of the women adds much to the delight of the natives, and it certainly tends to soften what may be regarded as rather a harsh entertainment. The women at times raise their voices to the loudest pitch, and again sink them so low as scarcely to be heard.

The men and women who are not engaged in the ceremony form groups at some distance away, and watch the proceedings with the greatest interest. The women sit with their rugs on their knees, and the men stand or sit, their spears being stuck in the ground or lying by their sides. The spectators are invariably greatly delighted with the entertainment. The women keep beating their rugs in time to the music, and the men talk in low voices, criticising the performance, and generally praising the dancers. One tall black has imposed upon him the duty of keeping the spectators in their proper places. If any should encroach on the space appropriated to the corrobboree, this black would

thrust them back. This man knows that he has authority, and he takes care to let all people know that he means to exercise it.

When the dancers have sufficiently exercised themselves, when they have gone through all the evolutions that are possible to them, having regard to the kind of dance in which they are engaged, they suddenly change their line; they mingle together for a moment, then form in lines four deep, the front men quickly separate, and those behind advance, and in this way they move towards the women. At this moment they appear to be a confused mass of bodies, so jumbled together as to cause alarm to white spectators, who cannot believe that in the rapid movements of their sticks they will not break each other's heads. But the whole is concerted, and is a part of the machine-like arrangement of the dance. They shout, they stamp and jump; the women beat their opossum skins louder and louder, singing to the utmost pitch of their voices; and at last the leader gives a heavy stroke with his sticks, which at that moment are held high over his head, and the dancers disappear; the women take up their rugs and repair to their miams, and the dance is done. The men are much exhausted after their exertions, and are glad to seek repose.

Mr. Thomas states that a grand corrobboree, formed of the people of four tribes, was held many years ago on the ground now occupied by the buildings of the Supreme Court in Melbourne. One of the dancers was speared while in the act of dancing, whether by accident or design is not known; and afterwards the men were careful to stick their spears in the ground or lay them by their sides during the performance of the corrobboree. They did this to show that spear-throwing was not to be permitted at such ceremonies.

William Buckley gives an account of a corrobboree where men and women and boys and girls were engaged in dancing. He says:—

"At last all the women came out naked—having taken off their skin rugs, which they carried in their hands. I was then brought out from the hut by the two men, the women surrounding me. I expected to be thrown immediately into the flames; but the women having seated themselves by the fire, the men joined the assemblage armed with clubs more than two feet long; having painted themselves with pipeclay, which abounds on the banks of the lake. They had run streaks of it round the eyes, one down each cheek, others along the forehead down to the tip of the nose, other streaks meeting at the chin, others from the middle of the body down each leg; so that altogether they made a most horrifying appearance, standing round and about the blazing night fire. The women kept their rugs rolled tight up, after which they stretched them between the knees, each forming a sort of drum. These they beat with their hands, as if keeping time with one of the men who was seated in front of them singing. Presently the men came up in a kind of close column, they also beating time with their sticks, by knocking them one against the other, making altogether a frightful noise. The man seated in front appeared to be the leader of the orchestra, or master of the band—indeed I may say master of the ceremonies generally. He marched the whole mob, men and women, boys and girls, backwards and forwards at his pleasure, directing the singing and dancing, with the greatest decision and air of authority. This scene must have

lasted at least three hours, when, as a wind-up, they gave three tremendous shouts, at the same time pointing to the sky with their sticks; they each shook me heartily by the hand, again beating their breasts, as a token of friendship."

"The corrobboree," says the Rev. Mr. Bulmer, a Missionary at Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, "is a simple affair. The tune is the best part of it. In fact the tune is the chief feature, the poetry being generally poor. The song which made a great stir at the last corrobboree I witnessed was composed of about five words. It was of a language I did not understand, and indeed the blacks themselves did not understand it; but that did not matter to them. All they desired was the tune and the figure of the dance. The words were as follows:—

Wilpon
Tho Wilpon
Me
Gra!

The sound of *gra* was carried on to a great length, while all the men made a very graceful bend of the body, and thus it was repeated at pleasure. In the corrobboree the blacks sometimes use their legs as in a regular dance, always keeping time remarkably well. At other times they only bend their bodies in a very graceful way. When the dance consists in using the legs freely, then, as a rule, they never use any particular stick, but carry in the hand a boomerang or a tomahawk, as in a war-dance; but when they present themselves in figure only bringing the body into play, they mostly have something in the shape of a stick, which it is presumed belongs to that particular kind of dance. Sometimes the stick is held in the left hand, to support the performer while he sways his body backwards and forwards. At each forward movement he strikes the stick in his left hand either with a bough or with another stick. It is astonishing to see with what soldier-like regularity the body of each man bends to the time. On certain occasions, when the legs have been mostly exercised in the dance, some of the men would assist the women in the singing, and would use their sticks in beating time."

The corrobboree-dance appears to be of a very similar character in all parts of the island-continent. Mr. Gideon S. Lang gives a very amusing description of a grand corrobboree at which he was present, in the Maranoa district. There were about five hundred natives assembled, and the dance was performed in an open glade, about two hundred yards in length and breadth, narrowing towards the south end, and surrounded by a belt of rather thick timber. Across the south end sat the orchestra, consisting of nearly one hundred women, and led by a well-known native named Eaglehawk. "The leader," says Mr. Lang, "chanted a description of the scenes as they passed, accompanied by the women, their voices continuously repeating what seemed to be the same words, while they beat time by striking with a stick a quantity of earth, tightly rolled up in a piece of cloth or opossum rug. The moon shone brightly, lighting up the stage and the tops of the trees, but casting a deep shadow below. This shadow however, was again relieved by several large fires on each side of the stage, leaving a clear view to Eaglehawk and the orchestra, behind whom stood the

spectators, the whites being in the centre. The first act of the corrobboree was the representation of a herd of cattle, feeding out of the forest, and camping on the plain, the black performers being painted accordingly. The imitation was most skilful, the action and attitude of every individual member of the entire herd being ludicrously exact. Some lay down and chewed the cud, others stood scratching themselves with hind feet or horns, licking themselves or their calves; several rubbing their heads against each other in bucolic friendliness. This having lasted for some time, scene the second commenced. A party of blacks was seen creeping towards the cattle, taking all the usual precautions, such as keeping to windward, in order to prevent the herd from being alarmed. They got up close to the cattle at last, and speared two head, to the intense delight of the black spectators, who applauded rapturously. The hunters next went through the various operations of skinning, cutting up, and carrying away the pieces, the whole process being carried out with the most minute exactness. Scene the third commenced with the sound of horses galloping through the timber, followed by the appearance of a party of whites on horseback, remarkably well got up. The face was painted whity-brown, with an imitation of the cabbage-tree hat; the bodies were painted, some blue and others red, to represent the shirts: below the waist was a resemblance of the moleskin trousers, the legs being covered with reeds, tied all round, to imitate the hide leggings worn in that district as a protection against the brigalow scrub. These manufactured whites at once wheeled to the right, fired, and drove the blacks before them. The latter soon rallied, however, and a desperate fight ensued, the blacks extending their flanks, and driving back the whites. The fictitious white men bit the cartridges, put on the caps, and went through all the forms of loading, firing, wheeling their horses, assisting each other, &c., with an exactness which proved personal observation. The native spectators groaned whenever a blackfellow fell, but cheered lustily when a white bit the dust; and at length, after the ground had been fought over and over again, the whites were ignominiously driven from the field, amidst the frantic delight of the natives, while Eaglehawk worked himself into such a violent state of excitement that at one time the play seemed likely to terminate in a real and deadly fight."*

Major (Sir Thomas) Mitchell was entertained by the natives with a corrobboree—"their universal and highly original dance." Sir Thomas speaks in glowing terms of their movements and of the general character of the picture presented by the warriors in their forest home. "They dance to beaten time, accompanied by a song (to this end they stretch a skin very tight over the knees, and thus may be said to use the tympanum in its rudest form). . . . The surrounding darkness seems necessary to the effect of the whole, all these dances being more or less dramatic—the painted figures coming forward in mystic order from the obscurity of the background, while the singers and beaters of time are invisible—have a highly theatrical effect. Each dance seems most tastefully progressive, the movement being at first slow and introduced by two persons, displaying the most graceful motions both of arms and legs, while

* *The Aborigines of Australia*, by Gideon S. Lang, Esq., 1865.

others one by one drop in, until each imperceptibly warms into the truly savage attitude of the 'corrobboree jump;' the legs striding to the utmost, the head turned over one shoulder; the eyes glaring, and fixed with savage energy in one direction; the arms raised and inclined towards the head; the hands usually grasping waddies, boomerangs, or other warlike weapons. The jump now keeps time with each beat, and at each leap the dancer takes six inches to one side, all being in a connected line led by the first dancer. The line is doubled or tripled according to space and numbers, and this gives great effect; for when the first line jumps to the *left*, the second jumps to the *right*, the third to the left again, and so on until the action requires due intensity, when all simultaneously and suddenly stop." *

In describing a corrobboree performed when certain young men of the Yarra-Hapinni tribe (Macleay River) were "made young men," Mr. Hodgkinson says that the dance on such occasions is of a much more solemn character than ordinary, and that the performers paint themselves elaborately, even to the toes. They cover their heads with the snowy down of the white cockatoo, and when the light of the fires flashed upon them they appeared to be adorned with white wigs. They carried their boomerangs, which were also elaborately painted for the occasion. They seemed to have far excelled any of the natives of the south in their decorations, and not to have come short of them either in their evolutions. "They displayed," says Mr. Hodgkinson, "a degree of flexibility in their limbs which might have created the envy of many a pantomimic artist." †

Amongst the Narrinyeri (Lakes Alexandrina, Albert, and Coorong, and the Lower Murray River) "there are many kinds of corrobborees, but the main thing in all of them is the song and dance. Skin rugs are rolled up tightly, and beaten by the fist, as they lie in front of the beater, who squats on the ground. These are called *planggi*, and the drumming is called *plangkumbalin*. The men knock two waddies together; these are called *tartengk*, and this practice is called *tartembarrin*. By these means they beat time to the song or chant. In most *ringbalin* only the men dance; the women sit on the ground and sing. The songs are sometimes harmless, and the dances not indecent; but at other times the songs will consist of the vilest obscenity. I have seen dances which were the most disgusting displays of obscene gesture possible to be imagined, and although I stood in the dark alone, and nobody knew that I was there, I felt ashamed to look upon such abominations. There are also war-dances. I have felt the ground almost tremble with the measured tramp of some hundreds of excited men just before a fight. The dances of the women are very immodest and lewd. The men sit and sing, and the women dance. In Cobbin's Family Bible is a picture, at Luke vii. 32, of the dance of Egyptian women. If it had been drawn for a dance of Narrinyeri women, it could not have been more exact. The corrobboree of the natives is not necessarily a religious observance; there

* *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S., &c., 1838, vol. II., p. 5.

† *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, by Clement Hodgkinson, 1845.

is nothing of worship connected with it. It is used as a charm to frighten away disease, and also in some ceremonies, but its real character is only that of a song and a dance."

Mr. Taplin says that it is exceedingly difficult to get a corrobboree song, which consists principally of words descriptive of incidents of travel, or hunting, or war. He gives, however, one native song in his pamphlet:—

"Puntin Narrinyerar, Puntin Narrinyerar, O, O, O.
Puntin Narrinyerar, O, O, O, O, O.
Yun terpulani ar
Tuppun an wangamar
Tyiwewar ngoppun ar O, O, O, O.
Puntin Narrinyerar," &c.

It is thus translated by Mr. Taplin:—"The Narrinyeri are coming; soon they will appear, carrying kangaroos; quickly they are walking." *

A lively picture of a corrobboree which was held in New South Wales some twenty-five years ago is furnished by Lieut.-Col. Mundy. The preliminaries were not different from those already described, and the various performers took their stations and acted much in the same way as in a grand dance in Victoria; but the graphic description of the behaviour of the natives in the war-dance, and when imitating the dingo, kangaroo, and emu, is worthy of quotation:—"The first performance was a war-dance, wherein a variety of complicated evolutions and savage antics were gone through, accompanied by a brandishing of clubs, spears, boomerangs, and shields. Suddenly the crowd divided into two parties, and after a chorus of deafening yells and fierce exhortations, as if for the purpose of adding to their own and each other's excitement, they rushed together in close fight. One division, shortly giving way, was driven from the field and pursued into the dark void, where roars and groans, and the sound of blows, left but little to be imagined on the score of a bloody massacre. Presently the whole corps re-appeared close to the fire, and, having deployed into two lines and 'proved distance' (as it is called in the sword exercise), the time of the music was changed, and a slow measure was commenced by the dancers, every step being enforced by a heavy stamp and a noise like a pavior's grunt. As the drum waxed faster, so did the dance, until at length the movements were as rapid as the human frame could possibly endure. At some passages they all sprang into the air a wonderful height, and, as their feet again touched the ground with the legs wide astride, the muscles of the thighs were set a quivering in a singular manner, and the straight white lines on the limbs being thus put in oscillation, each stripe for the moment became a writhing serpent, while the air was filled with loud hissings. . . . . The most amusing part of the ceremony was imitations of the dingo, kangaroo, and emu. When all were springing together in emulation of a scared troop of their own marsupial brutes, nothing could be more laughable, nor a more ingenious piece of mimicry. As is usual in savage dances, the time was kept with an accuracy never at fault. . . . . The men were tall and

* *The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, 1874.

straight as their own spears, many of them nearly as thin, but all surprisingly active. Like most blacks, they were well chested and shouldered, but disproportionately slight below the knee." *

In the narrative of their overland expedition from Rockhampton to Cape York, Northern Queensland (1867), the Messrs. Jardine state that at a corrobboree held near Newcastle Bay they observed that the natives used two large drums, named *Waropa*, or *Burra-burra*. These drums are obtained by barter or by war from the islanders of Torres Straits, who frequently visit the continent. "The drum," adds the Messrs. Jardine, "is neatly made of a solid piece of wood, scooped out, in shape like an elongated dice-box. One end is covered with the skin of a snake or iguana, the other being left open. When this instrument is played upon by a muscular and excited 'nigger,' a music results which seems to please him according to its intensity. Keeping time with these, and aiding with their voices, they keep up their wild dance, varying the chant with the peculiar b-r-r-r-r-r-r-o-o of the Australian savage (a sound made by blubbering his thick lips over his closed teeth), and giving to their outstretched knees the nervous tremor peculiar to the corrobboree." †

I had one of these drums in my possession. It was obtained in New Guinea. It was made from a solid piece of very dark—nearly black—wood, and rather richly ornamented with carved figures and lines. It had been scooped out so as to leave only a thin shell. The part covered by skin was round, and the other end rudely carved in the form of the head of a reptile—perhaps an iguana. It was a beautiful specimen of native art. The natives of Australia, when in their natural state, are, as a rule, slow to avail themselves of new inventions, but the inhabitants of Cape York are indebted to the people of New Guinea for more important works of art than the *Waropa;* and, taught by experience, seem to adopt foreign customs with a facility not generally observed elsewhere. Anything originating with their own people is welcomed by the natives everywhere, but that which is foreign is usually regarded with distrust.

The dances of the females are referred to in another part of this work.

The dances described in the Rev. J. G. Wood's work are only variations of the corrobboree, but they are very interesting. In the Palti and other dances it is said that the natives use red paint as well as white in decorating their persons; and in the Pedeku dance of the Moorundi natives they paint their bodies with stripes of red-ochre only.

In the canoe-dance the bodies are painted with white and red ochre, and sticks are used to represent the paddles. The men station themselves in two lines, each with a stick across his back, which is held by the arms, and they move their feet alternately to the tune of the song composed for the ceremony. At a given signal they all bring their sticks to the front, and hold them as they

* *Our Antipodes*, by Lieut.-Col. Mundy, pp. 45-6.

† Macgillivray gives a figure of the drum used by the people of the village of Tassai. It is a hollow cylinder of palm-wood, two feet and a half in length and four inches in diameter. One end is covered over with the skin of a large lizard.—*Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, 1852, vol. i., p. 260.

do paddles, swaying themselves in regular time, as if they were paddling in one of their light canoes.

These dances and these modes of decoration are unknown, as far as I am aware, to the natives of Victoria.

At a grand corrobboree as many as four hundred natives assemble; and, of course, it is necessary to provide food for these, and to maintain order. These matters are attended to by the council, composed of old men, who would suffer in the estimation of the warriors if they proved unequal to their responsibilities.

I have been careful to select descriptions of dances from the writings of trustworthy travellers; and to exhibit, as far as practicable, all the peculiarities which mark these highly original and dramatic entertainments. No one person—how extensive soever his experience might be—could gather all that is remarkable in such ceremonies. He might witness dances in all parts of Australia, and yet fail to note much that is important. It is only from the observations of many witnesses that we can gather all the aspects of even common objects. The impressions made upon different minds are reflected in the extracts I have given, and the reader cannot fail to have presented to him an exact picture of the oldest form of the drama that is now extant. The natives furnish, in these exhibitions, examples of tragedy, tragi-comedy, comedy, and farce; and the skill they evince in producing their pieces—all of their own composition, and not seldom, of late years, representations of scenes they have witnessed when in contact with the whites—sufficiently prove that in mimicry and in invention they are not surpassed by any race. Their music is not good, but they have not arrived at that stage at which good music is possible.

These dances, performed nearly always at night, and not seldom when the light of the moon is sufficient to enable a European to read a book; the bright fires, when there is no moon; the weird figures; the shadows cast by the trees which encircle the space appropriated to the dancers; the sounds produced by the beating of the rugs; the singing, now shrill and piercing, now low and soft; the rattling of the sticks and weapons as the movements are hastened; the hisses and hoarse grunts of the performers, and the deep, smothered voices of the black spectators—make altogether a picture which can be witnessed only in Australia, and which leaves on the mind of the cultivated European an impression which can never be effaced.

The natives appear to have resorted to fighting and dancing at certain seasons, in order to break the dreary monotony of their lives; and in seeking such relief they but followed the practices of other races.

The grand war-dance of the New Zealanders, and the propitiatory dances to Hindoo deities as practised in India, closely resemble in the movements of the dancers, the chants, the beating of drums, and the striking together of sticks to keep time, the regulated dances of the natives of Australia.

The black drum (*Waropa*) of New Guinea, the tom-tom of the East Indies, and the drum of the European, are undoubtedly improvements on the tightly-folded opossum skin of the Australian; but the latter, as suggested by Sir Thomas Mitchell, gives the first hint of the ancient kettle-drum (*τύμπανον*).

The old Brahmin who beats time with a piece of bamboo for a dance in front of a pagoda is but an imitator of practices followed in Australia perhaps before the Aryan race had a footing in the tract drained by the Ganges; and it is not unreasonable, but just, to suppose that the makers of the flint implements found so abundantly in all parts of the world had the same dances, similar songs, and the like dramatic exhibitions as those described in this work.

Games and Amusements.

The adult natives were seldom without employment—their wants being many—but they found time too for amusements. Some of their games were not unlike those which find favor amongst Europeans. The *marn-grook*, or game of ball, for instance, is thus described by the late Mr. Thomas. The men and boys joyfully assemble when this game is to be played. One makes a ball of opossum skin, or the like, of good size, somewhat elastic, but firm and strong. It is given to the foremost player or to some one of mark who is chosen to commence the game. He does not throw it as a white man might do, but drops it and at the same time kicks it with his foot, using the instep for that purpose. It is thrown high into the air, and there is a rush to secure it—such a rush as is seen commonly at foot-ball matches amongst our own people. The tallest men, and those who are able to spring to a great height, have the best chances in this game. Some of them will leap as high as five feet or more from the ground to catch the ball. The person who secures the ball kicks it again; and again a scramble ensues. This continues for hours, and the natives never seem to tire of the exercise.

I have seen the natives at Coranderrk amusing themselves in this manner very often, and their skill and activity were surprising. It is truly a native game. The ball, I believe, is often made of twine formed of the twisted hair of the opossum. It is elastic and light, and well suited to be kicked from the instep, as the natives use it.*

The young amongst the males derive much pleasure from the use of an instrument named *Per-bo-re-gan*. A stick about eighteen inches in length is neatly pared. At one end is tied a cord made of the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo, and to this is fixed a small piece of bark or wood of the shape of a fish, about five inches in length.—(Fig. 17.) The stick is held in the right hand, and the fish-shaped piece of wood is whirled rapidly over

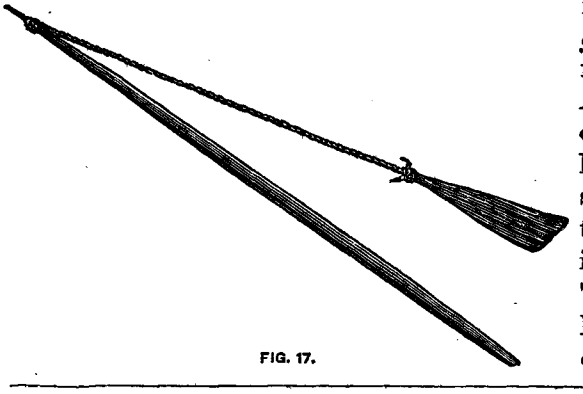

FIG. 17.

* The Tongans excel in ball play, and have a game which consists in playing with five balls, which are thrown from one hand to the other, so as to keep four balls always in the air.—*The Natural History of Man.* Rev. J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 339.

the head of the player. This action produces a loud noise, and when the noise is loudest, the result of great effort, the player gives the instrument a sudden turn, causing it to make a report as loud as the crack of a stockman's whip. On a quiet night in the forest, the sound of this instrument may be heard at a distance of two miles or more. Mr. Thomas has heard the sounds at this distance when the soft wind has been blowing from the player to the place where he was stationed.*

The piece of bark or wood is often ornamented with such lines as are carved on the shields and other weapons.

Tur-dur-er-rin, War-rok-min-der-neit, or *Work-ern-der-eit,* is the name of an athletic game in which the most skilful, or perhaps the strongest, proves the victor. When this pastime is indulged in—and it is only in fine weather that it is thought of—the old men and old women, with the children, seat themselves around some smooth expanse of grass. The young men—the competitors—break into groups, and place themselves opposite to each other. By this action they express their readiness to take part in the encounters that are to follow. After the competitors have been seated for a little time, one of the strongest amongst them rises, grasps a handful of dust or ashes, and throws it towards one opposite with whom he thinks he may measure his strength. He then sits down. This is a challenge: and usually the native towards whom the dust is thrown rises and accepts the challenge, and throws dust towards the challenger. Then all the men of the two groups rise and throw dust, or the ashes of the dead fires, around them. There is a pause, and during the time of the pause the two men who are to engage in conflict rub their hands with ashes, and each with his hands full of ashes or dust rushes violently forward, and the wrestling commences. The men place their hands on each other's shoulders; they are naked; their bodies have been well rubbed with the ashes of the dead fires, and, holding fast, moving hither and thither, thrusting and pulling, they struggle for the mastery. It is often long before one falls to the ground; but when he has fallen, the successful wrestler returns rapidly to his place, often so much exhausted by his efforts that he is unable to speak. This continues until all the wrestlers are tired. There is fair-play in all these encounters, and any departure from the recognised mode of procedure would be severely condemned by all.

The old men and others not engaged in the sport sit by, paying marked attention to all the movements of the wrestlers, and as one after another is victorious, they raise shouts in his praise.

The young amongst the males are taught all the arts of this kind of wrestling at an early age, and they take much pleasure in the exercise. It is necessary to the safety of an Aboriginal, who has often to trust to his strength and skill in single-handed encounters with members of strange tribes, to be able to act well in such exercises. What he has learnt in peaceful wrestlings by the camp-fire is not seldom required for the preservation of his life in war, or in his various secret expeditions.

* An instrument similar to this is used by the natives of the Macleay River, and is mentioned by Mr. Hodgkinson. It seems to be a modification of the *Witarna.*

I have referred in another place to other amusements of the natives. The throwing of the *Wonguim*, the *Wee-weet*, and the hurling of spears at a disc of bark in the game named *Per-re-ber-it*, served to amuse and at the same time to instruct the younger male members of a tribe. By these exercises emulation was aroused, the older persons of the tribe in such competitions had the opportunity of imparting knowledge as to the uses of the several weapons and instruments employed; and while there was amusement and laughter, there was, at the same time, in all such games, a kind of control, and an effort to preserve and maintain discipline — not without effect in the after-life of those who enjoyed these advantages of gaining instruction from the old warriors. Each movement of the young men was watched with jealous eyes by every member of the tribe who was permitted to be present at these trials of skill.

The females never play the game of *Per-re-ber-it*, or any other game in which weapons are used. Usually, they are never suffered, even in play, to use the spear or to handle it.

The young women, however, have games of their own, and that mostly in favor is dancing. When in their native state, the girls amused themselves with dances most commonly in the spring and autumn. Mr. Thomas observed that on many occasions when engaged in the dance the young girls had woven in their hair and on their wrists as bracelets wild flowers gathered from trees and shrubs; but whether this had been learnt from the Europeans or was an ancient native custom is not known. The girls in these dances selected a leader, and pursued the sport with a regularity and a regard to form which surprised Mr. Thomas. The old people looked on, and the parents were happy and contented when they witnessed expertness and skill in these exercises of their children.

The females have also a game of ball, but it is not played in the same manner as that of the males, above described. One throws the ball, and another catches it. The young children too, at times, find much amusement in getting together and beating the opossum rugs and chanting or singing, in imitation of the lubras who perform in the corrobboree. Their sweet voices, however, contrast remarkably with the generally harsher tones of the old women.*

The old men and the old women devoted their evenings to conversation — and strange stories were told of phantoms and dim forms that had affrighted them in their journeys and when camping. The priests lost no opportunity of exercising and extending their influence, and many a night a camp was kept awake by the vagaries of some sorcerer. He would pretend to fly; he would pretend to bring wild blackfellows to the camp, who would make hideous noises

* Bunce states that the natives often amused themselves with a puzzle. The string used in the sport was named *Kudgi-kudgik*, and was made of the fibre of a tree (*Sida pulchella*), commonly found on the banks of the mountain streams, as well as, in some places, on the banks of the Yarra. The puzzle was played between two persons, and required two pairs of hands, and much resembled the game of "cat's cradle."—*Australasiatic Reminiscences*, by Daniel Bunce, p. 75.

The game of "cat's cradle" is played by the Dyaks of Borneo. They are acquainted with all the mysteries of the English modification of the game, and produce a number of additional changes from the string.—*The Natural History of Man*. Rev. J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 490.

There were probably some other games known to the natives of Victoria respecting which no account has been preserved.

and terrify the natives;* he would pretend that some other sorcerer was intent on inflicting injuries on a member of the tribe, and with him he would wage battle; he would pretend that he had discovered signs of sickness in a warrior, and forthwith that man was doomed to torments, suggested by the priest for his cure, the infliction of which provoked yells that were heard for long distances through the forest.

Those who had returned from the hunt narrated their exploits as they sat by the camp-fires. The mode in which they had tracked and finally speared the kangaroo was set forth; what they had seen in the day's journey; how the water had fallen or increased in some well-known reach of a creek; whether roots were plentiful or not in certain areas; whether traces of strange blackfellows had been observed—these, and all the domestic affairs of the people, the birth of children, the betrothals arranged, the marriages proposed, the fights that were to be anticipated, the next movements of the party, the re-arrangement of *willams* consequent on new domestic ties being formed or destroyed—all these subjects kept the people in lively chatter until the embers of the fires spread over the camps the rich red lights of burning woods that no longer sent forth flame; and then all was hushed, and the warriors sank into profound sleep—sleep so profound that a blow of a club only would waken some of them.†

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer gives the following information respecting the games of the natives of Victoria. He says:—"The ball with which they play is named *Dirlk*. The material of which it is made is suggested by the name. It is part of the organs of an 'old man' kangaroo, blown out. The game is played by the ball being thrown, or kicked up with the foot. Whoever catches the ball oftenest, wins the game." He adds:—"The blacks often amuse themselves by exhibiting their skill in wrestling; and they had a game like our 'Hide and seek.' One hid himself, and gave a signal by whistling. The fun, of course, was to find out, from the direction of the sound, where the hidden person was. They used also to play at digging out a wombat. A man or a boy got into a hole, and the amusement consisted in digging him out." They would sometimes play a game called *Brajerack* (the wild blackfellow). One man would be the "wild black," and he would endeavour to catch the other players who were

* It was a firm belief of the Aborigines of the Yarra and the Coast tribes that there were tribes of Aborigines very different from themselves in the mountainous parts of the colony; and it is certain that the men of Gippsland and those living on the highlands at the sources of the River Murray, and near the Great Dividing Range, were fiercer and bolder than the men living in the lowlands. Mr. H. B. Lane says that the "Dargo tribe, as described by Mr. Thomas Mitchell, a Local Guardian, was of a fiercer disposition and of a more ferocious aspect than those belonging to the Murray, upon whom they were in the habit (but not recently) of making predatory raids."

It seems, therefore, that the physical character of the country is as influential in Australia in modifying the habits of the people as in Europe and Asia; but in stating this, one must not lose sight of the fact that, whereas in Asia the hill tribes, as a rule, are the remnants of the Aboriginal inhabitants who have been driven by intruding races to remote retreats, they are in Australia members of the same great family—similar in speech, of like physique, and possessing habits and traditions identical with those of the tribes dwelling on the coast.

† Collins observed that all the natives slept soundly. In one case, of many known to Collins of the extreme soundness with which they sleep, a murderer first took a sleeping infant from the arms of the father whom he was about to deprive of existence.—*An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804, p. 361.

hidden from him. They had often sham fights with clubs and shields made of bark. "In this way," says Mr. Bulmer, "they would amuse themselves all the year round, but more especially in the summer, when food was plentiful. There is very little fun amongst the natives unless the larder is well stored."

The Murray blacks had similar games. Mr. Bulmer says he has seen their wrestling matches. One man would stand out and challenge his fellows by throwing dust in the air. He would stand thus until overthrown, and then another would take his place. The game, however, which seemed to afford the most amusement to the natives was the endeavour to snatch a bunch of emu's feathers from the hand of one who held them. All their games were of this simple description. Mr. Bulmer says that they had a sort of war-dance that was very amusing. The blacks sat in a large circle, and one of the old men stood out fully equipped for a fight, and went through the form of fighting an imaginary enemy; and the earnestness of the old man as he urged his imaginary enemy to hit him, his motions as he made-believe to receive a blow, and his rush upon the foe (whom, of course, he conquered), were highly diverting. The object of the exhibition was to instruct the youths in the arts cultivated by warriors; and no feint, or cunning stroke, or posture of defence was omitted.

Mr. Taplin says the amusements of the Narrinyeri "have always consisted in practising those arts which were necessary to get a living. They have practised spear and boomerang throwing in order to gain expertness, so as to get game with more certainty. They showed great dexterity in the use of the reed-spear, or *kaike*, the shaft of which is a stout reed, and the point, about a foot long, of hard and heavy wood. It is thrown with a *taralye*, or throwing-stick. I have known a man killed by one of these spears at ninety yards, and the weapon passed through his bark shield too. I have known one pass through a thick shield, and take a man's eye out. The principal amusement of youths formerly consisted in practising spear-throwing. The Narrinyeri have a game at ball. A number of men stand round, and one pitches the ball to another on the other side of the party, and those near try to catch it. The sport gives occasion to a great deal of wrestling and activity. Another game is a sort of wrestling match for the possession of a bunch of feathers." *

Traffic amongst the Tribes.

Unlike the civilized and partially-civilized peoples of the earth, the natives of Australia have no current tokens or representatives of value, exchangeable for other commodities, whereby commerce is facilitated, and settlements of accounts are made easy. They traffic only by exchanging one article for another. They barter with their neighbours; and it would seem that, as regards the articles in which they deal, barter is as satisfactory to them as sale would be. They are astute in dealing with the whites, and it may be supposed they exercise reasonable forethought and care when bargaining with their neighbours. The natives of some parts, however, appear to be reckless traders.

* *The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, p. 27.

In former times, the natives of the Murray and Goulburn exchanged large bundles of spears for pieces of greenstone (Diorite), obtained from a native quarry at Mount William, near Lancefield. The stones were carried by the men in their opossum-skin cloaks. The quarry is extensive, and hundreds of tons of stone have been taken from it.*

In the narrative of William Buckley's life it is stated that it was customary for one tribe having an abundance of eels to exchange these for roots with some tribe within whose grounds roots were plentiful.

Mr. Peter Beveridge says that the Lower Murray natives had one or two men in each tribe, who were termed *gualla wattow* (messengers or postmen), whose persons were sacred. They could travel amongst other tribes with freedom. They carried news, and conducted all negotiations connected with barter—one tribe exchanging what it possessed in abundance for such things as were most desired.†

The tribes on the Lower Murray, near Lake Alexandrina, barter with those living on the coast. A curious sort of provision is made for this traffic, the object of which is to secure "perfectly trustworthy agents to transact the business of the tribes—agents who will not by collusion cheat their employers and enrich themselves. The way in which this provision is made is as follows :—When a man has a child born to him, he preserves its umbilical cord, by tying it up in the middle of a bunch of feathers. This is called *kalduke*. He then gives this to the father of a child or children who belongs to another tribe, and those children are thenceforth *ngia-ngiampe* to the child from whom the *kalduke* was procured, and that child is *ngia-ngiampe* to them. From that time none of the children to whom the *kalduke* was given may speak to their *ngia-ngiampe*, or even touch or go near him ; neither must he speak to them. I know several persons who are thus estranged from each other, and have often seen them in ludicrous anxiety to escape from touching or going near their *ngia-ngiampe*. When two individuals who are in this position with regard to each other have arrived at adult age, they become the agents through which their respective tribes carry on barter. For instance, a Mundoo blackfellow, who had a *ngia-ngiampe* belonging to a tribe a little distance up the Murray, would be supplied with the particular articles—such as baskets, mats, or rugs—manufactured by the Mundoo tribes, to carry to his *ngia-ngiampe*, who, in exchange, would send the things made by his tribe. Thus a blackfellow—Jack Hamilton—who was speared at a fight at Teringe, once had a *ngia-ngiampe* in the Mundoo tribe. While he lived on the Murray he sent spears and plongges (clubs) down to his agent of the Mundoo blacks, who was also supplied with mats and nets and rugs to send up to him, for the purpose of giving them in exchange to the tribe to which he belonged. The estrangement of the *ngia-ngiampes* seems to answer

* Mr. Albert A. C. Le Souef, MS. This quarry is referred to in Mr. Ulrich's *Catalogue of Rock Specimens*, p. 21. Mr. Joseph Parker mentions the traffic between the Ja-jow-er-ong tribes and others in stones for tomahawks. Messengers were sent by distant tribes to procure stones for the *Bur-reek* (tomahawk) from the Ja-jow-er-ong people.

† *A few Notes on the Dialects, Habits, Customs, and Mythology of the Lower Murray Aborigines*, by Mr. Peter Beveridge.

two purposes. It gives security to the tribes that there will be no collusion between their agents for their own private advantage, and also compels the two always to conduct the business through third parties."*

It appears that two persons may be made *ngia-ngiampe* to each other temporarily. The *kalduke* is divided between them, and as long as they keep their respective portions they are estranged from each other, and may be appointed to act as agents. This is a very convenient arrangement.

Mr. A. W. Howitt mentions the traffic that is carried on amongst the tribes of the Cooper's Creek district. They exchange shields for girdles. Near Kyejerou, Mr. Howitt saw a conch-shell, which had been brought from the north or north-east coast. It was highly valued, and must have passed from tribe to tribe for a long distance—perhaps eight hundred or one thousand miles.

Mr. J. McDouall Stuart says that he found, on the River Chambers (lat. 14° 30′ S., long. 133° 25′ E.), blacks in the possession of a piece of iron, which was used as a tomahawk. It had a large round eye, in which they had fixed a handle; and the edge was about the breadth of an ordinary tomahawk. When hot, it had been hammered together. It had apparently been the hinge of some large door or other large article. The natives had ground it down, and seemed to know the use of it.

At Attack Creek (lat. 18° 50′ S., long. 134° 30′ E.) he saw a black with a large sea-shell, and a spear with bamboo at one end. The sea-shell and the bamboo showed that the natives had communication with the sea-coast.†

The people of the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek) are great traders. Mr. Gason says that "their whole life is spent in bartering; they rarely retain any article for long. The articles received by them in exchange one day are bartered away the next, whether at a profit or loss. Should any one of them, more shrewd than another, profit on one occasion by this traffic, he is sure immediately after to sacrifice his advantage, and the majority of their quarrels are caused by bartering or refusing to barter."

The men of this tribe, when travelling for red-ochre, barter with the people they come in contact with.

There is a considerable trade carried on between the natives of Cape York and the islanders of Torres Straits. Two gentlemen—Mr. Howe and Mr. Kennett—who had been residing for some time at Cape York, informed me that the Australians obtain bows and arrows by exchange. Some of the Australians, they thought, occasionally crossed over to New Guinea; they certainly visit many of the islands and atolls; and on one occasion Mr. Kennett himself went about half-way across. He told me that he was well-treated by the natives.

The Messrs. Jardine, in referring to this subject, say that the *Goomkoding* and *Gudang* tribes seem to hold most communication with the islanders of Torres Straits, the intermixture of races being evident. *Kororega* words are used by both these tribes, and the bow and arrow are sometimes seen among them, having been procured from the islands. Drums are also obtained by barter from the people of Torres Straits.‡

* *The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, pp. 25-6. † *Explorations*: 1861–2, pp. 64 and 75.
‡ *Narrative of the Overland Expedition of the Messrs. Jardine from Rockhampton to Cape York*, 1867.

Food.

The natives of Australia are generally described as omniverous. There is scarcely any part of the country in which they cannot find food, and there is nothing in the nature of food, or of substances which can by any possibility contribute to the maintenance of life, that they will not eat. When driven to extremity by hunger, the black tightens his belt, and when overcome by thirst, he covers his stomach with earth; but it is not often that he is forced to adopt such measures. He eats of the fruits of the earth, literally, in due season, and he catches wild animals when he can. He understands the nature of every vegetable product in his district, and knows what to eat and what to avoid; and he is thoroughly conversant with the habits of the beasts and birds and fishes that are to be found within the boundaries of his domain. Every species of marsupial, from the largest kangaroo to the smallest mouse; every kind of bird, from the swift-footed emu to the little dicæum that feeds on the berries of the loranthus; every egg that every bird lays; every reptile; every one of the amphibia; every fish, whether in fresh or in salt water; every shell-fish; and every crustacean and insect—he is familiar with, and in general knows how to procure each by the easiest and quickest method. From poisonous plants he is able to extract a wholesome farina, and he roasts roots and grinds seeds into flour. He gathers manna in the heats of summer. In the arid tracts he obtains water from the roots of trees; and, unless the region were inhospitable indeed, he could never actually perish of hunger.

He makes a drink that, if not intoxicating, is certainly of a character to exhilarate; and he chews or smokes a plant that stands in the stead of tobacco.

It is wholly impracticable to give a complete list of all the indigenous products which serve him for food, nor is it possible to describe all the methods he has of catching wild animals, or preparing the roots and seeds on which, in certain seasons, he has to depend mainly for subsistence; but I have collected from numerous sources a great deal of information, much of which I trust will be useful and interesting.

Many of the statements relate to the practices of the natives in parts of the continent far distant from Victoria; but each is calculated to throw light on the modes of procuring food that were usual amongst our blacks before Port Phillip was colonized.

Hunting Kangaroos.

In hunting and killing the kangaroo the natives display great skill, a complete knowledge of the habits of the animal, and often much perseverance and great endurance. Kangaroos are much more numerous now in many parts of Victoria than they were when the lands were in possession of the natives; and though it may appear at present to an inhabitant of the bush that a blackfellow could have no difficulty in procuring a sufficient supply of this game, it was different when the animal was regularly hunted, when it was the prey of the wild dog, and when the tribes had to depend largely on it for food.*

Several modes of taking the kangaroo were employed. When a native was living with his family in a district where kangaroos were easily found, he would start off at early morning, with his wives and perhaps his children accompanying him, and look for a feeding ground where there was some shelter. The women and children would not follow his footsteps closely, but keep near enough to invite his attention by some previously-arranged signal, as the movement of the hand, or a sound—as that of a bird—if any one of them should see the game. The hunter himself, keenly interested in the pursuit, would be well prepared for the day's sport. He would have his spears sharpened, his throwing-stick in good order, and his waddy at hand. His basket, slung over his shoulder, would contain, as well as the throwing-stick, perhaps a knife. Cautiously taking his way through the bush, keeping an eye on every animate and inanimate object within the limits of his vision, moving noiselessly, he would at last view the kangaroos feeding in some rather open well-grassed spot. Having observed the direction of the wind, he would so direct his movements as to get to leeward of the game, and he would use all the skill he possessed to approach them as near as possible. He would advance a few steps, keeping his body in one position, and note the behaviour of the kangaroos. The creatures—keen-scented and quick of hearing—would exhibit some alarm perhaps, and the hunter would remain still and motionless until they again began to feed. He would thus advance, sheltered by bushes and trees, until within distance, and then his spear would be thrown. He would rarely miss his aim. As soon as the creature was struck, the women and children would shout with delight, and hasten to the assistance of the sportsman.

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* A squatter holding stations in the north-eastern part of Victoria informs me that a station in his district, which at one time carried twenty thousand sheep, but has since been neglected, and has now on it not more than four thousand, is overrun with kangaroos, opossums, wild cats, and wild dogs. Mobs (consisting of hundreds) of kangaroos eat the grass that should feed sheep. The marsupials have increased in a far greater degree than their natural enemy, the dingo, which lives in this locality a life of ease and pleasure. The run is common ground for all the wild animals of the neighbourhood. There they have their abode, but from time to time they visit neighbouring tracts, and destroy much produce the result of cultivation. The native dog has been almost exterminated in the more open parts of Victoria; and other animals formerly his prey have multiplied exceedingly. I have seen mobs of kangaroos in the Western district so large as to defy even an attempt to make an approximation to the numbers.

Professor McCoy referred to this subject in his essay (*Recent Zoology and Palæontology of Victoria*) in 1866–67.

If the ground to leeward of the game was without cover, the native would retire to a spot where he could construct a screen of boughs, and, with this before him, he would without difficulty get within reach of his prey.

Sometimes two men set out together for the purpose of spearing the kangaroo. One attracts the attention of the kangaroo by making a very slight noise, as by breaking twigs or the like, while the other approaches stealthily from an opposite direction until near enough to transfix the animal with his spear.

Kangaroos are frequently taken at their watering-places. If there is convenient and suitable natural shelter near a water-hole, the native conceals himself in the bushes, and patiently waits until he can throw his spear with a certain aim. If there is no shelter, he constructs a screen of boughs very artfully, and in such a situation as not to attract the attention of the animals when they come to the water.

Another method of catching kangaroos at their water-places is described in a letter to me by Mr. A. F. Sullivan. The men of the Paroo make a pit, close to the water, and enclose a space with two wings of brush-fence. Each wing is from three hundred to four hundred yards in length, forming two sides of a triangle. When a kangaroo comes for water, the natives hunt him into the space between the wings, and thence into the pit, where he is easily knocked on the head with a waddy.

Nets are also used for catching the kangaroo.

On great occasions, a large number of natives assemble and form a hunting party. This hunt is always under the guidance of experienced persons, who direct the mode of procedure and assign the hunters their places. An area of country perhaps half a mile or more in diameter is encircled by the sportsmen, who, shouting and clattering their arms, gradually close in, and when the animals are in a narrow space they spear them, or knock them on the head with waddies, as they jump from one point of danger to another.*

This method is practised both in scrubby forest tracts and also in more open country where there are small plains.

They use fire at times, when they wish to take a number of animals. The men form a circle, and set fire to the bushes, and thus kill a great many kangaroos and other wild animals of the forest.

In the Port Lincoln district, the men and boys are expert in using a club named *wirra*. When the bush is on fire, and the animals are trying to escape, they throw the *wirra* with unerring dexterity, and kill both kangaroos, wallabies, and kangaroo-rats.

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* "These great public hunts or battues are conducted under certain rules. The proprietor of the land must have invited the other natives, and must be present himself; for should these regulations be violated, a very bloody fight is certain to take place. *The first spear which strikes a kangaroo determines whose property the dead animal is to be*; it being no matter how slight the wound may have been; even if a boy threw the spear, the rule holds good; and if the animal killed is one which, by their laws, a boy is not allowed to eat, then his right passes on to his father or eldest male relation."—*Grey*, vol. II., p. 272.

Fair-play characterises the actions of the natives as well in their amusements as in battles and disputes.

The *wirra* is indeed a weapon of essential use to this people, and in throwing it they have acquired a skill which is astonishing. Little boys of seven and eight years old, and even girls of tender age, will knock down parrots from the she-oak trees with this instrument. The children are taught to use it almost as soon as they can walk. A piece of dry sponge is rolled along the ground, and they are made to throw the *wirra* at it until they are accomplished in its use.

Like the natives of Cooper's Creek, the people of the Port Lincoln district use a number of signs, unaccompanied by sound, which are of great advantage to them when engaged in hunting. They can, by using their hands, make known to their companions the animals they discover, and in what situation they are. They stretch out the first finger, in imitation of the leaping of a kangaroo, when such an animal, quietly feeding, is in sight; three fingers stretched out, the second finger a little lower than the others, is the sign for an emu; when an opossum is seen, the thumb is raised; and when the whole hand is extended, it is known that a fish is near. They have signs of a similar kind to indicate all the varieties of game.*

In tracking the kangaroo, the native has to bring into play other qualities than those shown in hunting excursions of an ordinary character. He is never sure in these adventures that he will be successful. A hundred unforeseen misfortunes may rob him of his prey. The hunter himself, with his whole attention devoted to the pursuit, may be followed by hostile blacks who have a mission to kill him; the wild dogs may cross the line, and perhaps secure the animal when almost worn out; another blackfellow may spear it as it hastens to some water-hole to quench its thirst; it may mingle with a mob of kangaroos, and the single trail may be lost; or the animal may be of extraordinary fleetness and strength, and may escape the most arduous toil of the hunter; but with all these difficulties in front of him, the blackfellow patiently follows the marks left by the beast, until success or failure causes his return to his miam.

This mode of hunting the kangaroo "calls out every qualification prized by savages—skill in tracking, endurance of hunger and thirst, unwearied bodily exertion, and lasting perseverance. To perform this feat, a native starts upon the tracks of a kangaroo, which he follows until he sights it, when it flies timidly before him; again he pursues the track, and again the animal bounds from him; and this is repeated until nightfall, when the native lights his fire and sleeps upon the track; with the first light of day the hunt is resumed, and towards the close of the second day, or in the course of the third, the kangaroo falls a victim to its pursuer. None but a skilful huntsman in the pride of youth and strength can perform this feat, and one who has frequently practised it always enjoys great renown amongst his fellows."†

The natives of the Gawler Range, in South Australia, use a method of taking the wallaby which is highly ingenious. They make of long smooth pieces of wood an instrument like a fishing-rod, to the thin end of which they attach the skin and feathers of a hawk—so carefully arranged as to represent very accurately a living bird. Taking this in his hand, and his spear, the hunter

* *Manners and Customs of the Natives of the Port Lincoln District*, by C. Wilhelmi, 1860.

† Grey, vol. ii., pp. 273–4.

roams the forest until he spies a wallaby, when, holding aloft his mock-bird, and giving a motion to the long flexible rod, such as to cause the mock-bird to appear to fly and stoop, he utters the cry of the hawk, and the wallaby at once takes refuge in the nearest bush. Cautiously stealing onwards, the native throws his spear and secures the game.

Even when the native succeeds in spearing the kangaroo he is not always sure of obtaining the carcass without difficulty. An old kangaroo of great size is fierce when brought to bay, and must be approached cautiously and attacked at a safe distance. If the hunter recklessly seized him, the brute would endeavour to strike him with his great claw, and might seriously injure or kill him. I have seen an "old man kangaroo" of great size attack a man on horseback. He followed the horse, and nearly succeeded in tearing open his quarter. Twice he attempted to tear the horse, and had not the animal been guided by an experienced rider, the kangaroo would have seriously injured him.

When hunted, the kangaroo invariably "makes tracks" for a water-hole; and, if hard pressed, will swim a river or enter the sea.

The native secures a prize when he spears a well-grown kangaroo (a forester). Some weigh as much as 150 lbs.

When a kangaroo is killed, the native is careful to preserve the sinews of the tail. He rolls the sinews around some stick or weapon or ball, so as to keep them stretched and in a fit state for future use.

The cooking of the kangaroo was in general a very simple affair. The hair was singed, the body scraped, and the entrails removed, and it was then roasted. The favorite method in the Paroo district, Mr. Sullivan informs me, is to cook the animal in a sort of oven. A hole is made in the ground, heated stones are put into it with the body of the kangaroo, and the whole is covered with hot ashes. In many parts the oven is more carefully constructed. The stones are heated in the hole, grass is placed over the stones, and the whole is covered with earth. If the steam is not sufficient to cook the flesh properly, holes are made and water is poured in. The skin is left on, in order to preserve the juices of the meat, and it is customary to remove the entrails after the body is well warmed. The entrails are cooked separately. Sometimes the body of a large kangaroo is cut up, and separate portions of it are broiled. The blood is collected in one of the intestines, and a sort of "black pudding" is made. The elders, of course, keep the delicacies for themselves, and amongst these the blood is very highly prized.

The several kinds of kangaroo caught and eaten by the natives of Victoria are as follow:—

	Native Name—Lake Tyers.	
Kangaroo	- *Jirrah* -	- *Macropus major;* weight about 150 lbs.
Wallaby	- *Tharogang*	- *Halmaturus ualabatus;* weight about 50 lbs.
Rock wallaby	- *Wyat* -	- *Petrogale penicillata* (of N. S. Wales only).*

* The true rock wallaby (*P. penicillata*) is not known, Professor McCoy says, so far south as the Lakes in Gippsland. The species named by the Rev. Mr. Bulmer may be a second local name for *H. ualabatus.*

Native Name—Lake Tyers.

Red wallaby -	*Kénarra*	- *Halmaturus ualabatus.*
Small wallaby	*Dak-wan*	- *Halmaturus Billardieri.*
Padamelon -	*Bowey* -	- *Halmaturus Billardieri.*
Kangaroo-rat -	*Bree* -	- *Bittongia cuniculus.*

The red kangaroo (*Osphranter rufus*) is found in the interior from just north of the Murray.

Opossum.

Opossums furnish the natives with an abundant supply of animal food in all the well-timbered tracts. These creatures, in situations suitable to them, are very numerous. When riding through the forests of the north-eastern parts of Victoria, I have seen, at night, many hundreds of them, and it was not at all difficult to get near them. They are easily seen by moonlight; and, by keeping in the deep shadows cast by the bushes, one can almost reach them by hand when they are on the lower branches of the trees. As far as I have been able to observe them, they are less alarmed by sound and scent than any other of the marsupial inhabitants of the bush. A loud noise would, of course, cause them to hide themselves; but one has not to be so cautious in approaching the retreat of these creatures as in attempting to observe the habits of the native cat, or even the native bear, which does not ordinarily exhibit much intelligence.

The opossum hunter roams through the forest, eyeing each tree as he goes, until he sees one likely to hold an opossum in some of its holes. He examines the bark, and so well skilled is he in his craft as to be able to determine at once whether there are marks of opossum's claws on it, whether they are fresh or not, and whether the creature has been ascending or descending. If the examination is satisfactory, he climbs the tree and takes the animal out of its hole.

The various ways in which the natives climb trees are described elsewhere.

Sometimes the marks of the opossum's claws are very faint, and in such case the hunter breathes on the bark, in order to see whether there are any hairs or grains of sand on it. By such signs he is guided; and he rarely returns to his camp without a good supply of opossum flesh.

The several species of opossum constitute the ordinary animal food of the natives. They are taken with comparative ease. Indeed industry more than skill is required for their capture, though, without a knowledge of their habits, and in places where they are scarce, a man might make many attempts before securing one.

In cooking them the natives are not very particular. In general, they are thrown upon a fire for perhaps a minute. Then the wool is pulled off, a hole is made in the stomach with a stick, and the entrails are taken out. The body is then roasted slowly in the hot embers and ashes of the fire.

Sir Thomas Mitchell found that the native method of cooking the opossum was not unsatisfactory, The flesh had a flavor of singed wool, but was not unpalatable even to a white man.

When a great number of opossums are caught at one time, they are cooked in an oven in the same manner as the kangaroo is cooked.

The several kinds of opossums eaten by the natives of Victoria are as follow :—

	Native Name—Lake Tyers.	
Opossum (common) -	*Wadthan* -	*Phalangista vulpina.*
Black opossum - -	*Brak* -	*Phalangista fuliginosa* (Tasmania only*).
Ring-tail opossum -	*Blaang* -	*Phalangista viverrina.*

There is also the *Phalangista canina*, the native name of which I have not obtained.

Wombat.

The wombats (*Phascolomys platyrrhinus* and *P. niger*)—the *Naroot Norngnor* or *Warren* of the natives—are odd-looking creatures, with clumsy, fat bodies, very short legs, and coarse hair. The specimens I have examined were gentle in their habits—not at all pugnacious, but very obstinate. One in confinement was shown a door where he could escape, and I attempted to stop him, but he thrust himself forward with a strength and determination for which I was unprepared. I used the utmost force to keep him back, but he good-naturedly struggled with me, and finally gained the victory. He is not a handsome creature; but, when cooked, is said to afford some appetising morsels. Lieut.-Col. Collins says :— "The wombat, or, as it is called by the natives of Port Jackson, the womback, is a squat, short, thick, short-legged, rather inactive quadruped, with great appearance of stumpy strength, and somewhat bigger than a large turnspit-dog. Its figure and movements, if they do not exactly resemble those of the bear, at least strongly remind one of that animal. Its length from the tip of the tail to the tip of the nose is thirty-one inches, of which its body takes up twenty-three inches and five-tenths. The head is seven inches, and the tail five-tenths. Its circumference behind the fore legs, twenty-seven inches; across the thickest part of the belly, thirty-one inches. Its weight by hand is somewhat between twenty-five and thirty pounds. The hair is coarse, and about one inch or one inch and five-tenths in length, thinly set upon the belly, thicker on the back and head, and thickest upon the loins and rump; the color of it a light sandy-brown of varying shades, but darkest along the back. This animal has not any claim to swiftness of foot, as most men could run it down. Its pace is hobbling or shuffling, something like the awkward gait of a bear. In disposition it is mild and gentle; but it bites hard, and is furious when provoked. Mr. Bass never heard its voice but at that time; it was a low cry, between a hissing and a whizzing, which could not be heard at a distance of more than thirty or forty yards."

In those parts of the colony where there is ground suitable for the wombat, whose habit is to burrow, he is found in great numbers. He has given names

* Professor McCoy informs me that the black opossum is known only in Tasmania. The animal named *Brak* is perhaps the black flying opossum, *Petaurista taguanoides.*

to numerous places in Victoria, more particularly in the volcanic tracts, where the earth is easily penetrated. In the Western district, before the whites invaded it, he had a wide territory. Near the extinct volcanoes are beds of ash, and in these the wombat-holes were at one time thickly inhabited. Now, one sees a wombat—in the vicinity of numberless holes—rarely; and it may be presumed that the white man and his dogs and his guns are responsible for the diminution of the numbers.

In the *Life and Adventures of William Buckley* a very good account is given of the method employed by the natives to capture the wombat.

Buckley says:—"They [the wombats] live in holes in the earth, of about twenty feet long and from ten to twenty deep, in an oblique direction, burrowing in them like the mole. When well cooked they are good eating. . . . . The natives take these creatures by sending a boy or girl into their burrows, which they enter feet first, creeping in backwards until they touch the animal. Having discovered the lair, they call out as loud as they can, beating the ground overhead, whilst those above are carefully listening, their ears being pressed close to the earth. By this plan of operations they are enabled to tell with great precision where they are. A perpendicular hole is then made, so as to strike the extremity of the burrow; and having done this, they dig away with sharp sticks, lifting the mould out in baskets. The poor things are easily killed, for they make no resistance to these intrusions on their haunts. There is, however, a good deal of difficulty in making these holes, and in getting down so deep to them—so that it is a sort of hunting for food of which the natives are not very fond."

The wombat, Eyre states, is driven to his hole with dogs at night, and a fire being lighted inside, the mouth is closed with stones and earth. The animal being by this means suffocated, is dug out at convenience.*

The wombat is roasted in his skin, and is said to afford most excellent meat.

It is believed that this creature could be easily domesticated.

The wombats of Victoria weigh as much as seventy pounds.

Native Bear.

The native bear (*Phascolarctos cinereus*)—*Koola* (Gippsland), *Koob-boor*, *Karbor*, or *Kur-bo-roo* (Yarra)—is arboreal in its habits, and is easily taken from the trees. If he is found on the ground, he commences to climb as soon as he sees an intruder, and utters a kind of growl as he rather slowly ascends, stopping and looking back rather anxiously from time to time, and apparently disinclined to take more exertion than is absolutely necessary for his safety. At Monkey Creek, in eastern Gippsland, these animals are very numerous. One morning I saw as many as five at one spot. One was apparently asleep at the side of the track, and I went close to him and tickled his ear with my riding-rod. He was pleased at first, but suddenly opening his eyes and seeing me, he shuffled

* *Journal of Expeditions*, vol. II., p. 284.

to the nearest tree and commenced to climb it, seemingly with great reluctance. I could have captured him with ease.

The natives may not skin the bear. He is roasted whole in his skin. The flesh is said to taste like pork.

The weight of a bear is about forty pounds.

Bandicoot, etc.

The bandicoot (*Perameles obesula, P. nasuta, P. fasciata,* and *P. Gunni*) —*Menaak* (Gippsland), *Warrun* (Western district), *Bang* (Yarra)—burrows, and lives on roots. He is either caught in his nest or knocked down with a stick.

The porcupine (*Echidna hystrix*)—*Kowern* (Gippsland), *Wilanyul* (Western district), *Ka Warren* (Yarra)—burrows in the ground to a good depth. He is got out by digging with a stick, and is speared in the breast. This creature, in proportion to its size, is of enormous strength.

In cooking it, it is usually covered with clay and roasted in its quills. In Gippsland, the fat is severed from the lean and cooked separately.

Amongst other animals eaten by the natives are the following:—

Native dog (*Canis Australasiæ*)—*Ngurran* (Gippsland), *Purnung* (Western district)—the male it is said being named *Pipkuru,* and the female *Nrungyrreh*)—*Yearangin* (Yarra)—speared or taken when young.

Native cat (large) (*Dasyurus maculatus*)—*Womainte* (Western district)—Native cat (common) (*Dasyurus viverrinus*)—*Beathedel* (Yarra).

Water-rat (*Hydromys Chrysogaster*).

Flying squirrels (*Petaurista taguanoides*), (*Belideus breviceps* and *B. Notatus*)—*Berring* (Western district).

Mice (*Mus Novæ Hollandiæ*) (*Hapalotis conditor, H. apicalis,* and *H. Mitchelli*).

Bats (*Molossus Australis*), (*Pteropus poliocephalus*—flying fox), and several small species of *Scotophilus.**

To these may be added the marsupials *Phascogale penicillata* and *P. Calura* (*Kutar* of natives). These small rat-like marsupials are often confounded with rats and mice in popular estimation, but they are fierce carniverous animals.

Emu.

The emu (*Dromaius Australis*)—*Burri-mul* (Yarra), *Miowera* (Gippsland)—is a large bird, affording a good deal of nutritious flesh. When in an ordinary position, the head is about five feet from the ground. He is very fleet and very

* The flying fox (*Pteropus conspicillatus*) is caught and eaten by the natives of North Australia. The flesh is said to be very good. On some of the islands these bats appear in prodigious numbers, and they may be seen flying in the bright sunshine, a thing unusual in nocturnal animals.—*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake,* 1852, vol. I., p. 97.

strong, and is hunted by the natives much in the same manner as the kangaroo is hunted. In nearly all parts of Victoria he is speared, nets or yards not being used as a rule.

Mr. Giles mentions finding in the interior of Australia yards erected by the natives for yarding emus and wallabies, and in one place a yard was discovered near a water-hole.*

In the Cooper's Creek district, when food is scarce, and the weather is very hot, the natives follow the emu until he is tired, and capture him.

The emu is not easily captured. I have seen a large kangaroo-dog knocked over two or three times by a stroke from the leg of an emu. This was in ascending a range, when the dog was able to overtake the emu; in going down hill the bird extended his short wings and outpaced the dog. In former times, flocks of emus, forty or fifty together, might be seen feeding on the plains. The weight of an emu is about 130lbs. The natives roast these birds in the ashes of their fires.

Turkey.

The turkey (*Otis Australasiensis*)—*Brea-ell* (Yarra), *Korn-jinah* (Gippsland), *Parim-barim* (Western district)—is a shy bird, but the natives are cunning in taking him.

In the Western district they make an instrument long and flexible, like a fishing-rod, and attach to the end of the thinner part the skin and feathers of a small bird, or a dead butterfly, and a running noose.—(Fig. 18.)

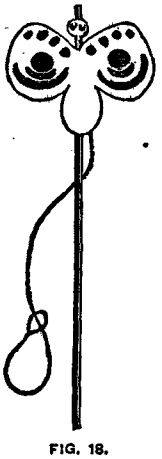

FIG. 18.

When the hunter sees a turkey, he slowly approaches the bird, holding in front a bush to hide his person, and swinging aloft the decoy with a peculiar motion characteristic of the bird or insect. The turkey's attention is at once arrested and wholly taken up with the movements of the decoy. He stares at it stupidly, turns round and stares again, but though it approaches, he does not move far. He continues to stare until the black gets near enough to slip the noose over his head and secure him.†

The weight of a full-grown turkey is about thirty pounds. It feeds on grass, beetles, and great quantities of grubs or larvæ of insects.

The bird is always roasted by the natives, either in an oven or on the embers of the fire.

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* *Central Australia*, by Ernest Giles, 1875, pp. 43 and 71.

† When I was travelling over the plains of the Western district on one occasion, I had an opportunity of putting to the test this strange habit of the wild turkey. We saw several with their young feeding on a wide, open, grassy plain, and selecting one old bird for experiment, we drove round him in our carriage, gradually decreasing the distance, the bird turning round and staring stupidly all the while at the vehicle, until the driver was almost within reach of him with his whip. We could have secured him if we had had a noose.

Native Companion.

The native companion (*Grus Australasiensis*)—*Goor-rook* of the Yarra natives, and *Korurik* of the Western district—is a very elegant bird, of exquisite plumage, and almost too beautiful to be eaten. He is quite friendly in his habits, and may be seen sometimes following the plough, and busily engaged in picking up grubs and worms. The natives kill this bird with a stick, a boomerang, or a waddy. When a flock is flying low at evening, they come within range, and a skilful man will easily secure at least one out of a flock.

The flesh is said to be very good. The bird is cooked in the same manner as the emu and the turkey.

The weight of a full-sized bird is about twenty-five pounds. It feeds on fish, lizards, mice, &c.

Catching Ducks and other Wild-fowl.

Aquatic fowls supplied the natives with food at all seasons—indeed whenever a native was hungry he would take one if he could secure it either by boomerang, or waddy, or spear, or by following it in the water and catching it. As far as I can gather, they did not have a "close season" in Victoria. They took the birds when they could get them.

A common method of catching ducks is by fixing a net, about sixty yards in length, across a watercourse, a river, a swamp, or a lagoon—the lower part being three or four feet above the water. The ends of the net are either fixed to trees or held by natives stationed in trees. One man proceeds up the river or lagoon, and cautiously moves so as to cause the ducks to swim towards the net. When they are near enough, he frightens them, and they rise on the wing, and at the same time another native, near the net, throws up a piece of bark, shaped like a hawk, and utters the cry of that bird. The flock of ducks at that moment dip, and many are caught in the net. Four men are usually employed when this sport is pursued. This account was given to me by *Wye-nye-a-nine*, a native of the Lower Murray.

Mr. Beveridge says that sometimes three dozen ducks are caught in this manner at one time, without the breakage of a single mesh of the net.

Major Sir Thomas Mitchell mentions this method of catching wild-fowl. He says:—"The natives had left in one place a net overhanging the river, being suspended between two lofty trees, evidently for the purpose of catching ducks and other water-fowl. The meshes were about two inches wide, and the net hung down to within about five feet of the water. In order to obtain water-fowl with this net, it is customary for some of the natives to proceed up and others down the river, in order to scare the birds from other places; and when any flight of them comes into the net, it is suddenly lowered into the water, thus entangling the birds beneath until the natives go into the water and secure them. Among the few specimens of art to be found in use with the primitive inhabitants of those wilds none came so near our own manufacture as the net,

which even in quality as well as in the mode of knotting could scarcely be distinguished from our own." *

Mr. Chenery says that he has often seen the natives of the Goulburn catch ducks. A man swims under water, breathing through a reed, and approaches a flock without creating any alarm. When he is within reach of a duck, he seizes it by the feet, drags it under water, wrings its neck, and tucks it under his belt. In this way, quietly and noiselessly, he secures a great number of birds.

In other parts a somewhat similar method is followed. When a number of ducks is seen on a river or a lagoon, a native enters the water—far below them—covers his head with flags or rushes, or any weed that is growing in the water, and swims towards the flock. He approaches the ducks cautiously, and takes one after another in the manner described by Mr. Chenery.

Sometimes the natives sneak along the banks of a river, and, concealing themselves amongst the reeds, get so near the water-fowl as to be able to spear them, or take them with a noose.

Meyer states that swans, geese, ducks, and other water-fowl, which are plentiful in the Lakes, are taken by the men of the Encounter Bay tribe by a noose at the end of a long stick. They steal upon them, concealed by the long grasses and rushes on the banks of the stream, until they are within reach of the birds.

Taplin finds the noose in use generally amongst the natives of the Lower Murray, but the reed-spear is also employed. The natives send their spears into the dense flocks of widgeon (*punkeri*), and transfix the birds as they fly. By means of the spear they kill a great many.†

"Most of the wild-fowl on the Lakes," says Mr. Taplin, "are unable to fly in the moulting season; they then betake themselves to the reeds. A net is put by the natives round a clump of reeds, beaters are sent in to drive out the ducks, which rush into the nets and are captured by scores."‡

In Gippsland the natives caught the wild-fowl also when moulting, and when sitting on their eggs, or when just fledged. It does not appear that they used either the net or the noose.

The swan was usually taken by stratagem. He was driven into reeds, and then speared or knocked on the head with a waddy.

In the Paroo district ducks are taken usually, Mr. Sullivan informs me, in nets, arranged like those in use amongst the natives of the Murray. Sometimes they are knocked down by sticks, and sometimes a native will cover his head with mud, and swim so close to a duck as to be able to hit it with ease with any weapon he may have with him. When ducks are flying along a water-course, a boomerang thrown amongst them will bring down one or two.

In cooking birds the natives used, in former times, an oven formed of a number of heated stones on which wet grass was strewn. The birds were placed

* *Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S., 1838.

† Eyre states that the natives commonly used the *tat-tat-ko*—a long rod with a noose at the end—for snaring water-fowl.—*Journal*, vol. II., p. 285.

‡ *The Narrinyeri*, p. 30.

on the grass, and covered with it; more heated stones were laid on, and the whole was covered with earth. In this way they were half-stewed. The Murray tribes still use this method. In Gippsland it has fallen into disuse.

The following is a list of some of the aquatic and other birds eaten by the natives:—

	Native Name—Lake Tyers.	
Swan	*Gidi*	*Cygnus atratus.*
Goose	*Krangnark*	*Anseranas melanoleuca.*
Pelican	*Burran*	*Pelecanus conspicillatus.*
Common wild or black duck	*Wrang*	*Anas superciliosa.*
Mountain duck	*Karagnack*	*Casarca Tadornoides.*
Pink-eyed duck	*Koortgan*	*Malacorhynchus membranaceus.*
Spoon-bill	*Wyang*	*Platalea flavipes.*
Musk duck	*Bau*	*Biziura lobata.*
Wood duck	*Naak*	*Chlamydochen jubata.*
Teal	*Barook*	(?)
Speckled teal	*Koortgang*	*Anas punctata.*
Cormorant*	*Karnie*	*Phalacrocorax carboides.*
Shag	*Kurrowera*	*Phalacrocorax melanoleucus* and *P. leucogaster.*
Sea eagle	*Kang-gang*	*Polioetus leucogaster.*
Large gull	*Gnoman*	*Larus pacificus.*
Small common gull	*Tarook*	*Xema Jamesoni.*

Parrots of many kinds are very numerous in the forests of Australia, and the natives are practised in killing them with the short heavy sticks they carry and with the boomerang. The cockatoo-parrots fly in large flocks. Sometimes at evening one may see hundreds of them high in the air, on the borders of the swamps, flying hither and thither and screaming loudly. They are wary birds, and a sportsman must use great caution in approaching them. In Gippsland the cockatoo (*Braak*) and parrots of other kinds were not often killed by the boomerang. The natives generally took them when they were sitting on their eggs, or when too young to fly, or when moulting.

Grey gives an animated description of the killing of cockatoos by the boomerang. He says :—"Perhaps as fine a sight as can be seen in the whole circle of native sports is the killing cockatoos with the kiley or boomerang. A native perceives a large flight of cockatoos in a forest which encircles a lagoon; the expanse of water affords an open clear space above it, unencumbered with trees, but which raise their gigantic forms all around, more vigorous in their growth from the damp soil in which they flourish; and in their leafy summits sit a countless number of cockatoos, screaming and flying from tree to tree, as they make their arrangements for a night's sound sleep. The native throws

* The natives plant stakes in the water, in places where there are no natural resting-places for the shags and cormorants, and when the birds perch on these, they swim quietly up to them and seize them. They also knock them off the branches of the stranded trees and withered stumps on which they sit with sticks or with the boomerang.

aside his cloak, so that he may not even have this slight covering to impede his motions, draws his kiley from his belt, and with a noiseless, elastic step approaches the lagoon, creeping from tree to tree, from bush to bush, and disturbing the birds as little as possible. Their sentinels, however, take the alarm; the cockatoos farthest from the water fly to the trees near its edge, and thus they keep concentrating their forces as the native advances; they are aware that danger is at hand, but are ignorant of its nature. At length the pursuer almost reaches the edge of the water, and the scared cockatoos, with wild cries, spring into the air. At the same instant the native raises his right hand over his shoulder, and bounding forward with his utmost speed for a few paces, to give impetus to his blow, the kiley quits his hand as if it would strike the water; but when it has almost touched the unruffled surface of the lake, it spins upwards with inconceivable velocity and with the strangest contortions. In vain the terrified cockatoos strive to avoid it; it sweeps wildly and uncertainly through the air, and so eccentric are its motions, that it requires but a slight stretch of the imagination to fancy it endowed with life, and with fell swoops is in rapid pursuit of the devoted birds—some of whom are almost certain to be brought screaming to the earth. But the wily savage has not yet done with them. He avails himself of the extraordinary attachment which these birds have for one another, and fastening a wounded one to a tree, so that its cries may induce its companions to return, he watches his opportunity, by throwing his kiley or spear, to add another bird or two to the booty he has already obtained."*

Amongst the parrots most commonly taken the following may be mentioned:—

Rosehill	*Platycercus eximius.*
King lory	*Aprosmictus scapulatus.*
Green leek	*Polytelis Barrabandi.*
Blue mountain	*Trichoglossus multicolor.*
Ground parrakeet	*Pezophorus formosus.*
Pennant's parrot	*Platycercus Pennanti.*
Cockatoo (species that fly in flocks)	*Cacatua galerita.*
Cockatoo (without a crest)	*Licmetis tenuirostris.*

Small birds of various kinds, which feed on the blossoms of the honeysuckle (*Banksia*), are caught by the natives living in the Mallee scrub in the following manner. A hole is dug in the ground sufficiently large to admit of a man's sitting in it comfortably, and over it is built a mia-mia of green boughs and twigs. In front a number of small sticks are stuck in the ground slantingly and crossing each other. The native, having provided himself with a thin stick, furnished with a running noose of fine cord at the end, takes his seat in the hole, and imitates the chirping of the birds. After some trouble, he secures one, and he uses this as a decoy, fastening it by a cord to one of the long slanting sticks. It attracts numbers by its cries, and the native cautiously ensnares one after the other with the loop, until he takes perhaps three hundred

* Grey, vol. II., p. 282.

or more. Having passed the loop over the head of the bird, he twists the stick and adroitly draws it into the hole. A patient hunter is always well rewarded when pursuing this method of capture.

The natives had many other contrivances for catching birds; but perhaps the simplest and most curious is that formerly practised in New South Wales. Collins relates that the men of New South Wales caught crows in this manner: A native stretched himself on a rock, as if asleep in the sun, holding a piece of fish in his hand. The bird—hawk or crow—seeing the prey, and not observing any motion in the native, pounced on the fish; and in the instant of seizing it was caught by the savage, who cooked it quickly on the fire, making a meal that for enjoyment might be envied by an epicure.

When a native was hungry he would eat any bird he could kill. Amongst some of the more common, though not necessarily easily taken, may be mentioned the eagle (*Aquila audax*), hawks (*Teracidea berigora*, *Astur approximans*, and *Tinnunculus cenchroides*); pigeon—large pigeon of Upper Yarra (*Leucosarcia picata*), bronze-wing pigeon (*Peristera elegans*), and crested pigeon (*Ocyphaps lophotes*); magpie (common) (*Gymnorhina leuconota*), minah-bird (*Myzantha garrula*), wattle-bird (*Meliphaga carnuculata*), mutton-bird (*Puffinurus brevicaudus*), and crow (*Corvus coronoides*); lyre-bird (*Menura superba*), owl (*Strix delicatula*), laughing jackass (*Dacelo gigas*), and the more-pork (*Podargus humeralis* and *P. Cuvieri*).

Turtle, etc.

The fresh-water turtle (*Platemys Macquaria*)—*Ngart* (Gippsland), *Putchpoh* (Lake Condah)—is found in great numbers in many of the rivers, lagoons, and swamps of Victoria. It is caught with the hand, and roasted in the shell. On the Murray, the natives take a great many of these reptiles during the summer season; and the flesh is said to be delicate and delicious.

The sea turtles are not seen far south of Shark's Bay, on the north-western coast, and they do not come further south than Sydney, on the north-eastern coast.* They are, of course, unknown to the natives of Victoria.†

* Professor McCoy informs me that the leathery turtle (*Sphargis coriacea*) comes as far south as Portland; the hawk's-bill turtle (*Caretta squamata*) and green turtle (*Chelonia virgata*) are not known to him south of Sydney.

† On the north-western and north-eastern coasts the natives are adroit in taking both the green turtle and the hawk's-bill turtle. The former are usually surprised on the beach when they come to lay their eggs, but sometimes they are attacked in the water when they are asleep. In pursuing this dangerous sport, the native has to exercise great caution in order to avoid the sharp edges of the shells, those of the females being especially keen. When he sees a turtle that he thinks he may venture to attack, he slips gently from his canoe, swims under the turtle, and by a strong effort turns it on its back, at the same time wrenching the fore flipper so as to prevent it from swimming. With the assistance of his companions, the sportsman then attaches a string to the turtle and secures it. It is taken also, Mr. J. G. Wood says, in some places with the harpoon. But the most remarkable method of all is that described by the Messrs. Jardine:—"A singular mode of taking the hawk's-bill turtle is followed by the natives here. This custom, though said to be known so long back as the time of the discovery of America by Columbus, is so strangely interesting that I will give a short account of it as I have seen it practised. A species of sucking-fish (*Remora*) is used. On the occasion to which I allude, two of these were caught by the blacks

The numerous reptiles, easily caught in every part of the country, supplied food during the summer season. Besides the smaller lizards, there is the large iguana (*Hydrosaurus varius*)—*Bathalook* (Gippsland)—which furnishes a quantity of excellent flesh; and, of the larger snakes, there are the death-

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in the small pools in a coral reef, care being taken not to injure them. They were laid in the bottom of a canoe, and covered over with wet sea-weed, a strong fishing-line having been previously fastened to the tail of each. Four men went in the canoe—one steering with a paddle in the stern, one paddling on either side, and one in the fore part looking out for the turtle and attending to the fishing-lines, while I sat on a sort of stage fixed amidships, supported by the outrigger poles. The day was very calm and warm, and the canoe was allowed to drift with the current, which runs very strong on these shores. A small turtle was seen, and the sucking-fish was put into the water. At first it swam lazily about, apparently recovering the strength which it had lost by removal from its native element; but presently it swam slowly in the direction of the turtle, till out of sight. In a very short time the line was rapidly carried out, there was a jerk, and the turtle was fast. The line was handled gently for two or three minutes, the steersman causing the canoe to follow the course of the turtle with great dexterity. It was soon exhausted and hauled up to the canoe. It was a small turtle, weighing a little under 40 lbs.; but the sucking-fish adhered so tenaciously to it as to raise it from the ground when held up by the tail; and this some time after being taken out of the water. I have seen turtle weighing more than 100 lbs. which had been taken in the manner described. Though large numbers of the hawk's-bill turtle are taken by the Cape York natives, it is very difficult to procure the shell from them; they are either too lazy to save it, or, if they do so, it is bartered to the islanders of Torres Straits, who use it for making masks and other ornaments." —*Description of the Neighbourhood of Somerset*, by John Jardine, Esq., Police Magistrate, Somerset, Cape York, 1866.

"Turtle forms an important article of food, and four different kinds are distinguished at Cape York and the Prince of Wales Islands. Three of these can be identified as the green, the hawk's-bill, and the loggerhead species, and the fourth is a small one which I never saw. This last, I was informed by *Gi'om*, is fished for in the following extraordinary manner:—A live sucking-fish (*Echeneis remora*), having previously been secured by a line passed round the tail, is thrown into the water in certain places known to be suitable for the purpose. The fish, while swimming about, makes fast by its sucker to any turtle of this small kind which it may chance to encounter, and both are hauled in together. . . . . One day some of us, while walking the poop, had our attention directed to a sucking-fish, about two and a half feet in length, which had been made fast by the tail to a billet of wood, by a fathom or so of spun yarn, and turned adrift. An immense striped shark, apparently about fourteen feet in length, which had been cruizing about the ship all the morning, sailed slowly up, and turning slightly on one side, attempted to seize the apparently helpless fish; but the sucker, with great dexterity, made himself fast in a moment to the shark's back. Off darted the monster at full speed, the sucker holding on fast as a limpet to a rock, and the billet towing astern. He then rolled over and over, tumbling about, when, wearied with his efforts, he lay quiet for a little. Seeing the float, the shark got it into his mouth, and disengaging the sucker by the tug on the line, made a bolt at the fish; but his puny antagonist was again too quick, and fixing himself close behind the dorsal fin, defied the efforts of the shark to disengage him, although he rolled over and over, lashing the water with his tail until it foamed all round. What the final result was we could not clearly make out."—*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, by John Macgillivray, 1852, vols. I. and II.

Dampier makes mention of a sucking-fish; and no doubt the fishling referred to by Pliny, in the opening chapter of his 32nd book, was of the nature of the creature above described.

The common *Remora*, Professor McCoy says in a note to me, is eight or ten inches long, and is occasionally found on sharks and other fish. He adds, in reference to the account given by Mr. Jardine:—"It seemed to me that the natives successfully catching turtle by use of the *Echeneis remora* of our seas was as mythical as the old classical fable referred to of these little sucking-fishes stopping ships in full sail; but, as Mr. Jardine has seen it, the matter is of course settled, although he omits to mention how the line is attached to the *Remora* so as not to impede its locomotion and yet stop that of a turtle. There is no doubt that the fish attaches itself to turtle, as well as sharks and other fish, so firmly that the body may be torn sooner than the sucker be detached."

adder (*Acanthophis antarctica*), the black snake (*Pseudechys porphyraicus*), the tiger snake (*Hoplocephalus curtus*), and the large brown snake (*Diemenia superciliosa.*)*

Frogs were roasted and eaten in some parts of Victoria; and amongst these the natives probably often took the common green frog (*Ranhyla aurea*), the smaller dark one (*Lymnodynastes Tasmaniensis*), and the tree-frogs (*Hyla phyllochroa* and *Hyla Verreauxi*).

Fish.

There is not much to add, with respect to the native methods of catching fish, to the information given under the heads of Spears, and Fish-hooks, and Nets for Fishing. The natives appear to have practised at least five different methods of taking fish, namely:—

1. *By hand.*—In shallow pools, in lagoons, and in the ana-branches of rivers, in times of drought, they would catch a few fish by wading into the shallow water and taking them by hand. Black-fish are commonly caught by hand in the water-holes of the Western district.†

In the Port Lincoln district, the natives go into the water and push the fish before them with branches of trees until they are fairly driven ashore.

"Some fishes are, in the night, attracted to light, and then easily killed. The blacks, provided with torches made of long strips of bark, go into the water and catch them with the hand, striking them or spearing them."‡

2. *By nets.*—The native nets are used very much in the same manner as in Europe. Mr. Francis F. Armstrong, the Government Interpreter in Western Australia, says that nets were not known when the Europeans first landed in that colony, but that they are used by the people of the north coast, who make the twine of a fibre obtained from spinifex or the bark of trees.

The method of fishing by the net is thus described by the Rev. J. G. Wood. He says:—"This requires at least two men to manage it. The net is many feet in length, and about four feet in width. It is kept extended by a number of sticks placed a yard or so apart, and can then be rolled up in a cylindrical package and be taken to the water. One man then takes an end of the net, unrols it, and, with the assistance of his comrade, drops it into the water. As soon as the lower edge of the net touches the bottom, the men wade towards

* Buckley says, in his narrative, that on one occasion, when the natives set fire to the grass and scrub of the forest for the purpose of enclosing and catching kangaroos, wombats, opossums, native cats, wild dogs, lizards, snakes, &c., they found "a monster snake, having two distinct heads, separating about two inches from the body, black on the back, with a brownish-yellow belly, and red spots all over. It had been about nine feet long, but the fire had burnt the body in two, and, being such an unnatural-looking monster, the natives were terribly frightened at its appearance."

Professor McCoy states that young snakes with two heads (monsters) occasionally occur of the different species. One was lately sent to Melbourne.

† Much interesting information is given by Eyre respecting the several methods employed by the natives in catching fish. He says he has seen them dive down in the river, without net or implement of any kind, and bring up good-sized fish, which they had caught with their hands at the bottom. —*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, 1845, vol. II., p. 261.

‡ Wilhelmi, p. 175.

the shore, drawing with them the two ends of the net and all the fish that happen to be within its range. As soon as they near the shore, they bring the two ends of the net to the land, fix them there, and are then able to pick up and throw ashore all the fish that are in the net. Some of the more active fish escape by leaping over the upper edge of the net, and some of the mud-loving and crafty wriggle their way under the lower edge; but there is always a sufficiency of fish to reward the natives for their labor." *

"The Narrinyeri make fishing-lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a bulrush which grows in the scrub; the other is the root of a flag or bulrush which grows in fresh water, and is called *Menungkeri*. The rushes or roots are, first of all, either boiled [?] or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A party of them will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by, and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh, into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied. Others receive the twine as fast as it is made, and make it into nets. They wind the twine on a short stick, which is used as the netting needle. The only measure of the size of the mesh is the finger of the netter, and yet their nets are wonderfully regular. The stitch is exactly the same as ours, but it is taken over and towards the netter, instead of under as we do. They make lengths of this net about four feet wide, and tie straight sticks of Mallee across it, to keep it open; then a number of lengths are tied together, end to end, and it is used for catching fish or moulting ducks, in the usual way." †

"Some nets are furnished with a bag or pouch of netting, with smaller meshes placed at one end of the net, into which the smaller fish are driven as the net is hauled in. When the fish approach the shore, the natives enter the water with the net, and swim about until they get the fish between themselves and the shore; they then spread out the net, those on shore directing them, so that they may enclose the fish, and, as soon as this is accomplished, they are drawn to the shore." ‡

3. *By spearing.*—Various kinds of spears, as figured and described in this work, are used for taking fish of all kinds, both in the sea and in fresh water. The natives are very skilful in all sports, as already stated, but in using the spear in fishing they are astonishingly expert.

Sir Thomas Mitchell describes a fishing scene on the Darling. He says:—"There was an unusually deep and broad reach of the river opposite to our camp, and it appeared that they fished daily in different portions of it in the following manner. The king stood erect in his bark canoe, while nine young men with short spears went up the river, and as many down the river, until, at a signal from him, all dived into it, and returned towards him, alternately swimming and diving; these divers transfixing the fish under water, and

* *The Natural History of Man*, vol. II., p. 19.

† *The Narrinyeri* (Lower Murray), by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, p. 30.

‡ *Encounter Bay Tribe* (South Australia), by H. E. A. Meyer, pp. 6–7.

throwing them on the bank. Others on the river brink speared the fish when thus enclosed, as they appeared among the reeds, in which small openings were purposely made to attract them. In this manner they speared with astonishing despatch some enormous cod (Peel's perch), but the largest were struck by the chief from his canoe with a long barbed spear. After a short time the young men in the water were relieved by an equal number, upon which they came out shivering—the weather being very cold—to warm themselves in the centre of a circular fire, kept up by the gins on the bank. The death of the fish in their practised hands was almost instantaneous, and caused by merely holding them by the tail with the gills immersed."*

At the mouth of the Murray, and at the Lakes, fish are caught with the three-pronged spear;† and the natives of the Bellingen River (lat. 30° 30′ S.) use a spear of the same kind.‡ It is mentioned also by Péron.§

Near Yelta, on the Murray, fish are speared with the paddle, which has hooked grains at one end, made of kangaroo leg-bones.‖

Collins observed the several modes of catching fish as practised on the sea-coast. On one occasion he saw the men killing fish with the fiz-gig—an instrument made of the wattle, having a joint in it, fastened by gum, and from fifteen to twenty feet in length. It was armed with four barbed prongs, the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum.¶

Lieut.-Col. Mundy was much pleased with the sight of a native using the fish-spear. "Just opposite La Perouse's monument," he says, "we saw a black spearing the rock-cod and groper, which feed on the shell-fish torn from the rocks in stormy weather. The figure of this man poised motionless on a pedestal of rock, with his lance ready to strike, the waves dashing up to his feet, was a subject for a bronze statue."**

4. *By weirs.*—The natives are ingenious in constructing weirs both in salt and fresh water. In the former they are placed in the flats left nearly dry at low water, and in the latter so as to take advantage of floods, or an increased artificial flow of water, which they manage by constructing dams, or excavating the outlet of a lake or lagoon.

They have also movable dams. On the Bogan, "fishing is left entirely to the gins, who drag every hole in a very effectual and simple manner, by pushing before them, from one end of the pond to the other, a movable dam of long, twisted dry grass, through which the water only can pass, while all the fish remain and are caught."

In the Gwydir, Major Mitchell found osier-nettings of neat workmanship. The frames were as well squared as if they had been done by a carpenter, and

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* *Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S., 1838, vol. I., p. 266.

† *The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, 1874.

‡ *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, by Clement Hodgkinson, 1845.

§ "La pêche leur est familière, et la fouène est l'instrument que nous leur avons vu employer de préférence: ils dressent aussi des piéges, pour le même objet, sur les bords de la rivière Vasse." —*M. F. Péron*, vol. III., p. 162, 1800–1804.

‖ *Lower Murray Aborigines*, by Peter Beveridge, 1861.

¶ *New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804.

** *Our Antipodes*, by Lieut.-Col. Mundy, 1857.

into these frames twigs were inserted, at regular intervals, so as to form, by crossing each other, a strong and efficient kind of net or snare. Where these were erected, a small opening was left towards the middle of the current, in order, probably, that some sort of bag or netting might be applied there to receive the fish, while the native in the river above should drive them to this netting.*

In Western Australia fish are nearly always taken in weirs, made of brush-wood and poles, from three to six feet in depth.

Mr. Gideon S. Lang gives a description of a singular work of art constructed by the Aborigines. He says:—"The great weir for catching fish, on the Upper Darling, called *Breewarner*, is, both for conception and execution, one of the most extraordinary works recorded of any savage tribe, and, independent of another described by Murrell, the shipwrecked mariner, who passed seventeen years among them, is quite sufficient to prove their capacity to construct works on a large scale, and requiring combined action. This weir (*Breewarner*) is about sixty-five miles above the township of Bourke. It is built at a rocky part of the river, from eighty to one hundred yards in width, and extends about one hundred yards of the river course. It forms one immense labyrinth of stone walls about three or four feet high, forming circles from two to four feet in diameter, some opening into each other, forming very crooked but continuous passages, others having one entrance only. In floods, as much as twenty feet of water sweeps over them, and carries away the tops of the walls; the lower parts of the walls, however, are so solidly and skilfully built with large, heavy stones, which must have been brought from a considerable distance, and with great combined labor, that they have stood every flood from time immemorial. Every summer this labyrinth is repaired, and the fish, in going up or down the river, enter it, get confused in its mazes, and are caught by the blacks by hand in immense quantities."†

5. *By hooks.*—Catching fish by the hook and line was not practised by all the natives of Victoria. In Gippsland, however, they used hooks made of bone; and an ancient fish-hook of bone, obtained from Gippsland, is figured in this work. Mr. Green says that the natives of the Yarra were unacquainted with the hook. Meyer and Taplin and Wilhelmi state that it was not used in South Australia until after the arrival of the Europeans; nor is it known on the Paroo.‡ But the natives of Victoria, in some parts certainly—if not in the Western district, most assuredly on the eastern seaboard—were accustomed to make fishing hooks and lines. The Western Port blacks name the fish-hook *Ling'an-ling'an*—but perhaps they derived the invention and were taught its uses by the Gippsland natives. In the north-eastern and northern parts of Australia the blacks make excellent fish-hooks and good lines.

The hooks were not in all parts of the same shape as those that somewhat resemble European hooks. They appear to have sharpened pieces of wood in such a manner as when hitched to twine and baited would secure the larger kinds of fish.

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* *Eastern Australia*, 1838. † *The Aborigines of Australia*, 1865, pp. 19–20. ‡ A. F. Sullivan, MS.

Collins says he saw the natives fishing with the hook and line in New South Wales. The women, he says, used the hook and line. The lines were made of the bark of a small tree, and the hooks of the mother-of-pearl oyster, which they rubbed on a stone until it assumed the shape desired. "While fishing, the women sing. In their canoes they always carry a small fire laid upon sea-weed or sand, with which, when desirous of eating, they dress their meal." *

The hook, probably, travelled slowly southwards, along the eastern seaboard, and had not reached the Lower Murray at the time the whites settled there. Negative evidence on such a matter is not, however, of much value.

The fish-hooks figured in M. Péron's work (1800–1804) are exactly similar to those of Gippsland and Rockingham Bay; and I think it may be safely assumed that the invention of the shell-hook is native. †

Amongst the fish commonly taken by the blacks are the Murray cod (*Oligorus Macquariensis*), which is often three feet in length and very heavy; the bream (*Chrysophrys Australis*); the schnapper (*Pagrus unicolor*); the herring (*Prototroctes maræna*); the black-fish (*Gadopsis marmoratus*); the Murray cat-fish (*Copidoglanis tandanus*); the gudgeon or trout of colonists (*Galaxias ocellatus* and *G. attenuatus*); the eel (*Anguilla Australis*); the large conger eel (*Conger Wilsoni*); the flounder (*Rhombosolea flesoides* and *Pleuronecties Victoriæ*); the flat-head (*Platycephalus Tasmanicus*); the gar-fish (*Hemiramphus intermedius*); the whiting (*Sillago maculata*); the chimera (*Callorhynchus antarcticus*); the common skate (*Raya Lemprieri*); the sting-ray (*Myliobates aquila*); the dog-fish (*Galeus canis* and *Mustela vulgaris*); and the large shark (*Odontaspis taurus*).

Of the aquatic mammals may be mentioned the whale ‡ (*Physalus Grayi*—McCoy), the species commonly stranded in Victoria, and eaten by the natives; and the porpoise (*Delphinus fulvifasciatus*); and of the marine carnivorous mammalia, the sea-leopard (*Stenorhynchus leptonyx*), and the eared seal, *Otaria* (*Arctocephalus*) *lobatus*.

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* *New South Wales*, by Lieut.-Col. Collins, 1804.

† A fish-hook used by the natives of the Louisiade is figured and described in Macgillivray's *Narrative of the Voyage of the Rattlesnake*. It is seven inches in length, is made of some hard wood, and has an arm four and a half inches long, turning up at a sharp angle, and tipped with a slightly-curved barb of tortoise-shell, projecting horizontally inwards an inch and a half. It somewhat resembles the fish-hook of the New Zealanders.

‡ "A whale" says Grey, "is the greatest delicacy that a native can partake of, and whilst standing beside the giant frame of one of these monsters of the deep, he can only be compared to a mouse standing before a huge plum-cake; in either case the mass of the food compared to that of the consumer is enormous. . . . . When a native proprietor of an estate in Australia finds a whale thrown ashore upon his property, his whole feelings undergo a sudden revulsion. Instead of being churlishly afraid of the slightest aggression on his property, his heart expands with benevolence, and he longs to see his friends about him; so he falls to work with his wives, and kindles large fires to give notice of the joyful event. This duty being performed, he rubs himself all over with the blubber, then anoints his favorite wives, and thus prepared, cuts his way through the blubber into the flesh or beef, the grain of which is about as firm as a goose-quill; of this, he selects the nicest morsels, and either broils them on the fire, or cooks them as kabobs, by cutting them into small pieces, and spitting them on a pointed stick. By-and-by, other natives come gaily trooping in from all quarters: by night they dance and sing, and by day they eat and sleep; and for days this revelry continues unchecked, until they at last fairly eat their way into the whale, and you

The fish commonly taken and eaten in Gippsland are as follow :—

English.	Native.	How taken.
Schnapper	*Nerabogang*	With bone-hook.
Gurnet	*Koortgut*	In the net ; seldom with hook.
Flounder	*Pertpin*	Speared.
Gar-fish	*Thacki*	Speared.
Large flat-head	*Bimbiang*	With spear and hook.
Flat-head	*Brindat*	With spear and hook.
Bream	*Kine*	With the bone-hook.
Perch	*Tambun*	With the bone-hook.
Travalla	*Karie*	With the bone-hook.
Sand mullet	*Krinyang*	With the bone-hook.
Fat mullet	*Pertpiang*	In net made of grass.
Sea trout	*Billing*	With the bone-hook.
Golden perch	*Looterak*	In the net.
Silver perch	*Kooee*	In the net.
Large perch	*Wirrinbown*	Speared.

The whale (*Kaandha*) and the porpoise (*Kornon*) are only procured when stranded. No efforts are made to catch them. The seal (*Ngalewan*) is killed on the beach.

The dugong is caught and eaten by the natives of the north, and much skill is shown by them in capturing this creature.

The natives did not use much art in cooking fish. They were thrown on the fire and broiled, and eaten without salt. The women often had fires in their canoes, and they could cook and eat the fish as soon as they were caught. In some parts, however, they adopted an excellent method. It is thus described by Grey :—

"If the fish are not cooked by being merely thrown on the fire and broiled, they dress them in a manner worthy of being adopted by the most civilized nations ; this is called *yudarn dookoon*, or 'tying-up cooking.' A piece of thick and tender paper-bark is selected, and torn into an oblong form ; the fish is laid in this, and the bark wrapt round it, as paper is folded round a cutlet ; strings formed of grass are then wound tightly about the bark and fish, which is then slowly baked in heated sand, covered with hot ashes ; when it is completed, the bark is opened, and serves as a dish : it is, of course, full of juice and gravy, not a drop of which has escaped. Several of the smaller sorts of fresh-water fish, in size and taste resembling whitebait, are really delicious

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see them climbing in and about the stinking carcass, choosing tit-bits. In general, the natives are very particular about not eating meat that is fly-blown or tainted, but when a whale is in question this nicety of appetite vanishes. . . . . They remain by the carcass for many days, rubbed from head to foot with stinking blubber, gorged to repletion with putrid meat, out of temper from indigestion, and therefore engaged in constant frays, suffering from a cutaneous disorder by high feeding, and altogether a disgusting spectacle. There is no sight in the world more revolting than to see a young and gracefully-formed native girl stepping out of the carcass of a putrid whale."—*North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., pp. 277-8.

when cooked in this manner; they occasionally also dress pieces of kangaroo and other meats in the same way."*

And in other parts of Australia the natives are not so indifferent to the art of cooking as is generally supposed. Mr. Hodgkinson thus writes of the natives of the north-east coast:—

"Although, from the preceding details, the Australian natives might be deemed the dirtiest savages in the world, with regard to the nature of the food they eat and their mode of cooking it, yet such is not the case. It is quite true, as many writers have reported, that the produce of the chase, such as opossums, squirrels, pademellas, guanas, ducks, &c., are thrown down, unskinned and unembowelled, before the fire, and devoured, entrails and all. But having often observed the mode of cookery pursued by the Australian Aborigines, I have never seen them omit to extract the entrails as soon as the animal was warmed through, and they are then carefully cleaned and cooked separately. With regard to the skin being left on (which is not always the case), it is purposely done, in order to retain the juices of the meat, which would otherwise be dried up by their simple mode of cookery; but as soon as the animal is sufficiently done, the skin is easily pulled off and rejected. The Macleay River natives always clean and gut their fish, and cook them carefully on hot embers, and they eat nothing whatever in a raw state, except cobberra and grubs. The Australian Aborigines, therefore, though not remarkably scrupulous as to cleanliness, are, at least, equally so with the less uncivilized New Zealanders, and much more so than many of the African tribes."†

The common kinds of shell-fish eaten by the natives are as follows:—Fresh-water mussel (*Unio sp.*); mussel (salt-water) (*Mytilus Dunkeri*); mutton-fish (*Haliotis nivosa*); periwinkle (*Lunella undulata*); limpet (*Patella tramoserica*); and cockle (*Cardium tenuicostatum*).

The sea cucumber (*Holothuria sp.*) is also eaten.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer gives the native names of these, as follow:—

Fresh-water mussel -	*Nerridewan.*	Cockle - -	*Tagera.*
Periwinkle - -	*Moondara.*	Mutton-fish -	*Walkan.*
Limpet - - -	*Banawara.*	Sea cucumber -	*Jirawon.*

Mr. Hodgkinson says that the oyster (*Ostrea mordax*) is eaten by the natives of the Bellingen River.

The crab (*Pseudocarcinus gigas*)—*Krangalang* (Gippsland); and the cray-fish (*Homarus annulicornis*)—*Terndang* (Gippsland)—as well as the cray-fish commonly found in creeks and ponds—the large Murray one (*Astacoides serratus*), and the smaller (*A. quinquecarinatus*), afford excellent food.‡

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* *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., p. 276.

† *From Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, p. 229.

‡ "At Moorunde, when the Murray annually inundates the flats, fresh-water cray-fish make their way to the surface of the ground, from holes where they have been buried during the year, in such vast numbers that I have seen four hundred natives live upon them for weeks together, whilst the numbers spoiled, or thrown away, would have sustained four hundred more."—*Eyre's Journal*, vol. II., p. 252.

Bees, etc.

The native not seldom adds to his usual stock of food by robbing a bee-hive. When he sees bees busy near a tree, he can tell usually at once where the aperture leading to the hive is, and he proceeds to cut open the trunk with his tomahawk and take out the honey. Sometimes large quantities of comb are taken from a hive. I have myself assisted in opening a hollow tree in which a hive had secreted its stores, and the quantity of honey that was found in it was surprising. It was peculiarly flavored, but not at all inferior to the honey of Europe.

Occasionally in the bush the hunter in olden times would see a single busy bee feeding on the flowers near his track. He would adroitly catch this bee and affix to it a particle of down, and follow it until he found its nest.

In the narrative of the overland expedition of the Messrs. Jardine from Rockhampton to Cape York (1867) the following account is given of the native bee:—

"This little insect (called *Wirotheree* in the Wellington dialect), the invasion of whose hoards so frequently added to the store of the travellers, and no doubt assisted largely in maintaining their health, is very different from the European bee, being in size and appearance like the common house-fly. It deposits its honey in trees and logs, without any regular comb, as in the case of the former. These deposits are familiarly known in the colony as 'sugar-bags' (sugar-bag meaning, *aboriginicè*, anything sweet), and require some experience and proficiency to detect and secure the aperture by which the bees enter the trees, being undistinguishable to an unpractised eye. The quantity of honey is sometimes very large, amounting to several quarts. Enough was found on one occasion to more than satisfy the whole party. Its flavor differs from that of European honey almost as much as the bee does in appearance, being more aromatic than the latter: it is also less crystalline. As the celebrated 'Narbonne honey' derives its excellence from the bees feeding on the wild thyme of the south of France, so does the Australian honey derive its superior flavor from the aromatic flowers and shrubs on which the *Wirotheree* feeds, and which makes it preferred by many to the European."

Mr. Braim says that in New South Wales wild honey is collected by a small stingless bee, not so large as the common fly; and that the honey-nest is generally found at the summit of remarkably high trees. The honey is of delicious flavor, after it has been carefully separated from the comb, the cells of which are generally filled with small flies. The natives, however, devour it just as they find it, and are very fond even of the refuse comb, with which they make their favorite beverage called *Bull*, and of this they drink till they become quite intoxicated.*

Professor McCoy informs me that the only bee in Victoria that makes a honey-comb is the imported one (*Apis mellifica*). It is more than thirty years since it was first introduced. The honey-comb is always stored in the hollows of trees.

* *History of New South Wales*, by Thomas Henry Braim, 1846, vol. II., p. 248.

The natives are very fond of the pupæ of ants. They gather them and place them in a *tarnuk;* they are then mixed with the dry bark of the "stringybark" tree, which they tear off the tree and rub in their hands until it is powdery. When this is thoroughly mixed with the so-called ants' eggs, they take up some in their hands and blow away the loose stuff, and finally get clean eggs to eat. They say they are very good, the taste being something like that of a mixture of butter and sugar.

Mr. Wilhelmi mentions the trough of bark used by the blacks of South Australia for holding the pupæ of the ants. The trough is called *Yuta;* it is about four feet in length and eight inches in breadth. The natives open the ant-hills, and the pupæ are placed in this trough, which is shaken and so manipulated as to retain the pupæ and to throw off the dirt and refuse. The season of the ants is in September and October, and during these months the *yuta* is always seen in the hands of the natives.

A kangaroo skin, or indeed anything at hand that will hold the contents of the ants' nest, is used for shaking and clearing the pupæ of dust, &c., when the *tarnuk* or the *yuta* is not to be had.

The pupæ of the common ant (*Formica consobrina*) are of the size of grains of rice; those of the black and red bull-dog ants (*Myrmicia pyriformis* and *M. sanguinea*) are three-quarters of an inch in length.

Several kinds of grubs are eaten, namely, those taken from the honeysuckle (*Tharathun krang*), those taken from the wattle (*Martthem krang*), and those from the white-gum (*Ballook krang*).

All the grubs, says Mr. Bulmer, are named from the trees from which they are taken. Some natives prefer to eat the grubs raw; others cook them by placing them for a short time in the hot ashes of a fire.

The common grubs in Victoria are the *Zeuzera citurata* and *Endoxyla eucalypti* (found in the wattle), and *Endoxyla n. sp.* (found in the gum-trees).

The moths—the Bugong moths—(*Agrotus suffusa*) are greedily devoured by the natives; and in former times, when they were in season, they assembled in great numbers to eat them, and they grew fat on this food.*

* The Bugong moths collect on the surfaces of granite rocks on the Bugong Mountains of New South Wales, and in such manner as to admit of their being caught in great numbers. Mr. G. Bennett says:—"To procure them with greater facility, the natives make smothered fires underneath those rocks about which they are collected, and suffocate them with smoke, at the same time sweeping them off frequently in bushelfuls at a time. After they have collected a large quantity, they proceed to prepare them, which is done in the following manner. A circular space is cleared upon the ground, of a size proportioned to the number of insects to be prepared; on it a fire is lighted, and kept burning until the ground is considered to be sufficiently heated, when, the fire being removed, and the ashes cleared away, the moths are placed upon the heated ground, and stirred about until the down and wings are removed from them; they are then placed on pieces of bark, and winnowed to separate the dust and wings mixed with the bodies; they are then eaten or placed in a wooden vessel called *Walbum* or *Calibum*, and pounded by a piece of wood into masses or cakes resembling lumps of fat, and may be compared in color and consistence to dough made from smutty wheat mixed with fat. The bodies of the moths are large, and filled with a yellowish oil, resembling in taste a sweet nut. These masses (with which the *netbuls* or *talabats* of the native tribes are loaded during the season of feasting upon the Bugong) will not keep more than a week, and seldom even for that time; but by smoking they are able to preserve them for a much longer period. The first time this diet is used by the native tribes, violent vomiting and other debilitating effects are

The natives also eat earth-worms—and probably the *Lumbricus* was most often taken. Whether the large earth-worm of Brandy Creek and south-western Gippsland, the *Megascolex Australis* (McCoy), was ever used as food, is not known to me. This worm is about four feet in length and thick in proportion, and, if it can be eaten, must afford readily the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger, if not of the appeasing of the appetite. It has a peculiar smell, like tar.

In addition to all these, the blacks have for food the eggs of birds and reptiles; and indeed there is scarcely any living thing to be found in the earth, in the forests, on the plains, in the sea, or in the lakes, streams, or ponds, that they did not occasionally eat.

The eggs are named thus in Gippsland—those of the emu, *Booyanga Miowera;* those of the swan, *Booyanga Gidi;* those of the duck, *Booyanga Wreng;* those of the iguana, *Booyanga Bathalook;* and those of the turtle, *Booyanga Ngerta.* Eggs are never eaten raw. They are always cooked in the ashes until hard, and they are eaten in all stages of incubation.*

Vegetable Food.

Some account of the kinds of tubers, bulbs, roots, leaves, and fruits which, before the advent of the whites, constituted the vegetable food of the natives must necessarily be given. Though there was no lack of edible roots and tubers in Victoria, the natives were not able to derive from their lands such great quantities of excellent products as are yielded by the *Bunya-bunya* (*Araucaria Bidwilli*); the *Mondo* and *Mondoleu* (species of capparis); the *Parpa* (*Ficus*); the *Tagon-tagon* (mangrove—*Avicennia tomentosa*); and the rich farinaceous and other food obtained by the pounding, maceration, and desiccation of various nuts, seeds, and tubers of the many indigenous plants—including the palms and zamias—which are found so abundantly in the northern parts of Australia. Neither did the natives of the southern part of the island-continent resort even to rude methods of cultivation; nor had they the knowledge to treat seeds or roots, in their natural state poisonous, in such a manner as to derive from them the tapioca-like fecula and mucilaginous pastes that afford nourishment to the people in the north.

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produced, but after a few days they become accustomed to its use, and then thrive and fatten exceedingly upon it. These insects are held in such estimation among the Aborigines that they assemble from all parts of the country to collect them from these mountains. It is not only the native blacks that resort to the Bugong, but the crows also congregate for the same purpose." The natives attack the crows, kill them, and eat them, and like them very much after they have fattened on the moths. Eyre mentions this moth. Not only the natives but their dogs also fattened on it.

* "The eggs of birds are extensively eaten by the natives, being chiefly confined to those kinds that leave the nest at birth, as the leipoa, the emu, the swan, the goose, the duck, &c. But of others, where the young remain some time in the nest after being hatched, the eggs are usually left, and the young taken before they can fly. The eggs of the leipoa, or native pheasant, are found in singular-looking mounds of sand, thrown up by the bird in the midst of the scrubs, and often measuring several yards in circumference. The egg is about the size of the goose egg, but the shell is extremely thin and fragile. The young are hatched by the heat of the sand and leaves, with which the eggs are covered."—*Eyre's Journal*, vol. II., p. 274.

Inhabiting a colder climate, our natives had to depend rather on the general abundance of some of the varieties of the vegetable food yielded by their soils than on the number, richness, and great yield of such trees as give spontaneously almost unlimited supplies of fruit in certain seasons of the year. They had, however, like the natives of the northern parts, a complete knowledge of every plant that grows; and were well able to seize the advantage when, during any season, or under favorable circumstances of soil or aspect, a particular root or tuber was in abundance.

They seem to have been unacquainted, generally, with the use, as a food, of the clover-fern, *Nardoo*, though the natives of the north-western parts of Victoria must have had intercourse with the tribes who use it, and could have obtained it, sparingly, from the lagoons in their own neighbourhood.

The people of the Lower Murray had, however, in use the appliances for pounding roots and grinding seeds; and the round and flat stones are sometimes now found on and in the vicinity of old *Mirrn-yong* heaps.

Murr-nong or *Mirr-n'yong*, a kind of yam (*Microseris Forsteri*), was usually very plentiful and easily found in the spring and early summer, and was dug out of the earth by the women and children. It may be seen growing on the banks of the Moonee Ponds, near Melbourne. The root is small, in taste rather sweet, not unpleasant, and perhaps more like a radish than a potato. This plant grows throughout the greater part of extra-tropical Australia—and in Tasmania and New Zealand; and it has been traced up to the summit of our Alps. At 6,000 feet, in alpine pastures, it assumes much larger dimensions than in the lowlands, and the roots are quite suitable for food. Indeed, the plant is one which might be cultivated for food in cold countries. It is allied to the Spanish scorzonera, a well-known culinary vegetable.

Mr. Turner tells me that the cockatoo feeds almost exclusively on this tuber when the plant is in flower.

Buckley mentions the *Mirr-n'yong*, which appears to have been commonly eaten by the natives when he was living with them.*

In addition to the fruits of the quandang, native currant, native raspberry, and native cherry, they had also in great quantities, in many parts, the fruits of the mesembryanthemum, and the mucilaginous seed of the native flax.

The native truffle (*Mylitta Australis*), a subterranean fungus, was much sought after by the natives. When cut, it is in appearance somewhat like unbaked brown bread. I have seen large pieces weighing several pounds, and in some localities occasionally a fungus weighing fifty pounds is found.

The heart of the fern-tree, the spike of the grass-tree, sweet flowers of several kinds, leaves of a kind of nasturtium, and the sow-thistle, were commonly eaten; and the gums exuded by the wattles and a pittosporum were also used as food.

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* *Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, 1852, p. 85.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer, in reply to my enquiries, has furnished me with a list of the vegetables commonly eaten by the natives of Gippsland. They are as follows:—

Common Name.	Native Name.	How eaten.
Sow-thistle	*Thalaak*	Always eaten raw.
Mesembryanthemum (pig-face)	*Katwort*	Fruit eaten raw.
Flag	*Toorook*	The root sometimes roasted, and also eaten raw.
Water-grass	*Loombrak*	The root roasted in ashes: never eaten raw.
Male fern (common fern)	*Geewan*	Root roasted in the ashes.
Tree-fern	*Kakowera*	The pith roasted in the ashes.
Dwarf tree-fern	*Karaak*	The pith roasted in the ashes.
Native cherry	*Ballat*	The fruit, when ripe, eaten raw.
White currant	*Yellitbowng*	Fruit eaten when ripe.
Black currant	*Lira*	Fruit eaten when ripe.
Large black currant	*Wandha-wan*	Fruit eaten when ripe.
Kangaroo apple	*Koonyang*	Fruit eaten when ripe.

From Mr. Hogan, of Lake Condah, I have received also, in reply to enquiries, the native names of the vegetables formerly gathered for food by the Aborigines of the Western district. The list is as follows:—

Common Name.	Native Name.	How eaten.
Fern	*Mukine*	Roasted.
Rush	*Purtich*	Roasted.
Yam	*Yerat* or *Murr-nong*	Roasted.
Mushroom	*Pekurn*	Roasted.
Grass (a kind of)	*Tarook*	Roasted.
Thistle	*Tallerk*	Eaten raw.
Kangaroo apple	*Meakitch*	Eaten raw.
Native cherry	*Pallert*	Eaten raw.
Wild raspberry	*Boring-koot*	Eaten raw.
Grass-tree	*Karwin*	(not stated—pieces cut out of the head of the stem, just below where the leaves spring, are very good and refreshing on a hot day, and when roasted properly are excellent).

The natives used also to compound liquors—perhaps after a slight fermentation to some extent intoxicating—from various flowers, from honey, from gums, and from a kind of manna. The liquor was usually prepared in the large wooden bowls (*tarnuks*) which were to be seen at every encampment. In the flowers of a dwarf species of *Banksia* (*B. ornata*) there is a good deal of honey, and this was got out of the flowers by immersing them in water. The water thus sweetened was greedily swallowed by the natives. This drink was named *Beal* by the natives of the west of Victoria, and was much esteemed.

"The only sweets," says Mr. Taplin, "which the Narrinyeri knew of before the advent of Europeans were the honey of the native honeysuckle or *Banksia;* the honey of the grass-tree flowers (*Xanthorrhœa*), and the manna which falls from the peppermint-gum tree (*Eucalyptus*). These they used to gather carefully, and infuse them in water, and drink the infusion with great enjoyment." *

Little is generally known of the manna of Australia. It was, however, at one time an important article of food; and in the western part of Victoria the natives gather it in pretty large quantities still.

In summer the Aborigines of the Mallee country eat *Lárap*, *Lárp*, or *Lerp* —a kind of manna. It somewhat resembles in appearance small shells; it is sweet, and in color white or yellowish-white. It is gathered in December, January, February, and March. It is a nutritious food, and is eaten with various kinds of animal food. "This saccharine substance," says Baron von Mueller, C.M.G., in a letter to me, "is obtained from one, or perhaps from several, species of *Eucalyptus* of the Murray and Darling districts. It is not a real manna, but is known as *lerp*, a name given to it by the Aborigines." Dr. Thomas Dobson, of Hobart Town, many years ago referred the insect from which the *lerp* emanates to the genus *Psylla* as *Ps. eucalypti*. *Lerp* is very different from the so-called manna, which is gathered from the large *Eucalyptus viminalis* occurring near Melbourne and elsewhere. [For the geographic range of *E. vim.* see 3rd vol. of *Flora Australiensis.*] The latter (the manna of the *E. viminalis*) emanates from a cicadeous insect—seemingly a true species of cicada—and the substance is amorphous; while the *lerp-sugar* is of a crystalline and shell-like structure. Dr. Thomas Anderson, of Edinburgh, was the first to make known to scientific men the character and properties of *lerp*, and this was in 1849. Baron von Mueller states, further, that until the insect which produces *lerp* is collected in all its stages, and examined, together with the flowering and fruiting branches of the *Eucalyptus* on which the insect feeds, it will be impossible to give such an account of it as will be satisfactory, and that there may be more than one species of bush which furnishes *lerp*.

Baron von Mueller adds that the so-called manna is perhaps in some localities a saccharine exudation of the bark of *Myoporum platycarpum.*

The following account of two kinds of manna found in Victoria is given by the jurors in the records of the Victorian Exhibition of 1861 :—"Two varieties of a substance called manna are among the natural products in the Exhibition. One kind is ordinarily found in the form of irregular little rounded masses, of an opaque white color, and having a pleasant sweetish taste. In the early months of summer it is most abundant, being secreted by the leaves and slender twigs of the *E. viminalis* from punctures or injuries done to these parts of the tree. The little masses often present an aperture at one end, showing the attachment of the small twig from which the manna has been secreted in a liquid form—at first transparent, and of the consistence of thin honey—and then, becoming solid, drops off in the condition that has been mentioned. It consists principally of a kind of grape-sugar, and about five per cent. of the substance called *Mannite.*"

* *The Narrinyeri*, p. 31.

Another variety of manna is the secretion of the pupa of an insect of the *Psylla* family, and obtains the name of *lerp* among the Aborigines of the northern districts of the colony. At certain seasons of the year it is very abundant on the leaves of the *E. dumosa*, or Mallee scrub, and these are occasionally whitened over with the profusion of this material, so that the shrubby vegetation has the appearance of being *iced*. It is found in masses of aggregated cones, each covered with a filamentous material like wool, and has a color varying from an opaque white to a dull yellow. Beneath the little dome, or shield, which presents on the concave a somewhat reticulated character, the pupa remains until ready for its further development, when it escapes by forcing its passage through the apex of the cone. The woolly material alluded to is composed of solid filaments, more or less striated transversely, and in some instances distinctly corrugated or beaded. They give a faint series of colors by polarized light, and when submitted to the action of iodine, immediately become intensely blue. These varieties of manna are of no medicinal value; and, apart from their consideration as objects of natural interest and curiosity, have obtained but little notice."

Large quantities of this bush-sugar can be collected with ease, in the proper season, in the north-western parts of the colony, as well as in some localities in the east; and it furnished formerly, during the summer months, a portion of the food of the natives.

Lieut.-Col. Mundy gathered it near Bathurst, in New South Wales. He says:—"It sounds strange to English ears—a party of ladies and gentlemen strolling out in a summer's afternoon to gather manna in the wilderness; yet more than once I was so employed in Australia. The substance is found in small pieces, on the ground under the trees, at certain seasons, or in hardened drops on the surface of the leaves. It is snowy white when fresh, but turns brown when kept, like the chemists' drug so called; is sweeter than the sweetest sugar, and softer than Gunter's softest ice-cream. The manna is seldom plentiful; for birds, beasts, and human beings devour it, and the slightest rain or even dew dissolves its delicate compounds. . . . . Hundreds of quails were to be found within a few paces of the manna-fields."*

Manna as it is found in Tasmania is mentioned also by Lieut. Breton. †

At my request, and, I know, under unusual difficulties, the Government Botanist has hurriedly prepared the following list of vegetables commonly eaten by the natives of Victoria. Though it makes no claim to completeness, it adds materially to our knowledge of the food-resources of the Aborigines, and it will be studied with great interest in all parts of Australia. The list is as follows:—

"1. Tubers of numerous terrestrial orchids belonging to the genera *Dipodium, Gastrodia, Thelymitra, Diuris, Prasophyllum, Microtis, Pterostylis, Lyperanthus, Cyrtostylis, Caladenia,* and *Glossodia.*

* *Our Antipodes*, pp. 79–80.

† *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land*, by Lieut. Breton, R.N., 1830–33.

2. Roots of various liliaceous small plants, for instance, of *Arthropodium paniculatum, A. strictum, Cæsia vittata, Bulbine bulbosa, Anguillaria Australis, Burchardia umbellata, Thysanotus tuberosus, T. Patersoni.* I am not certain whether these were used by the Aborigines always in a raw state.

3. Tuberous roots of *Geranium dissectum, var. pilosum;* also of *Scirpus maritimus, Microseris Forsteri,* of two bulrushes (*Typha Muelleri* and *T. Brownii*), of *Triglochin procerum.*

4. Young shoots, bases of leaves, and young flower-stalk and spike of the grass-tree (*Xanthorrhœa Australis*).

5. Fruits of *Solanum vescum* (the Gunyang of our natives); fruits of many *Epacrideæ* (although always small), of the genus *Styphelia* and its allies; also of *Kunzea pomifera.*

6. Fruits of two kinds of raspberry (*Rubus parvifolius* and the rarer *R. rosifolius*); also of *Eugenia Smithii* and of several species of *Persoonia.*

7. Seeds of the native millets (species of *Panicum*), particularly *P. decompositum.*

8. Leaves of the *Nasturtium terrestre,* and several species of *Cardamine* and *Lepidium,* for cress.

9. Fruits of *Mesembryanthemum æquilaterale* (so-called 'pig-face'), raw, also the leaves baked.

10. The mucilaginous seed of the native flax (*Linum marginale*).

11. Leaves of the clover-sorrel (*Oxalis corniculata*).

12. Gum of the wattle-acacias (*Acacia decurrens, A. pycnantha*); also of several other species of this genus; also of *Pittosporum phillyroides.*

13. Berries of the native elders (*Sambucus Gaudichaudiana* and *S. xanthocarpa*); also of *Rhagodias.*

14. Honey-like secretion from the flowers of *Banksias,* or so-called native honeysuckles (*Banksia marginata, B. integrifolia, B. serrata, B. Cunninghami*).

15. Fruit basis of the so-called native cherry-trees (*Exocarpus cupressiformis, E. stricta, E. aphylla*); also fruits of the allied genus *Leptomeria.*

16. The quandang, fruit of *Santalum Preissianum;* also the desert *Nitraria.*

17. The sweet flowers of several species of *Xerotes,* and the milky unripe fruit of *Marsdenia Leichhardti.*

18. The young top shoots of the cabbage-palm (*Livistonia Australis*); but the value of this esculent was not known to the natives in their uncivilized state.

19. The large native truffle (*Mylitta Australis*).

20. The seeds of the *Portulaca oleracea* (the Purslane). These can be gathered by a blackfellow to the extent of many pounds weight in a day; and they can be baked into nutritious cakes, infinitely superior to cakes made of nardoo flour. The plant is pulled up, the sand and earth shaken off, and it is then placed on bark or on kangaroo skins. Soon the lid-like upper parts of the seed-vessel spring off by contraction whilst drying, the numerous though

small seeds drop out, and they furnish, on account of their starchy albumen, a very wholesome food. The tubers of *Portulaca napiformis* (Mueller), of wide distribution in tropical Australia, are also used by the natives for food." *

The natives are industrious in gathering the ripe seeds of plants in the whole of the large area drained by the River Murray. In some parts, as on the Paroo, the women may be seen in troops returning to their miams with the produce of the day's labor. Each has a little wooden shoe-shaped vessel on her head, full of seeds, and one woman follows another—Indian file. Their dark, perfectly naked figures; their graceful attitudes as they change their steps and gait to preserve the equipoise of the load they bear on their heads; the merry tones of their voices as they exchange gossip by the way; the character of the country, flat, and but scantily covered with vegetation in many places—all in strict harmony with the rather savage aspect of the procession; the warm tints in the sky, and the spears of yellow light gilding every object on which they fall—form altogether a novel and not unpleasing spectacle to the stranger. When the women reach their homes, they proceed to grind the seeds of the nardoo and grass between two stones. The larger flat stone, about eighteen inches in length, one foot in breadth, and about two inches in thickness, is called *Yelta* on the Darling; and the smaller, held in the hand—the other larger stone resting on the ground—is about six inches in length, five inches in breadth, and one inch or more in thickness. The latter is named *Nay-ka*. The stones used for grinding in nearly all parts of the Darling are Silurian sandstones, and when the seeds are ground up and made into paste, the natives necessarily swallow a quantity of sand with each morsel. Water is added as they grind the seeds, and they scoop up the paste with the forefinger. In some places the paste is baked into cakes.

Dr. Gummow states that the fruits of the nardoo were used by the natives of the Lower Murray in Victoria; and the seeds of grasses, no doubt, were likewise ground up and eaten.

Dr. Gummow mentions also, as vegetable food eaten by the people of the Lower Murray in Victoria, the sow-thistle, used as a kind of salad, the gum of the acacias, and manna. "The roots of the *Compungya*," he says in his letter to me, "are in appearance like sticks of celery, and when baked much resemble the potato, from the quantity of starch contained in them."

Mr. Cairns, writing of the food of the natives of the same district, says that, according to information afforded him by Mr. P. Beveridge, the "*kumpung* springs up from the root, *through the water*, about the end of August, or as soon as the weather becomes slightly warm. When about a foot in length above the water, the natives pull it up and eat it for food in an uncooked state. In flavor

* "The *Portulaceæ* are all innoxious plants, possessed of very little either smell or taste, and not remarkable for any active properties. Their leaves are for the most part fleshy, and often edible. The common purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*) is cultivated on the continent as a dietetic vegetable, and esteemed, notwithstanding its insipidity, for the readiness with which it takes the flavor of more sapid viands. The seeds of purslane are said to be anthelmintic. . . . The *Da-t-kai* of Caffraria, the roots of which are eatable, is a purslane."—*Outlines of Botany*. Burnett, p. 740.

The Government Botanist is to be commended for drawing attention to the properties of this plant. Every explorer and every bushman should make himself acquainted with it.

it is very insipid, but extremely satisfying, and in this state is termed by the natives *Joutey*. It is full grown or nearly so by the time the waters recede, and remains green until the frosts come round, when it becomes quite brown, and, if not destroyed by fire, continues so until the young shoots spring up the following season; and so it goes on from year to year, until it becomes so thick as to be impervious to the sun, thus rendering the ground quite swampy and impassable for stock. In the summer the natives dig up the roots, which they either roast or boil [?], and after masticating them, and obtaining all the starch therefrom, they retain the stringy, fibrous parts in lumps, which the lubras carry about with them in their nets or bags, like careful housewives, until such be required for making strings or threads, which they afterwards net into bags, girdles, and other useful articles."

Baron von Mueller, it is said in the paper from which I have quoted, has examined this particular kind of Australian bulrush, and has found it to be closely allied to a species found in Switzerland—the *Typha Shuttleworthi*.*

Berries of several kinds were gathered by the natives of Victoria; and on the coast at Port Lincoln, in South Australia, the plant known there as *karambi* (*Nitraria Billardierii*) affords large quantities of a pleasant cool fruit. It is found on the western coast of Spencer's Gulf, growing on high sandhills; and, when the weather is hot, the natives lie at full length under a bush, and do not leave it until they have stripped it of its berries. The fruit is in form and size like an olive, and is of a dark-red color.†

In North-Western Australia the blacks prepare and eat the *By-yu*, the pulp of the nut of a cycas, which in its raw state is poisonous. It is mentioned by Capt. Cook, and well described by Grey :—"The native women collect the nuts from the palms in the month of March, and having placed them in some shallow pool of water, they leave them to soak for several days. When they have ascertained that the *by-yu* has been immersed in water for a sufficient time, they dig, in a dry sandy place, holes which they call *mor-dak;* these holes are about the depth that a person's arms can reach, and one foot in diameter; they line them with rushes, and fill them up with the nuts, over which they sprinkle a little sand, and then cover the holes nicely over with the tops of the grass-tree; in about a fortnight the pulp which encases the nut becomes quite dry, and it is then fit to eat; but, if eaten before that, it produces the effects already described [acting as a most violent emetic and cathartic]. The natives eat this pulp both raw and roasted; in the latter state they taste quite as well as a chestnut."‡

This method of treating the nut has been carried undoubtedly from the north-east to the north-west.

Nardoo (*Marsilea quadrifolia*), previously referred to, the fruits of which form much of the vegetable food of the natives of the Cooper's Creek district, is extensively distributed, and owing to the different characters it presents—due to the season when it is gathered, the greater or less moisture in the soil in which

* Oxley states in his Journal (1817–18) that he saw the natives eating the roots of thistles (*Galu-nur*).

† Wilhelmi, p. 173.

‡ *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., p. 296.

it grows, and the temperature and humidity of the air—a great number of varieties have been collected and named by botanists ; but the Government Botanist, who has examined all the Australian *Marsileæ* that have been named, is of opinion that they are referable to one species, the typical Linnæan *Marsilea quadrifolia.* "The nutritive properties of the *Marsilea* fruit," says Baron von Mueller, "are evidently very scanty. It seems to contain but slight traces of protein combinations, and but little starch, its nourishing property resting mainly on a mucilage, pertaining to a certain extent of that of the seed-testa of flax, cress, quince, zygophyllum," &c.*

Mr. Gason very accurately describes the nardoo :—"A very hard fruit, a flat oval, of about the size of a split pea ; it is crushed or pounded, and the husk winnowed. In bad seasons this is the mainstay of the natives' sustenance ; but it is the worst food possible, possessing very little nourishment and being difficult to digest." †

Mr. Howitt describes it in his notes on the Aborigines of Cooper's Creek.

In the swampy tracts near the lower part of Cooper's Creek, as likewise to a less extent in other low swampy lands, liable to periodic inundations, this fern grows gregariously, and when the floods abate the fruits are well formed and very abundant.

The melancholy incidents attached to the fate of Burke and Wills, who, on returning to Cooper's Creek, vainly sought the means of sustaining life by eating the nardoo flour, will never be forgotten by Australians. Wills and King—when the small party was reduced to extremity—used to collect daily a bag of nardoo seed, and carry it to the camp, where Burke employed himself in pounding it. Wills, in his journal, says—"I cannot understand this nardoo at all ; it certainly will not agree with me in any form. We are now reduced to it alone, and we manage to get from four to five pounds per day between us. . . . . It seems to give us no nutriment. . . . . Starvation on nardoo is by no means very unpleasant, but for the weakness one feels, and the utter inability to move oneself, for, as far as appetite is concerned, it gives me the greatest satisfaction. Certainly fat and sugar would be more to one's taste; in fact those seem to me to be the greatest stand-by for one in this extraordinary continent; not that I mean to depreciate the farinaceous food; but the want of sugar and fat in all substances obtainable here is so great that they become almost valueless to us as articles of food without the addition of something else."

The natives appear to subsist largely on nardoo and fish in this part of the continent, but they have in addition many roots and plants.

Mr. Cobham informs me that the blacks are in the habit of going to the swamps early in the morning, for the purpose of collecting the fruits of the nardoo. They take the fruits home in bags, and roast them in the ashes of their fires. When roasted, they are put into a shallow wooden vessel, made by

* *On the Systematic Position of the Nardoo Plant, and the Physiological Characteristics of its Fruit*, 1862.

† *The Dieyerie Tribe*, p. 32.

hollowing out the elbow of a tree, and the ashes are blown away by the breath; they are then pounded on a stone, and again placed in the wooden vessel, shaken, and the husks blown away, until only the flour remains, which is mixed with water, and made into rolls about eighteen inches in length. These rolls are baked and eaten.

As this plant is of great interest, I give a figure and a description of it from Sir William Hooker's work (Fig. 19), placed at my disposal by the Government Botanist.

FIG. 19.

"The caudex creeps for some length, and is scarcely so thick as a crow's quill, rooting, branched, and knotty; the knots are densely woolly with ferruginous hair, and seem to be the rudiments of a new cluster of fronds. *Fronds* or *leaves* from the apex of a woolly knot or branch, two to four from one point. *Petioles* from four inches to a span long, erect, flexuose, slender, silky, bearing at the point four spreading broadly cuneate leaflets, finely and radiately veined, the veins here and there anastomosing, villous with dense silky hairs, especially beneath; the hairs often deciduous above, and occasionally beneath, subulate, articulated, tawny. From the very base, among the cluster of petioles, arise one or two erect peduncles, about two inches long, in other respects resembling the petioles; these are terminated each by an obliquely erect, ovate, compressed *capsule*, transversely striated, with a gibbosity on one side at the base, densely clothed with imbricating, subulate, jointed hairs."

"Fig. 1, Leaflet; fig. 2, Capsule; fig. 3, The same cut through transversely; fig. 4, Hairs from the Capsule—all more or less *magnified*." *

[The figure is reduced one-half in the engraving here given from Sir William Hooker's lithograph.]

In New South Wales the natives have, amongst many other fruits, the *Geebung*, a native plum, and the "five corners."

The *Nonda* (*Parinarium Nonda*—F. v. Mueller) of Northern Queensland, bears a fruit in size and appearance resembling a yellow egg-plum, and in taste like a mealy potato, with, however, a trace of that astringency so common to Australian fruits. It is much eaten by the natives.†

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* *Icones Plantarum*, by Sir William Jackson Hooker, K.H., vol. VI., 1854.

† *Overland Expedition of the Messrs. Jardine*, p. 76.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all the fruits eaten by the natives is the *Bunya-bunya*. It is obtained from a Queensland pine (*Araucaria Bidwilli*), which appears to be restricted to a very limited area, and to bear a profusion of fruit only once in about three years. The only tree bearing fruit which I have seen had a bunch of cones near the top, and the stem and leaves being prickly, it was not easy to get at them. One was removed, which is figured here.—(Fig. 20.) The tree was growing in the garden of the late Mr. Hugh Glass, at Moonee Ponds. The length of the cone was six inches, and the diameter five inches and three-quarters; and it weighed shortly after it was pulled two pounds ten ounces. In the native forests much larger fruits are found. The engraving shows the fruit about one-third of the natural size.

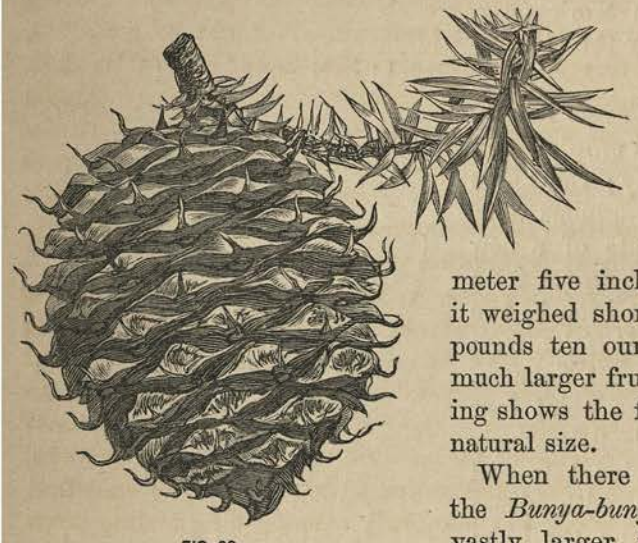

FIG. 20.

When there is a profusion of fruit in the *Bunya-bunya* district "the supply is vastly larger than can be consumed by the tribes within whose territory the trees are found. Consequently, large numbers of strangers visit the district, some of them coming from very great distances, and all are welcome to consume as much as they desire, for there is enough and to spare, during the few weeks which the season lasts. The fruit is of a richly farinaceous kind, and the blacks quickly fatten upon it. But after a short indulgence in an exclusively vegetable diet, having previously been accustomed to live almost entirely upon animal food, they experience an irresistible longing for flesh. This desire they dare not indulge by killing any of the wild animals of the district—kangaroo, opossum, and bandicoot are alike sacred from their touch, because they are absolutely necessary for the existence of the friendly tribe whose hospitality they are partaking. In this condition, some of the stranger tribes resort to the horrible practice of cannibalism, and sacrifice one of their own number to provide the longed-for feast of flesh. It is not the disgusting cruelty, the frightful inhumanity, or the curious physiological question involved that is now under consideration; but the remarkable fact educed of an unhesitating obedience, under circumstances of extraordinary temptation, to laws arising out of the necessities of their existence; and the indirect proof afforded of the severe pressure upon the supply of food which, under ordinary circumstances, must have prevailed among the Aboriginal tribes. The strangers dared not, in their utmost longing, touch the wild animals, because they were absolutely necessary for the existence of the tribe to which the district belonged. They might eat their fill of the *Bunya-bunya*, because that was in profusion, and prescription had

given them a right to it. Such a singular condition of things could never have arisen but in an old over-populated country, the laws of which had acquired that immutable character which is conferred only by immemorial custom." *

There is evidence constantly cropping up in the narratives of travellers—evidence not always very clear—that there were areas in Australia common at certain periods, by prescriptive right, to strange tribes. To these the strangers would resort to procure what was there in profusion—it might be red-ochre, stones for tomahawks, fruits, or gums. Grey says that in one part of Western Australia, known to him—there may be, and probably are, many other localities—the acacia trees, growing in swampy plains, are literally loaded with a tragacynth-like gum (*Kwon-nat*), affording a sufficient supply of food to support a large assemblage of persons. These *kwon-nat* grounds are generally the spots at which the annual barter meetings of the natives are held; and during these, fun, frolic, and quarrelling of every description prevail.

Mr. Gideon S. Lang refers to this matter in his pamphlet, and states that "there is also the *nurp*, a sort of raspberry, which grows in large quantities over the sandhills on a run which I took up on the Glenelg. All the neighbouring tribes had the right to go there, and did so in large numbers when the fruit was in season. A hill in the interior of the Sydney district which produced a very hard stone, peculiarly suitable for the manufacture of stone tomahawks, was the subject of similar regulations; and so was a certain quarry of sandstone at St. Kilda, near Melbourne, which was peculiarly adapted for grinding down and sharpening the stone tomahawks."

That this much-despised people have, under certain circumstances, interests in common; that these should be respected, and that hostilities and deadly animosities during periods longer or shorter should be suspended or buried—suggest new views respecting their moral perceptions and the laws that govern their actions.

Amongst other savage races we find a community of property in places specially favored by the occurrence of rocks or clays or food which were a necessity or a luxury to tribes living far distant. Speaking of the Great Red Pipe Stone Quarry of the Coteau des Prairies, between the Minnesota and Missouri Rivers in the Far West, Catlin tells us "that this place should have been visited for centuries past by all the neighbouring tribes—who have hidden the war-club as they approached it, and stayed the cruelties of the scalping-knife, under the fear of the vengeance of the Great Spirit who overlooks it—will not seem strange or unnatural when their customs are known. That such has been the custom there is not a shadow of doubt, and that even so recently as to have been witnessed by hundreds and thousands of Indians of different tribes now living, and from many of whom I have personally drawn the information; and as additional and still more conclusive evidence, here are to be seen the *totems* and *arms* of the different tribes who have visited this place for ages past, deeply engraven on the quartz rocks." †

* *The History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, by Samuel Bennett, Sydney, 1867, pp. 268–9.

† *Illustrations of the Manners, &c., of the North American Indians*, by George Catlin, vol. II., p. 167.

Mr. Hodgkinson says that, in consequence of the seeds of the cones of the *Bunya-bunya* being, during one season of the year, the principal support of large tribes of natives, the Governor had promulgated an order enjoining the Commissioner of Crown Lands at Moreton Bay to prevent persons from forming stations in those parts of the country in which these Australian fruit-trees grow.*

This noble pine is, for the same reason, still protected by Government.

The *Araucaria Bidwilli* has a diameter of from thirty inches to forty inches, and its height is from one hundred to two hundred and twenty feet. The chief forest is in latitude 27° S., where it grows over an area of three hundred and sixty square miles. The wood is strong and good, easily worked, and shows beautiful veins when polished.†

Any account of the vegetable products habitually used by the natives of Victoria would be incomplete if reference were not made to the water-yielding roots, from which, in arid parts of the country, the Aborigines derive, without much trouble, supplies of water sufficient for all their wants. Stanbridge says that the hunter, in places far removed from permanent water, has to draw his supply of that element from the roots of the swamp-box and weir-mallee, which run a few inches below the surface of the earth. Sometimes five pints of water, which is very good, are taken from one root.‡

The late Dr. Gummow states, in a letter to me, dated the 9th April 1872, that it frequently happens to the natives, when out in the Mallee country, that the water-holes, from which they had counted on obtaining a supply of water, have dried up; but they are never, therefore, at a loss. They select in the small *broken plains* some Mallee trees, which are generally found surrounding them. The right kind of trees can always be recognised by the comparative density of their foliage. A circle a few inches deep is dug with a tomahawk around the base of the tree; the roots, which run horizontally, are soon discovered. They are divided from the tree and torn up, many of them being several feet in length. They are then cut into pieces, each about nine inches long, and placed on end in a receiver; and beautifully good, clear, well-tasted water is obtained, to the amount of a quart or more, in half an hour. This method of procuring water is not confined to the Mallee only. The roots of several other trees yield water. A knowledge of this means of getting water, and of the trees which yield it, says Dr. Gummow, would have saved the lives of very many white men, whose bleached skeletons, lying on the arid plains, alone testify to their once having existed.

"During a recent visit to the Murray," says Mr. Cairns, "where I had often heard of this useful shrub [*Weir-Mallee*], my friend, Mr. Peter Beveridge, rode with me into the Mallee, accompanied by one of his native stockmen; who, on our approaching the edge of one of the plains, at once pointed out the tree. It grows upwards of twenty feet high, and scarcely differs in appearance from those

* *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, 1845, p. 112.

† *Queensland, Australia*, by Richard Daintree, p. 82.

‡ *Some Particulars of the General Characteristics, Astronomy, and Mythology of the Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria*, by W. E. Stanbridge, F.E.S., 1861.

around, to the eye of a stranger, but easily to be detected on the brownish tinge of its leaves being pointed out. Our black immediately proceeded to cut a yam-stick, about five or six feet long, which he pointed with his tomahawk, and then, tracing the roots by a slight crack discernible on the surface of the ground, he dug underneath it, till, obtaining space enough for the point of his stick, he pushed it under and then prized up the root as far as he could. Going further from the tree, he repeated the operation until he had perhaps fifteen or twenty feet of the root laid bare. He now broke up the roots into lengths of three to four feet, and, stripping off the bark from the lower end of each piece, he reared them against the tree, leaving their liquid contents to drop into a pannikin. On holding a piece of root horizontally, no water is to be seen, but the moment it is placed in an upright position a moisture comes over the peeled part, until the pores fill with water, which drops rapidly. The natives, when travelling in search of water, on finding the tree, usually cut off a large piece of the bark to serve as a dish, which they place at the foot of the tree, leaving the broken roots to drain into it, whilst they smoke a pipe or light a fire. The root, on being broken, presents to view innumerable minute pores, through which the water exudes most copiously; from a pint to a quart of pure water being procurable from a root of twenty to thirty feet long. . . . . Many explorers have been much surprised to find natives existing where there was apparently no water to be found, either in roots or otherwise; but their surprise has been changed into admiration at another wonderful provision of Nature, in the *Murn*—so called by the natives, but *Mallee-oak* by the whites. This tree is very like the *She-oak*, but with bark less rough and more silvery in color. The wood is very hard, like lance-wood, and capable of taking a fine polish. When the trunk attains a diameter of about six inches, it becomes pipy, thus forming a natural reservoir, in which the rains of the wet season are collected; the branches of the tree, which join at the top of the stem, acting as conducting-pipes. The narrow aperture prevents much evaporation, and the natives know how to obtain water here, where an inexperienced traveller would never dream of searching for it. To procure this water, the native ties a bunch of grass to the end of his spear, and then climbing the tree, dips his primitive piston-rod—if I may so call it—into this singular well. Drawing it up again, he squeezes the water from the grass into his bark dish, and thus proceeds until he obtains sufficient for his present requirements."*

The native boys who accompanied Eyre in one of his journeys procured water from the roots of trees exactly in the manner described by Mr. Cairns.†

Sir Thomas Mitchell makes mention of water-yielding trees. On or near the Bogan he found the natives digging up roots for the sake of drinking the sap. They first cut the roots into billets and then stripped off the bark (sometimes chewing it), and, holding one end of the billet upright in the mouth, the juice dropped into it. He found the natives everywhere skilful in getting water. In one place where he encamped with his party the water was hot and muddy;

* *On the Weir-Mallee, a Water-yielding Tree*, &c., by John Cairns, Esq., 1858.

† *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. i., p. 350.

but the blacks knew well how to obtain a clean and cool draught. They scratched a hole in the sand beside the pool, thus making a filter, in which the water rose cool but muddy. They next threw into the hole some tufts of long grass, through which they sucked the cooler water, freed in this manner from sand or gravel. *

Stokes refers to the ingenuity and great fertility of resources of the natives in all situations, and particularly when journeying in apparently waterless tracts. They were never at a loss. Besides procuring water from the roots of trees, they collected also the dew from the leaves of shrubs.†

The Bottle-tree of Northern Australia furnishes a refreshing beverage. *Binkey* (*Brachychiton Delabechei*) is generally found in stony scrub land, and is remarkable on account of its enlarged trunk, similar in shape to a lemonade bottle. The natives cut holes in the soft trunk, where the water lodges and rots the trunk to its centre. These trunks are so many artificial reservoirs of water. When a tree has been cut, its resources are not exhausted. The tired hunter, when he sees a tree that has been tapped, cuts a hole somewhat lower than the old cuts, and obtains an abundant supply of the sweet mucilaginous substance afforded by this plant.‡

One of the myths of the natives, referred to in another part of this work, would lead one to suppose that they were not unacquainted with the fact that the bladder of the frog acts as a reservoir for water—like the pericardium and bladder of the large tortoise of the Galapagos Archipelago—and they may have occasionally killed these reptiles, as well for water as for food.

I cannot learn whether or not the natives of Victoria used any plants as narcotics or sedatives, or whether any herb or shrub in the colony was chewed or eaten as a nepenthetic; but in the Cooper's Creek district the blacks chew *Pitcherie*, which is believed to be a narcotic, and the men are very fond of it. As preserved in their bags, it presents the appearance of small dried twigs, and is said to be procured from a narrow-leaved shrub growing in the country to the north-west of Cooper's Creek.§

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* Major Sir Thomas Mitchell, vol. I., pp. 31 and 197.

† *Discoveries in Australia*, by J. Lort Stokes, Commander R.N., 1846, p. 13.

‡ A. Thozet, 1866. *See* Catalogue annexed.

§ Since the above was written, the Government Botanist has addressed a letter to the editor of the *Australian Medical Journal* respecting this plant. He says:—"Some weeks ago I was asked by our last president about the origin of the *Pitury*, a stimulant said to be of marvellous power, and known to be in use by the Aborigines of Central Australia. It so happened that after years of efforts to get a specimen of the plant, I at last, this week, obtained leaves, and although I have seen neither flowers nor fruits, and although these leaves are very similar to those of various otherwise widely disallied plants, I can almost with certainty, after due microscopic examination, pronounce those of the *Pitury* as derived from my *Duboisia Hopwoodii*, described in 1861 (*Fragm. Phytogr. Austr.* II., 138). This bush extends from the Darling River and Barcoo to West Australia, through desert scrubs, but is of exceedingly sparse occurrence anywhere. In fixing the origin of the *Pitury*, now a wide field for further enquiry is opened up, inasmuch as a second species of *Duboisia* (*D. myoporoides*, R. Br.) extends in forestland from near Sydney to near Cape York, and is traced also to New Caledonia, and lately by me also to New Guinea. In all probability this *D. myoporoides* shares the properties of *D. Hopwoodii*, as I now find that both have the same burning acrid taste. Though the first known species is so near to us, we never suspected any such extraordinary properties in it as are now established for the later discovered species. Moreover the numerous species

Pitcherie is described in Mr. Alfred Howitt's notes on the Aborigines of Cooper's Creek.—(*See* Appendix.)

The Messrs. Jardine state that all the people of the north are much addicted to smoking. They now use tobacco when they can get it, but, before it was procurable, they smoked the leaves of a large, spreading tree—a species of *Eugenia*. These leaves, the Messrs. Jardine think, must possess some narcotic property. They smoke to such an extent as to become insensible. The pipe used is a piece of hollow bamboo, about two feet and a half in length, and as thick as a quart bottle. One of the smoking party fills this with smoke from a funnel-shaped bowl, in which the leaf or tobacco is placed, by blowing through a hole at one end of the tube. When the bamboo is filled, it is handed to one of the men, who inhales and swallows as much of the smoke as he can, passing the pipe on to his neighbour. These travellers have seen a smoker so much affected by one dose as to lie helpless for some minutes afterwards.*

Macgillivray gives a very similar description of the mode of smoking, as observed by him at Cape York, and the effects produced by inhalation.†

The animal and vegetable food of the people of the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek) is, according to Mr. Samuel Gason, as follows:—

Chookaroo - -	- Kangaroo.
Kaunoonka - -	- Bush wallaby.
Wurtarrie - -	- Kangaroo rat.
Pildra - - -	- Opossum (of rare occurrence).
Capietha - -	- Native rabbit.
Miaroo - - -	- Rat.
Poontha - -	- Mouse.
Arutchie - -	- Native ferret.
Cowirrie - -	- Rat (species not known).
Thillamillarie -	- A species of ferret.
Pulyara - -	- Long-snouted rat.
Koolchie - -	- Species of rat.
Koonappoo - -	- Species of mouse.
Kulkuna - -	- Species of wallaby (very swift).
Kooraltha - -	- Spotted ferret.

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of the allied genus *Anthocercis*, extending over the greater part of the Australian continent and to Tasmania, should now also be tested, and further, the many likewise cognate *Schwenkeas* of South America should be drawn into the same cyclus of research, nothing whatever of the properties of any of these plants being known. The natives of Central Australia chew the leaves of *Duboisia Hopwoodii*, just like the Peruvians and Chilians masticate the leaves of the Coca (*Erythroxylon Coca*), to invigorate themselves during their long foot journeys through the deserts. I am not certain whether the Aborigines of all districts in which the *Pitury* grows are really aware of its stimulating power. Those living near the Barcoo travel many days' journeys to obtain this, to them, precious foliage, which is carried always about by them broken into small fragments and tied up in little bags. It is not improbable that a new and perhaps important medicinal plant is thus gained. The blacks use the *Duboisia* to excite their courage in warfare; a large dose infuriates them. Administered medicinally, it dilates the pupil, just as *Anthocercis* does."

* *Overland Expedition: Northern Queensland*, p. 84.

† *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, 1852, vol. i., p. 126.

Kulunda - - - White and black rat (similar to the house rat).
Tickawara - - - Native cat.
Kunnie - - - - Jew lizard.
Kopirrie - - - Iguana.
Patharamooroo - - Black iguana (very scarce).
Choopa - - - - A slender lizard, about 3 inches long.
Kudieworoo - - - Red-backed lizard, about 3 inches long.
Wakurrie - - - Flat-headed lizard, about 3 inches long.
Moonkamoonkarilla - Small black lizard with short tail, generally found under the bark of trees.
Oolaumi - - - Lizard, transparent skin, spotted yellow and black, about 5 inches long.
Woma - - - - Carpet snake, from 5 to 12 feet long, large body; its bite not venomous.
Thoona - - - Grey snake, generally about 5 feet long; venomous.
Wondaroo - - - Green and yellow snake, very thick body, about 5 feet long, quite harmless, and has a sleepy appearance.
Woonkoo - - - Light-brown and grey snake, from 4 to 7 feet long; venomous and very vicious.
Wirrawirrala - - Large brown snake, with yellow belly, from 6 to 10 feet long; very venomous.
Wipparoo - - - Long thin snake, black, shaded with other dark colors, about 7 feet long; very venomous, its bite causing instant death; so the natives are very cautious in killing it.
Marrakilla - - - Large brown snake, about 7 feet long, has a large head; is very venomous and vicious.
Mithindie - - - White and yellow spotted snake, small thin body, about 3 feet long; harmless.
Koolielawirrawirra - Small yellow and black spotted snake, about 3 feet long; harmless.
Mulkunkoora - - - Black and green spotted snake, 5 feet long; venomous.
Thandandiewindiewindie - Small black snake, small mouth, about 5 feet 6 inches; venomous.
Kurawulieyackayackuna - Flat-headed snake, green back, yellow spots on belly, about 4 feet long; venomous.
Kulathirrie - - - Frog.
Thidnamura - - - Toad.
Pinchiepinchiedara - Bat.
Curawura - - - Eagle hawk.
Kunienundruna - - The largest hawk, excepting first-named.
Thirriethirrie - - Small speckled hawk.
Thoaroopathandrunie - White hawk.

Milkieworie - - - Large grey hawk.
Pittiekilkadie - - Speckled hawk.
Kirrkie - - - Whistling hawk (very swift).
Kookoongka - - - Kite.
Windtha - - - Grey owl.
Wurchienurchie - - White owl.
Killawoloowolloorka - Dark-brown owl.
Moonyie - - - More-pork.
Woroocathie - - - Emu.
Kulathoora - - - Bustard.
Kudrungoo - - - White cockatoo.
Killunkilla - - - Red-breasted cockatoo.
Kooranyawillawilla - Cockatoo parrot.
Poolunka - - - Parrot.
Cathathara - - - Shell parrot.
Willaroo - - - Curlew.
Moodlubra - - - Pigeon.
Murnpie - - - Bronzewing pigeon.
Woparoo - - - Flock pigeon.
Koorookookoo - - Dove.
Mulliepirrpaoonga - Quail.
Choonda - - - Red-breasted robin.
Thindriethindrie - - Shepherd's companion (a species of wagtail).
Thiewillagie - - - Small species of lark.
Mulyamulyayapunie - Swallow.
Poothoopoothooka - - Sparrow.
Kowulka - - - Crow.
Koorabaukoola - - Magpie.
Booralkoo - - - Native companion (large species of crane).
Ooroo - - - - Nankeen-colored crane.
Culiemulyandurie - - Black and white crane.
Moolpa - - - White crane.
Chooiechooie - - - Snipe.
Dickadickulyerra - - Species of snipe.
Mootoomootoo - - Species of snipe.
Thanpathanpa - - Slate-colored snipe.
Tharalkoo - - - Teal.
Thowla - - - Spoon-bill duck.
Kockadooroo - - - Mountain duck.
Chipala - - - Whistling duck.
Koodnapina - - - Brown duck, with red beak.
Thookabie - - - Diver.
Doolpadoolparoo - - Black diver.
Kilkie - - - - Water-hen.
Muroomuroo - - - Black water-hen.
Wathawirrie - - Species of water-hen.

Muloora - - - Cormorant.
Boorkoopiya - - - Long-beaked cormorant.
Kootie - - - - Swan.
Thaumpara - - - Pelican.
Kirrpiyirrka - - Gull.

Fish and other fresh-water habitants are few and unimportant, being caught in the water-holes and lakelets, which can only be called creeks or rivers when the floods come down; the last of which occurred in 1864.

Paroo - - - - A small bony flat fish.
Multhoomulthoo - - A fish weighing from 3 to 3½ lbs.
Moodlakoopa - - A fish averaging 4 lbs.
Koorie - - - - Mussel.
Kuniekoondie - - Cray-fish.

The vegetable food is various :—

Yowa - - - - Rather larger than a pea, found three inches deep in the ground.
Winkara - - - A very starchy root, about five inches long.
Munyaroo - - - A plant much eaten.
Kunaurra - - - The seed of the munyaroo, used when ground into meal between two stones.
Ardoo - - - - Often described in newspapers and by writers as nardoo. [Referred to in another part of this work.]
Cobboboo - - - A nut found on the box-tree, on breaking which it discloses a grub; this is probably a gall.
Wodaroo - - - A thin long root, obtainable only where the soil is rich and covered with turf. This is one of the best vegetables the natives possess, sweet and mealy.
Coonchirrie - - - The seed from a species of acacia, ground and made into small loaves.
Patharapowa - - The seed of the box-tree, ground and made into loaves.
Caulyoo - - - The seed of the prickly acacia, pounded and made into loaves.
Wodlaooroo - - - Very fine seed, taken from the silver-grass growing in the creeks.
Wirrathandra - - Seed of an acacia.
Mulkathaudra - - Seed of the mulga-tree.
Yoongundie - - - Black, fine seed, taken from a plant similaf to clover.
Mootcha - - Native cotton-bush. When the leaves sprout and become quite green, the natives gather and cook them, and at seed-time they pluck and eat the pods.

Kuloomba - -	- Indigenous clover; when young, cooked by the natives and eaten in large quantities.
Willapie - -	- A small watery plant.
Yoolantie - -	- The native fig.
Bookabooda - -	- The native gooseberry.
Mundawora - -	- The native blackberry.
Thoopara - -	- The native pear.
Yegga - - -	- The native orange.

Mr. Gason gives the native names and excellent descriptions of other animals and products, many of which will be referred to elsewhere.

There is scarcely any subject more worthy of engaging the attention of the man of science than the indigenous food-resources of a country; and every fact bearing on the various methods of treating the native roots, tubers, seeds, and pods, by those who can have had no enlightenment from civilized peoples, is also of singular interest, as showing how, by slow steps, a kind of knowledge of the nature of the changes that take place during maceration and desiccation must have begun to grow in the minds of the more able amongst the Aborigines. The keen observation of the Australian savage could not fail to be exercised when he was soaking a bulb in water, and he would know that the vegetable would undergo some change, but his untrained intellect would not enable him to reason on the results of the process.

I have already stated that by far the most important of the edible fruits of Australia are found in the northern parts of the continent; and as the fullest and clearest information respecting such of those as are eaten by the natives of Northern Queensland is given by Mr. A. Thozet, I think it right to quote his notes and catalogue. It will be observed that the native foods referred to in the catalogue were prepared under Mr. Thozet's superintendence for the Melbourne-Paris Exhibition.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE ROOTS, TUBERS, BULBS, AND FRUITS USED AS VEGETABLE FOOD BY THE ABORIGINALS OF NORTHERN QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA.—(By A. Thozet.)

For the occasion of the forthcoming exhibition, specimens of the various native foods have been carefully prepared under the superintendence of the compiler of the following catalogue, who deems the present a good opportunity of drawing attention to them by a few remarks.

Our pioneer explorers and travellers, in passing through trackless paths previously untrodden by the foot of the white man, in their praiseworthy efforts in the cause of civilization, often die of hunger, although surrounded by abundance of natural vegetable food, in the very spot where the Aborigines easily find all the luxuries of their primitive method of life, and not a few, unacquainted with the preparation which several of the deleterious plants require, lose their lives in venturing to use them. These martyrs to progress

in a new unsettled country like Northern Queensland should stimulate to further exertion those who either by taste or accident have become acquainted with the practical resources of our flora.

The vegetable foods here referred to have been divided into three categories:—

1. Those used without any preparation.
2. Those which require baking only.
3. Those which, being poisonous, require to go through a process of maceration, pounding, and desiccation.

The first category includes roots and bulbs, which, like the native yam and water-lily, are very plentiful, and available at any time. The fruits, though more numerous, do not offer advantages equal to the others, as they mature only at certain seasons of the year.

The second category includes the root of a bean and the tubers of a rush, which are also plentiful, and easily obtainable.

The last category is the most important, as it furnishes an inexhaustible supply. These plants, with the exception of *Entada scandens*, besides being abundant, are of wide distribution over the northern part of this continent.

Should the publication of these particulars be instrumental in affording relief to the suffering, or in saving the lives of any lost in the trackless forests of the interior, the writer will feel amply rewarded.

WITHOUT ANY PREPARATION.

Roots or Tubers.

1. *Hibiscus heterophyllus*, Vent. Native sorrel. Aboriginal name, *Batham.*

   Found on banks of rivers and creeks, occasionally on plains. A rather tall shrub, part of the stem and young branches covered with small prickles. Leaves entire or lobate. Flower white and pink or yellow, with purple centre. (Roots of young plants, young shoots, and leaves eatable.)

2. *Sterculia trichosiphon*, Benth. Platan-leaved bottle-tree. *Ketey.*

   In scrub land. A tree of a beautiful pyramidal growth when young; becoming enlarged in the centre with old age. (Roots of young plants eatable.)

3. *Sterculia rupestris*, Benth. Bottle-tree. *Binkey.*

   Generally found in stony scrub land, remarkable by its enlarged trunk, similar in shape to a lemonade bottle; some measure six to eight feet in diameter. (Roots of the young plants eatable.)

   The natives refresh themselves with the mucilaginous sweet substance afforded by this tree, as well as make nets of its fibre. They cut holes in its soft trunk, where the water lodges and rots them to its centre, thus forming so many artificial reservoirs. On their hunting excursions afterwards, when thirsty, they tap them one or two feet below the old cuts and procure an abundant supply.

4. *Cissus opaca*, F. Muell. Round yam. *Yaloone* (large), *Wappoo-wappoo* (small).

   Found principally in clayey soil. Small creepers. Leaflets usually three, four, or five, dark-green and smooth. Berries black and globular. Tubers very numerous, some weighing five to ten pounds. Eaten in hot weather like water-melons (the small and young are the best); they are, however, difficult to digest. Probably the yam alluded to by Leichhardt, in his *Journal of an Overland Expedition*, page 150. He says: "Both tubers and berries had the same pungent taste, but the former contained a watery juice, which was most welcome to our parched mouths."

5. *Dioscorea punctata*, R. Br. Long yam. *Kowar.*

A small rough, twining creeper. Leaves heart-shaped and smooth. Flowers terminal. The cluster of the winged capsule look, to an unacquainted observer, like the flowers of the common hop. (Small young tubers eatable.)

6. *Helocharis sphacelata*, Rush. *Kaya.*

Lagoons, creeks, and ponds. Small, almost spherical tubers, six to twelve in each plant.

Stems, or Flower-stalks.

7. *Nymphæa gigantea*, Hook. Blue water-lily. *Yako Kalor*, Rockh. tribe; *Kaooroo*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Very abundant in all lagoons and ponds. (Flower-stalks of the unexpanded flowers, after being broken and deprived of their fibrous part, are eatable.)

8. *Xanthorrhœa sp.* Grass-tree. *Kono.*

Over ridges and mountain sides. (Small part of the extremities of the young shoots and the white tender base of leaves eatable.)

9. *Livistonia Australis*, F. Muell. Cabbage-tree palm. *Konda.*

Found in valleys and gorges seventy to 120 feet in height. (White part of the undeveloped leaves eatable.) "Several of my companions suffered by eating too much of the cabbage-palm."—*Leichhardt's Overland Expedition*, page 72.

Fruits.

10. *Melodorum Leichhardtii*, Benth., F. Muell. *Merangara.*

A small shrub, sometimes a strong tall creeper. Bark aromatic. Producing in the top of our scrub trees an oblong or almost round fruit, with one or two seeds.

11. *Capparis Mitchelli*, Lind. Wild pomegranate. *Mondo.**

In open plain. A small tree of a very crooked growth. Bark longitudinally fissurated. Trunk and branches covered with short prickles, the branches nearly always drooping. Flowers white. Fruit large oblong or spherical, two to three inches in diameter.

12. *Capparis canescens*, Banks. Native date. *Mondoleu.*†

In scrub or open forest land. A creeper, ascending small shrubs or large trees, with stipulate hooked prickles. Leaves oblong. Flowers white. Fruit pyriform, half inch in diameter.

13. *Capperis nobilis*, F. Muell. Small native pomegranate. *Rarum.*

A small scrub tree, with stipulate prickles on the branches. Leaves oval oblong. Flowers white. Fruit globular, one to one and a half inch in diameter, with a small protuberance at the end.

14. *Grewia polygama*, Roxbh. Plain currant. *Karoom*, Rockh. tribe; Cleveland Bay tribe, *Ouraie.*

A small shrub, found amongst grass. Large, alternate, ovate serrated leaves. Berries brown and smooth, two or four in an axillary peduncle. Leichhardt speaks of this small plant in his journal, page 295:—"I found a great quantity of ripe Grewia seeds, and, on eating many of them it struck me that their slightly acidulated taste, if imparted to water, would make a very good drink. I therefore gathered as many as I could, and boiled them for about

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* This name was given in allusion to the heel of a native; the fruit, when ripe, resembling that part of the foot.

† Diminutive of *Mondo*.

an hour. The beverage which they produced was at all events the best which we had tasted on our expedition, and my companions were busy the whole afternoon in gathering and boiling the seeds." The same explorer states also, that *à l'instance* of the natives they obtained another good beverage by soaking the blossoms of the tea-tree (*Melaleuca leucadendron*), which were full of honey, in the water used for drinking.

15. *Owenia cerasifera*, F. Muell. Sweet plum. *Rancooran.*

A beautiful scrub tree with erect trunk and pinnate glossy leaves. Eatable part (*sarcocarp*) red.

16. *Rhamnus vitiensis*, Benth. *Murtilam.*

Scrub tree. Trunk and branches whitish. Leaves very smooth, shining, serrate, crenulate, and green on both sides. Berries, quarter inch diameter.

17. *Zizyphus jujuba*, Lam. Torres Straits jujube-tree.

The trunk and branches covered with prickles. Leaves ovate, rarely orbicular, green, smooth above, and white tomentose underneath. Fruit ovoid, yellow when ripe, half to three-quarter inch diameter.

18. *Rubus rosæfolius*, Sm. Native raspberry. *Neram.*

Found in creeks and valleys.

19. *Terminalia oblongata*, F. Muell. *Yananoleu.*

A large scrub or open forest tree, with branches spreading almost horizontally. Spikes a little longer than the leaves, with white-yellowish flowers. Fruit purple, flattened and winged.

20. *Barringtonia sp.* Broad-leaved apple-tree. *Barror.*

A small tree in open forest, alluvial soil. Flowers white and pink. Fruit like a middle-sized apple.

21. *Jambosa sp. Buyan-buyan.*

A tree found in creeks. Rich bright foliage with abundant white blossoms. Fruit rose and red, pyriform and drooping.

22. *Cucumis sp.* Native cucumber. *Pumpin.*

On rich alluvial soil and amongst grass. Fruit from half an inch to three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and one to one and a half inch in length. The natives bite off one end, press the pulpy substance and seeds into their mouths, and throw away the outer skin or rind, which is very bitter.

23. *Nauclea Leichhardtii*, F. Muell. Leichhardt's tree. *Toka*, Rockh. tribe; *Taberol*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Found on the banks of rivers and creeks. Stem erect. Leaves broad, oblong, deciduous. Flowers globular and fragrant. Fruit one and a half to two inches diameter, usually spherical, but varying much in shape; very soft when ripe; pulp slightly bitter.

24. *Polyphragmon sericeum*, Desf. *Kavor-kavor.*

Commonly met with in the bed of creeks. Fruit half inch in diameter, in shape not unlike the crab apple of Europe.

25. *Maba sp.* Scrub box, or ebony. *Ronone.*

A small tree, with dark scaly bark. Leaves ovate or obovate, almost sessile. Fruit small egg-shaped, orange-red when ripe.

26. *Achras sp. Baleam.*

A tall, straight scrub tree. Bark thin, grey, yellowish. Leaves obovate obtuse. Fruit as big as a middle-sized plum; with four or five smooth, shining, flattened seeds.

27. *Carissa ovata*, R. Br. Native scrub lime. *Karey*, Rockh. tribe; *Ulorin*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

A small prickly shrub. Flowers white, fragrant. Fruit one-third inch diameter; egg-shaped.

28. *Myoporum diffusum*, R. Br. *Amulla.*

Among grass. A diffuse, almost prostrate, small herbaceous plant. Leaves alternate dentate at their base, lanceolate, acute. Fruit quarter of an inch diameter, on an axillary solitary peduncle; white and pink when ripe; slightly bitter.

29. *Exocarpus latifolius*, R. Br. Native cherry. *Oringorin.*

A small scrub tree. Bark almost black, scaly. Leaves thick, dark-green. Fruit red when ripe.

30. *Ficus aspera*, R. Br. Rough-leaved fig-tree. *Noomaie*, Rockh. tribe; *Balemo*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Very common in scrubs and plains. Fruit black when ripe.

31. *Ficus sp.* Leichhardt's clustered fig-tree. *Parpa.*

A good-sized tree, found in scrub, also on the banks of rivers and creeks. Leaves ovate, lanceolate, acute, dark, smooth; green above and pale-green underneath. The fruit, which is of a light-red color when ripe, hangs in clusters along the trunk, and on some of the largest branches.

32. *Pipturus propinquus*, F. Muell. Native mulberry. *Kongangn.*

Found in creeks. A soft shrub, almost herbaceous. Leaves broadly ovate, serrate, acuminate, tomentose, and white underneath. Fruit white, transparent.

33. *Musa Brownii*, F. Muell. Native banana. *Morgogaba*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

34. *Pandanus sp.* Screw pine. *Kaor.*

The eatable part is the side of the seeds adhering to the rachis.

SEEDS.

35. *Nelumbium speciosum*, Willd. Pink water-lily. *Aquaie.*

A splendid aquatic plant. The stalk of the leaves erect; the latter peltate slightly concave, one to two feet diameter. Flowers pink; five to eight inch diameter. Seeds, twenty to thirty-five; more than three-quarters imbedded in a large flat-topped torus.

(2*bis.*) *Sterculia trichosiphon.*

(3*bis.*) *Sterculia rupestris.*

36. *Sterculia quadrifida*, R. Br. *Convavola.*

In shrubs and creeks. Leaves ovate or cordate. The pod, which contains three to six black ovoid seeds, is of a bright-crimson color when ripe.

(7*bis.*) *Nymphæa gigantea.*

WITH PREPARATION.

Baked only.

ROOTS.

37. *Phaseolus Mungo*, Linn. *Komin*, Rockhampton tribe; *Kadolo*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Found slightly twining among grass. Stems and branches hairy. Leaflets three, narrow, three to four inches long, acute. Flowers pale-yellow. Pod cylindrical, two to four inches long. Roots the shape of small long carrots.

38. *Acacia Bidwilli*, Benth. Bidwill's acacia. *Waneu.*

Found usually in stony ridges. A small tree, prickly when young. Small leaflet, fifteen to twenty-five pairs, one-eighth inch long. (Roots of the young plants eatable.)

(5*bis.*) *Dioscorea punctata.*

Large old roots.

BULBS, TUBERS, OR STEMS.

(7*ter.*) *Nymphæa gigantea.* The tubers.

39. *Aponogeton sp. Warrumbel*, Rockhampton tribe; *Koornabaie*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Found in shallow water in lagoons or ponds. A small aquatic plant. Leaves oblong, lying on the surface of the water. Rachis erect. Flowers numerous, small, and yellow. Bulbs spherical, half inch to one inch diameter.

40. *Dendrobium canaliculatum*, R. Br. *Yamberin.*

Very abundant on the decayed trunks and branches, principally of gum-tree. (The bulbous stems, after being deprived of the old leaves, are eatable.)

(6*bis.*) *Helocharis sphacelata.*

The small tubers, baked, are roughly pounded between two stones, and made in the same shape as almond cake.

POD.

(36*bis.*) *Sterculia quadrifida.*

The mucilaginous substance of the unripe pod eatable.

FRUITS.

41. *Avicennia tomentosa*, R. Br. Mangrove. *Egaie*, Cleveland Bay tribe; *Tagon-tagon*, Rockhampton tribe.

A small tree, but sometimes attaining eighteen inches in diameter; generally found on the estuaries of rivers and creeks. Small numerous roots protrude at the base of the crooked trunks. Leaves pale-green above, and white tomentose underneath. Fruit heart-shaped, with two thick cotyledons. The Aboriginals of Cleveland Bay dig a hole in the ground, where they light a good fire; when well ignited, they throw stones over it, which, when sufficiently heated, they arrange horizontally at the bottom, and lay on the top the *Egaie* fruit, sprinkling a little water over it; they cover it with bark, and over the whole earth is placed, to prevent the steam from evaporating too freely. During the time required for baking (about two hours) they dig another hole in the sand; the softened *Egaie* is put into it, they pour water twice over it, and the *Midamo* is now fit for eating. They resort to that sort of food during the wet season when precluded from searching for any other.—*Murrell's testimony.**

Near Mount Elliot and Cleveland Bay there is also an eatable root, *Wangoora*, probably a species of *Ipomœa*. The roots, very bitter, are cut in two, put into water for one hour or one hour and a half, and are afterwards baked for three or four hours, in the same way as the *Egaie;* they then carry it in a dilly-bag (*Yella barda*) to the water's edge, where, by pouring water over and pressing it, they make the starch fall upon the bark in the same way as arrow-root falls from the cylinder into the trough; they wash it three or four times until the water is very clear, and the yellow fecula is then fit for use.—*Murrell's testimony.*

This plant may be the same as the one alluded to by Leichhardt, page 284:—"I tried several methods to render the potatoes which we had found in the camps of the natives eatable, but neither roasting nor boiling destroyed their sickening bitterness; at last I pounded and washed them, and procured the starch, which was entirely tasteless, but thickened rapidly in hot water like arrowroot, and was very agreeable to eat, wanting only the addition of sugar to make it delicious—at least, so we fancied."

* The late James Murrell was a wrecked sailor, who lived seventeen years amongst one of the Cleveland Bay tribes, in Northern Queensland, Australia.

POISONOUS IN A RAW STATE

Pounding, Desiccation.

42. *Caladium machrorhizon*, Vent. *Hakkin*, Rockhampton tribe; *Banganga* or *Nargan*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

Found in moist, shady places. A strong herbaceous plant, with very large sagittate leaves. The young bulbs, of a light-rose color inside, found growing on large old rhizomes, are scraped, and divided in two parts, and put under the ashes for about half an hour. When sufficiently baked, they are then pounded by hard strokes between two stones—a large one, *Wallarie*, and a small one, *Kondola*. All the pieces which do not look farinaceous, but watery when broken, are thrown away; the others, by strokes of the *Kondola*, are united by twos or threes, and put into the fire again; they are then taken out and pounded together in the form of a cake, which is again returned to the fire and carefully turned occasionally. This operation is repeated eight or ten times, and when the *Hakkin*, which is now of a green-greyish color, begins to harden, it is fit for use.

43. *Typhonium Brownii*, Scott. *Merrin.*

A small herbaceous plant; found in sandy, shady places. Leaves sagittate entire or three lobate. Flowers purple, dark, of a disagreeable odour. The tubers, which are yellow inside, are manipulated in the same way as the *Hakkin*, but none are watery, and they are made to adhere together after the first roasting.

Pounding, Maceration, Desiccation.

44. *Entada scandens*, Benth. *Barbaddah*, Cleveland Bay tribe.

A strong climber. Pod two to four feet in length, and three to four inches in breadth. The seeds, one and a half to two inches diameter, are put in the stove oven and heated in the same way and for the same time as the *Egaie;* they are then pounded fine and put into a dilly-bag, and left for ten or twelve hours in water, when they are fit for use.—*Murrell's testimony.*

45. *Cycas media*, R. Br. Nut palm. *Baveu.*

A graceful tree, with a crown of fruit the size of a walnut, yellow when ripe; very common on the mountain sides and in valleys. The nuts are deprived of their outer succulent cover (*sarcocarp*), and are then broken; and the kernels, having been roughly pounded, are dried three or four hours by the sun, then brought in a dilly-bag to the water stream or pond, where they remain in running water four or five days, and in stagnant water three or four days. By a touch of the fingers the proper degree of softness produced by maceration is ascertained. They are afterwards placed between the two stones mentioned, reduced to a fine paste, and then baked under the ashes in the same way that our bush people bake their damper.

Pounding, Maceration.

46. *Encephalartos Miquelii*, F. Muell. Dwarf zamia. *Banga.*

Found generally in the same locality as the palm nut, with a large cone fruit not unlike a pine-apple. The seeds, orange-red when ripe, and separating freely, are baked for about half an hour under ashes; the outside covers and the stones are then broken, and the kernels, divided by a stroke of the *Kondola*, are put into a dilly-bag and carried to a stream or pond, where they remain six or eight days before they are fit for eating.

47. *Encephalartos sp.* Leichhardt's aborescent zamia.

Prepared in the same way as *E. Miquelii.*

Mr. Norman Taylor, of the Geological Survey Staff in Victoria, who was engaged in exploration under the Government of Queensland, supplies the following statement relative to the customs of the natives of York Peninsula:—"Their cooking is done by scooping a hole in the sand in the river-beds, making a fire, and piling stones on. When sufficiently heated, the wood is taken away,

the stones arranged flat, the animal to be cooked is laid on them, and then covered with some green branches, over which is laid tea-tree bark, and the whole covered with sand. About two hours are sufficient, and as the juices and steam are all kept in, the product is not to be despised. On the inland rivers, or those flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria, the natives' food appeared to be principally mussels and fish, the beds of the rivers being covered with old camps and great quantities of roasted mussel-shells, and the rivers and creeks being dammed with weirs, some very nicely built of stone.—(Fig. 21.) In the small water-holes the gins catch the fish by puddling the water up, and then sweeping the fish down with an oval net set in a cane frame and held between two of them. On the coast, at certain seasons, turtle are a favorite food, and at other seasons bivalves (*Ostrea*, *Perna*, and *Cyrena*) and univalves (*Cerithium* and *Potamides*) are obtained in great quantities, and of large size, from the mud flats and mangrove swamps. The inland tribes obtain kangaroos and opossums, &c., but these are rare on the coast. The coast scrubs contain great varieties of nuts and fruits; and generally the seeds of two water-lilies (*Nelumbium* and *Nymphæa*), the root of an arum, the nuts of a zamia or cycas, various yams and roots of different creepers, form their food. Several of the roots and nuts are poisonous, and require a long and tedious preparation, by maceration in water and filtering through the sand, the results being a tasteless starch."

FIG. 21.

Forbidden Food.

The natives have many very curious laws relating to food. The old men are privileged to eat every kind of food that it is lawful for any of their tribe to eat, but there are kinds of food which a tribe will eat in one district and which tribes in another part of the continent will not touch. The women may not eat of the flesh of certain animals; certain sorts of meat are prohibited to children and young persons; young married women are interdicted from partaking of dainties that delight the palates of older women; and men may not touch the flesh of some animals until a mystic ceremony has been duly celebrated. Their laws, indeed, in connection with hunting and fishing, and the collecting, cooking, and eating of food, are numerous and complex; and as the penalties believed to be incurred for a breach of these laws are, in most cases, serious diseases, or death, they are obeyed. Some suppose that cunning old men established the laws for the purpose of reserving to themselves those kinds of food which it was most difficult to procure, and that one effect of their prohibitions was to make the young men more expert in hunting; and it has been suggested that the eating of some animals was interdicted in order that the natural increase might not be prevented. In looking over the list of animals prohibited to young men, to women, and to children, one fails to see, however, any good reasons for the selection—unless we regard nearly the whole of the prohibitions as having their source in superstitious beliefs. A man, for instance, may not eat of the flesh of the animal that is the totem of his tribe; and he is forbidden to kill some others

for food because they are the property of sorcerers, who, the blacks believe, inflict fearful diseases on men that eat of animals that they have reserved for themselves.

They have other remarkable customs in regard to food. Mr. D. Stewart, of Mount Gambier, states, in a letter to the Rev. Lorimer Fison, that the natives of the south-east corner of South Australia have a kind of partnership, formed in boyhood and continued through life, in the division of kangaroo meat. When a kangaroo is killed, each partner takes a specified portion. As each man has some eight or ten partners, the whole tribe is mixed up in it.

These laws, with various modifications arising out of the diverse character of the food supplies, are known in all parts of the continent, and bear a resemblance to some of those that are obeyed by the savage tribes of Africa.* As to their origin, or as to any changes that have been effected in them, the blacks know nothing.

According to information afforded by Mr. John Green, the young amongst the natives of the Yarra tribe were forbidden to eat the following :—

Common Name.	Native Name.
Opossum (young)	*Walart*
(They might eat the old male opossums.)	
Flying squirrel	*Warran.*
Porcupine	*Ka-warrn.*
Emu	*Boorra-mile*
Bustard	*Woorna-bit.*
Ducks	*Toolim.*
Swan	*Goona-warra.*
Iguana	*Pujing.*
Turtle	*Koorrong-nile.*
Large fish	*Woora-mook.*

If any young person, they were told, should eat any of the flesh of the animals above named, unless and until he was given authority to eat it by the old men, he would sicken and die, and not one of the doctors could cure him. After the age of thirty he could eat any of them with impunity.

It will be observed that no mention is made in the list of the kangaroo, bandicoot, wombat, native bear, or native dog, or of the native companion, the cockatoo, the pigeon, the quail, or of parrots, or of the eggs of birds and reptiles, or of eels or snakes, or of any kind of vegetable food. The food available to the young men was various; and the few kinds prohibited seem to have been selected by the elders for reasons not apparent on the surface.

The Rev. John Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, says, in a letter to me, that his experience with regard to the restrictions before and after initiation is as follows :—

"Among the Gippsland blacks it is usual to forbid the use of certain kinds of food to the uninitiated. They are forbidden to eat the following :— All animals of the female gender except the wombat. They may eat all

* *Savage Africa*, by Winwood Reade, 1863.

animals of the male gender except the porcupine: this they are to avoid. They are not allowed to eat the generative organs of any animal; some indeed are ordered to skin all the animals, so that in skinning them they may cut off the parts forbidden. Of birds, the only restriction seems to be the black duck. They are not allowed to eat grubs which are got from the gum-trees. There are no restrictions with regard to vegetable food among the Gippsland tribes.

Among the Maneroo tribes the uninitiated are not allowed to eat the opossum, the bandicoot, the porcupine, the emu, the young native bear, the young kangaroo, or grubs. I am told that the young women were also under this rule before marriage.

Among the Murray blacks the uninitiated were not allowed to eat parts of the emu, or the black duck or grubs; and of fish the following kinds, namely, the golden perch (*Bangnalla*), the eel-fish (*Yamia*). The uninitiated were called *Wilyango Kurnundo*—a term synonymous with our hobbledehoy. As soon as they were made 'young men,' they were called *Thalera*, to express strength and manhood.

The young girls never went through any ceremony of initiation, and there was nothing kept from them either before or after marriage, except the large eaglehawk and the hind part of the emu. The latter is always kept from young people. No one except old men and women may partake of such food. Among the Murray blacks the women abstained from fish during certain periods, and at these periods they were not allowed to go near water for fear of frightening the fish. They were also not allowed to eat them, for the same reason. A woman during such periods would never cross the river in a canoe, or even fetch water for the camp. It was sufficient for her to say *Thama*, to ensure her husband getting the water himself. I have not found this superstition amongst the Gippsland tribes. I am told by an Omeo woman that her tribe would not allow the young women to eat the porcupine before marriage, though they had no ceremony of initiation. I do not think you will find that any of the Victorian tribes put their young women through any form of initiation. Very young children were allowed to eat anything until they came to years of discretion. At about the age of twelve years they were put under training. But the Maneroo blacks would not allow little children to eat the porcupine."

In the Lower Murray district "certain kinds of food could not be eaten by young men and boys. Twenty kinds of native game were forbidden to the *Narumbar*—that is, those undergoing initiation into manhood—and thirteen kinds to the boys. These prohibitions were strictly observed. Certain penalties were said to follow disobedience. If the boys ate wallaby, they would turn grey; if they ate the fish called *Tyiri*, they would have sore legs; if they cooked food with *palyi* or *pandandi* wood, all the fish would forsake the shore."*

In the Port Lincoln district "the general principle, with regard to the division of game is, that the men eat the male animals, the women the females, and the children the small animals; but since there is no rule without its exception, so, in this case, the men claim the right also to eat the female and small animals,

* *The Narrinyeri*, p. 90.

while the women and children must abide by the established rules; the common kangaroo-rat, however, they are all, without any distinction, allowed to eat. As a fixed prohibition, the wallaby, in the Parnkalla language called *Yarridni*, and the two species of bandicoot, *Kurkulli* and *Yartini*, dare not, on any account, be eaten by young lads or girls, as, according to their opinion, they would, with the latter, cause premature puberty, and, with regard to the former, give to the beard a brownish appearance, instead of its becoming a jet-black color, as it ought to do. . . . . Lizards are considered the proper food for young girls whose puberty they wish to hasten on, and snakes for women to make them bear children." *.

Grey, writing of the natives of West Australia, says that amongst the laws intended for the preservation of food there are the following:—"1. No vegetable production used by the natives as food should be plucked or gathered when bearing seed. 2. That certain classes of natives should not eat particular articles of food; this restriction being tantamount to game laws, which preserve certain choice and scarce articles of food from being so generally destroyed as those which are more abundant. . . . . Independent of these laws, there are certain articles of food which they reject in one portion of the continent and which are eaten in another; and that this rejection does not arise from the noxious qualities of the article is plain, for it is sometimes not only of an innocent nature, but both palatable and nutritious. I may take, for example, the *Unio*, which the natives of South-West Australia will not eat, because, according to a tradition, a long time ago some natives ate them, and died through the agency of certain sorcerers who looked upon that shell-fish as their peculiar property." †

Bennett informs us that "in most tribes the young men might not eat the flesh of the young kangaroo, the bandicoot, or the opossum. Young girls were not allowed to take the young from the pouch or eat the flesh of the old wallaby. Married young women were not to eat emu's eggs, or the young of any animal. No female could eat fish caught in places where they spawn." ‡

According to the information I have received, the natives of Victoria never ate oysters; but this shell-fish is eaten by the blacks of the Bellingen River, in Queensland. § There are some kinds of food, however, which seem to be universally abhorred—as, for instance, the fat of swine. As a rule, the natives will not eat pork, or any kind of fat the nature and origin of which are not known to them. A correspondent of the Rev. Lorimer Fison's says that the natives of Fraser's Island (Great Sandy Island), Queensland, will not touch pork or pork fat; and the natives of Victoria also strongly object to this food. On one occasion an old native woman named "Elizabeth" came to my house, and, as usual, food was given her, and a basin full of tea. I was informed that Elizabeth would not drink the tea, and strongly objected to it. I went to her, and asked her why she objected to the tea; and though her manner was usually

* *Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District*, p. 176.

† *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. II., p. 237.

‡ *Australian Discovery and Colonization*, p. 253.

§ *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay.*

very respectful, she, on this occasion, looked angrily at me, and said, "What's that? Fat! Me not like 'em tea with fat!" The cook had put a good deal of cream into the tea, and Elizabeth would have none of it.

Péron found the like strong objection to fat amongst the natives of King George's Sound :—"Ils burent du café, mangèrent du biscuit et du bœuf salé; mais ils refuserènt de manger du lard que nous leurs offrîmes, et le laissèrent sur des pierres, sans y toucher."*

Their aversion to fat probably arises from the circumstance that, in their belief, the fat of some animals is poisonous—as, for instance, that of the duck-billed platypus—and that the eating of the fat of some animals is interdicted. If they ate of fat that was given to them by whites, they might violate a tribal law.

Sir Thomas Mitchell mentions that when his party killed an emu none of the Aboriginal young men would eat of the bird, and, on making enquiries, he found that young men were not allowed to eat either the flesh or the eggs of the emu until some ceremony was performed. In the case of "Piper," Sir Thomas Mitchell's blackfellow, it was deemed essential that he should be rubbed all over with emu fat by an old man. "Richardson," an old man, ministered unto "Piper;" he was well rubbed with the fat, and afterwards he was not afraid to eat emu flesh. The result of eating it, to any young man, until authorized and empowered so to do, was an eruption of boils and the breaking out of sores all over the body.

It cannot be doubted, I think, that while, probably, these prohibitions had their origin in superstition, and that young and old were alike credulous, the doctors and sorcerers turned their credulity to profit. They secured for themselves the best of the food, and managed to get it without labor; but unless they had had the aids derived from the false beliefs of the people, they could not have maintained for any length of time a system which pressed so injuriously on the young and active men, and was so obviously for the advantage of the drones in the hive. Superstition, as an ally, enabled the old men to maintain themselves in comfort, and to feast to their content, at times when the workers of the camp might be sorely pressed by hunger. Superior strength, and the influence which age commands, might have sufficed for the easy government of the women and children in this matter; but the young men must have had a firm belief in the doctrines taught by the sorcerers, or they would never have abstained from good food which they themselves had procured, and patiently watched the old wizards of the camp while they ate the emu and feasted on the rich meat afforded by the iguana.

Mirrn-yongs, Shell-mounds, and Stone-shelters.

The large heaps of earth, charcoal, and ashes—the cooking-places of the natives—the shell-mounds on the sea-coast, and the stone-circles on the plains, show that this people have occupied the country for a long period—how long it is impossible to guess. The mounds and the stone-circles are of such a character

* *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes*, 1800–1804. vol. II., p. 154.

as to be easily destroyed by such slight changes as are effected by long-continued rains, great floods, or the alteration of the course of a stream. The ashes and charcoal of their cooking-places, too, would in time be removed, little by little, in seasons of drought, when hot winds prevailed. The light material, dried by the sun, would be blown away. It would not be safe therefore to assume, because no remains of these ovens and stone-circles have been found in post-Pliocene deposits, that they did not once exist. The period of the first occupation of the continent by the Australian race must be determined by other than such negative evidence as this. It must be ascertained by the position in the soil of less perishable monuments. Their stone implements, almost indestructible in their character, are surer guides, in considering this question, than any other of their works of art; and the inferences to be derived from the position of these in recent accumulations is discussed elsewhere. Yet it is not without instruction, when we view the size and position of the mounds and circles, to reflect on the immense periods of time which must have elapsed since some of these were first visited by the natives. The thought of most persons on seeing a very large mound is that the population has been in past times very dense; but this theory is untenable. The country has always been sparsely peopled—the food supplies and the modes of procuring food regulated the numbers; and the great size of the mounds is due to the frequent visits of a few persons during long periods, and not to any sudden accumulation caused by the presence of a multitude. This fact is borne out by the formation of the mounds. The layers of which they are composed point clearly to the slow and gradual heaping-up of small quantities of material from time to time.

The sites for *Mirrn-yong* heaps appear to have been chosen generally in localities near water; and whether because the site was the most convenient that could be chosen, or that it was always preferred because blacks had frequented it previously, is not known; but it is well ascertained that each site was used as a cooking-place by generation after generation. They are often found near or slightly within the margin of a forest or a belt of timber; and the situation is nearly always well sheltered.

There are numerous old *Mirrn-yong* heaps on the banks of the River Plenty, on the Darebin Creek, and the Merri Creek, near Melbourne; they are seen in all parts of the Murray basin, and on the coast; and there are large heaps in the Western district, some of which I have examined.

They are in general of an oval shape, about one hundred feet in length and about forty feet in breadth, and rising to a height of twelve feet or more. They are composed of burnt clay, a little soil, quantities of charcoal and ashes, burnt and unburnt bones, and stones. They enclose numerous fragments of black basalt, chips of greenstone, in some places whole and broken tomahawks, and in more than one have been found human skeletons, as if they had been used in later times as places of burial.

The late Mr. D'Oyly Aplin, at one time Acting Director of the Geological Survey of Victoria, and for a long period a Geological Surveyor, was very active in making researches in reference to these *Mirrn-yong* heaps; and he obtained much interesting information respecting a group of mounds on Mr. John L.

Currie's station, near Mount Elephant. Mr. Currie, in reply to Mr. Aplin's enquiries, stated that the mounds were eight or nine in number, in close proximity to each other, and on the edge of a large marsh. At the time they were last examined by Mr. Currie they were much reduced in size, by the trampling of cattle and sheep. The material being light, and the surface being broken by the hoofs of the cattle, much of it was blown off in clouds of dust in summer. The largest was about thirty or forty yards in length by about fifteen or twenty yards in breadth, and from ten to twelve feet in height. They were nearly twice as high when Mr. Currie first saw them, and at a distance looked like hay-stacks. They are composed of the sort of ash and soil commonly found in *Mirrn-yong* heaps, and there is mixed with the ashes a good deal of wood-charcoal—although there are no trees at the present time within three miles of the spot. A human skeleton and the bones of the native cat and other animals were found in one of the heaps. Mr. Currie thinks that the blacks who resort to the marsh in the season when swans' eggs are abundant may have lost a companion by death and disposed of his remains in the mound, as offering a burial-place where an excavation could be made with the least labor. The bones of the animals, he supposes, are those of creatures that had burrowed in the mounds.

Some human bones were found by Mr. Currie's gardener in his garden at Lara, near Cressy (the same district), under rather peculiar circumstances. In digging, the man came upon a trench, about nine inches in width and twelve inches in depth, in which were several human bones, disposed in order, and covered to the depth of four or five inches with small round stones. The trench seemed to be of considerable length, but it was not farther explored. This is not a mode of sepulture common to the natives; and perhaps was not their work at all. It does not appear that the matter was investigated.

When Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray, Geological Surveyor, was in the Cape Otway district, he made careful enquiries respecting these mounds. Mr. Henry Ford found three *Mirrn-yong* heaps between the Lighthouse at Cape Otway and the Parker River—two about twelve feet in diameter and three feet in depth, and one thirty feet in diameter and five feet in thickness—all on the open dunes (grassed) overlooking the coast. Mr. Ford opened two, and found in them one stone tomahawk, about four inches in length and three inches in breadth, and one, one inch in thickness, sharpened at one end, and composed of hard, fine-grained siliceous sandstone; numerous chips of chert or flint, black and white, such as occur along the coast, and used probably for cutting, skinning animals, cleaning skins, &c.; bone-awls, six inches in length, some round and some triangular, carefully ground and smoothed; bone nose-ornaments (apparently), about two inches in length, round and polished, and bluntly pointed at both ends; charred bones of the wallaby, opossum, kangaroo-rat, birds, fish, seal (ribs, vertebræ, and jaw-bone), dog (jaw-bone); mutton-fish shells; fresh and salt water mussel-shells; and limpet, whelk, periwinkle, and buckie shells.

The stones that had been used for the oven were hard siliceous pebbles from the coast.

Sir Thomas Mitchell found many native ovens on the Murrumbidgee. "The common process of natives," says Sir Thomas "in dressing their provisions, is to lay the food between layers of heated stones; but here, where there are no stones, the calcined clay seems to answer the same purpose, and becomes the better or harder the more it is used. Hence the accumulation of heaps, resembling small hills. Some I observed so very ancient as to be surrounded by circles of lofty trees; others, long abandoned, were half worn away by the river, which, in the course of ages, had so far changed its bed that the burnt ashes reached out to mid-channel; others, now very remote from the river, had large trees growing out of them." *

Middens are found on the banks of nearly all the rivers and large lakes and marshes in Victoria, and on the sea-coast; but it does not appear that they occur in every part of the north. Mr. A. F. Sullivan informs me that he has never seen ovens or mounds, similar to those on the Murray, anywhere in Central Australia.

Shell-mounds, some covering large areas, are common on nearly all parts of the coast, and may be seen almost everywhere at those points where rocks are uncovered by the tide, and where it was easy for the natives to procure shell-fish. I have examined many of these mounds, and nearly all were remarkable for containing mostly the shells of the common mussel, with a less number of such shells as the mutton-fish, cockle, periwinkle, limpet, and oyster. Whether the latter was eaten or not, I cannot say. There is usually a great deal of charcoal mixed with the shells; and, in some cases, bones and implements are found in the heaps.

Mr. Murray collected, at the mouth of Coal Creek, near Cape Patterson, four chips of chert and two well-polished bone-awls from a shell-heap made up principally of shells of the mutton-fish, limpet, periwinkle, &c. The awls appear to be very old, and, judging from the appearance of the heap, it is probable that it is long since the spot was frequented by the blacks.

It is nearly impossible to ascertain, even approximately, the extent of some of the ancient shell-mounds. The mussel-shells, and many of the smaller fragments of the haliotis, &c., have been blown about by the winds, and the area covered by shells is consequently much larger than would have been the case if they had remained in the place where the natives ate the fish. Some of the mounds in Victoria—measuring only the thicker, unmoved parts—are many yards in diameter, and they must have been the resort of the natives during very long periods. Grey found, on a neck of land near the sea, between Port George the Fourth and Hanover Bay, in West Australia, "a complete hill of broken shells, which it must have taken some centuries to form, for it covered nearly, if not quite, half an acre of ground, and in some places was ten feet high. It was situated just over a bed of cockles, and was evidently formed from the remains of native feasts, as their fire-places and the last small heaps of shells were visible on the summit of the hill." † Grey refers in a note to a similar mass

* *Eastern Australia*, vol. II., p. 81.

† *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. I., p. 110.

of shells, though of smaller dimensions, which is spoken of by Capt. King as having been found at Port Essington:—"A curious mound, constructed entirely of shells, rudely heaped together, measuring thirty feet in diameter and fourteen feet high, was also noticed near the beach, and was supposed to be a burying-place of the Indians."*

The shell-mounds in Victoria are, as a rule, never opened by any one. Few people know that they have been formed by the natives; and there is therefore no wanton injury done to them. In one or two places I have seen a shell-mound cut through where a track to the coast has been formed; but the old middens are not interfered with; and future archæologists will find abundant fields for research, in all parts of Australia, when more attention is given to the habits of the natives and a deeper interest is felt in their earlier history. What may be disclosed by a thorough examination of some of the ancient *mirrn-yong* heaps and shell-mounds one cannot guess, but it is not at all improbable that valuable discoveries may yet be made. It would be of the highest interest to find any such stone implements as those of the Tasmanians, or any implements in a transition state; and those who have the opportunity should not neglect to investigate the old mounds wherever they are opened. In the *mirrn-yong* heaps tomahawks of a remarkable form have been discovered by accident; and it is altogether too early to suppose that all that can be known is known respecting the Australian natives.†

Stones, arranged in a circular or semicircular form, are found in some places on the wide plains in Victoria. They appear to have been set up to afford shelter in places where there was no natural break-wind. This is probable, but by no means certain. Very little is known respecting these ancient stone-circles.

In January 1873 I received a letter from Mr. R. E. Johns, a gentleman holding an important Government appointment at Avoca, in Victoria, drawing my attention to a statement in a paper on the *Monuments of Unrecorded Ages*, in No. 125 of *Chambers's Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*, to the following effect:—"Even in Australia, in the Colony of Victoria, they [stone-circles] are to be seen in numbers, sometimes circle within circle, as at Avebury, and without any tradition among the natives as to their origin." Mr. Johns made enquiries, and being unable to learn anything respecting such structures, he wrote to the editor, and found that the authority for the statement regarding the stone-circles of Victoria was a paper by the late Sir James Y. Simpson, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries (Scotland)*. Mr. Ormond had written to Sir James Simpson, informing him that he had seen many such stone-circles, especially near the Mount Elephant Plains, in Victoria. They were from ten to one hundred feet in diameter, and in some there was an inner circle. The stones varied in size and shape, and human

* *King's Australia*, vol. i., p. 87.

† Mr. Frank Stephen informs me that in digging into one of the shell-mounds at Frankston Point a stone tomahawk was found at a depth of six feet from the surface. The numerous shell-mounds between St. Kilda and Point Nepean contain, no doubt, many such relics; and the more ancient implements are likely to be of great interest to the ethnologist.

bones had been dug out of mounds near these circles. The Aborigines had no traditions respecting them, and they invariably denied all knowledge of their origin." Mr. Johns pursued his enquiries, and on referring to Mr. Philip Chauncy, a District Surveyor, and to Mr. Peter Manifold, of Purrumbete, a well-known settler in the Western district, he ascertained their real character;—they are shelter-circles, erected in situations where neither brushwood nor bark can be obtained for building miams.

No doubt many of the heaps of stones have been erected for shelter; but when the natives had to perform certain ceremonies, to prepare themselves for their dances, and to use the strange rites elsewhere referred to, they must necessarily in such places have built up stones for the purpose of exhibiting the rude figures before which they danced, and going through the several parts of their mysteries.

In Mr. Howitt's notes on the Aborigines of Cooper's Creek these stone-circles are mentioned. He found them in many places where the ground was bare, as, for instance, on extensive clay-flats. The stones were of various sizes, but generally about eight inches in diameter. The natives would give no satisfactory account of them, and Mr. Howitt regards them as worthy of investigation.

Mr. Giles, in his overland expedition, found in a glen near the Rawlinson Range several small mounds of stones, placed at even distances apart; and though the ground was all stones, places like paths had been cleared between them. There was also a large piece of rock in the centre of most of these strange heaps. They were not very high—not more than two and a half feet. "I have concluded," says Giles, "it may be said uncharitably, that these are small kinds of Teocalli, and that on the bare rock already mentioned the natives have, and will again perform their horrid rites of human butchery, and that the drippings of the pellucid fountains from the rocky basins above have been echoed and re-echoed by the dripping fountains of human gore from the veins and arteries of their bound and helpless victims."* A minute description of these mounds would have added much to the value of Mr. Giles's narrative, if, as he supposed, they were the work of the natives. Were not these stones only natural out-croppings of the rock, and no more? It does not appear that they were pyramidal buildings; and it is not yet ascertained that the natives of the interior of Australia follow the religious observances of the ancient people of Mexico. Careful notes respecting the character of these stone heaps, information as to the kinds of stones used, and rough measurements, would have been valuable.

Grey found heaps of stones of a different character in North-West Australia. One heap was twenty-two feet five inches in length, thirteen feet ten inches in breadth, and four feet three inches in height; and another was twenty-two feet five inches in length, sixteen feet in breadth, and five feet ten and a half inches in height. They are represented in the drawing given in his work as symmetrical heaps. Grey says:—"They were both placed due east and west,

* *Geographic Travels in Central Australia*, 1872–4, by Ernest Giles, p. 171.

and . . . . with great regularity. They were both exactly of the same length, but differed in breadth and height. They were not formed altogether of small stones from the rock on which they stood, but many were portions of very distant rocks, which must have been brought by human labor, for their angles were as sharp as the day they were broken off; there were also the remains of many and different kinds of sea-shells in the heap we opened. My own opinion concerning these heaps of stones had been that they were tombs; and this opinion remains unaltered, though we found no bones in the mound, only a great deal of fine mould, having a damp, dank smell. The antiquity of the central part of the one we opened appeared to be very great—I should say two or three hundred years; but the stones above were much more modern, the outer ones having been recently placed; this was also the case with the other heap. Can this be regarded by the natives as a holy spot?"*

"On the Murray River singular-looking places are found sometimes, made by the natives by piling small stones close together upon their ends in the ground, ... and projecting four or five inches above the ground. The whole length of the place thus enclosed by one which I examined was eleven yards: at the broad end it was two yards wide, at the narrow end one. The position of this singular-looking place was a clear space on the slope of a hill, the narrow end being the lowest, on in the direction of the river. Inside the line of stones the ground was smoothed and somewhat hollowed. The natives called it *Moo-yumbuck*, and said it was a place for disenchanting an individual afflicted with boils." †

It is now very difficult to obtain information from the natives respecting these erections.

Cannibalism.

The natives of Australia are, under some circumstances, guilty of cannibalism. In another part of this work it has been shown, on the authority of Mr. Samuel Bennett, that during the *Bunya-bunya* season, strangers who visit the *Bunya-bunya* forest for the sake of the fruit are impelled by a craving for flesh to kill one of their number and eat him. Children are killed and eaten; and the fat of the bodies of those who have been killed in battle, as well as of those who have died a natural death, is occasionally swallowed. Hull says that the natives eat human flesh, and offer human victims as sacrifices. ‡ Mundy appears to have had no doubt of the existence of cannibalism in New South Wales, and he makes mention of the despatch of Sir George Gipps (*Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1844) in which is given an account of "perhaps one of the most ferocious acts of cannibalism on record." §

Mr. Angas, quoted by Wood, gives an example of cannibalism, as occurring in New South Wales:—"A lad had died, and his body was taken by several

* *North-West and Western Australia*, vol. I., p. 227.

† *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery*, by Edward John Eyre, vol. II., p. 365.

‡ *Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, 1846, p. 18.

§ *Our Antipodes*, by Lieut.-Col. Mundy, 1857, p. 48.

young men, who proceeded to the following remarkable ceremonies. They began by removing the skin, together with the head, rolling it round a stake, and drying it over the fire. While this was being done, the parents, who had been uttering loud lamentations, took the flesh from the legs, cooked and ate it. The remainder of the body was distributed among the friends of the deceased, who carried away their portions on the points of their spears; and the skin and bones were kept by the parents, and always carried about in their wallets."*

The Rev. Mr. Taplin states that the Tattiara natives are reputed to be cannibals. They are called *Merkani*, and are hated by the *Narrinyeri*, because the *Merkani* have a propensity to stealing fat people and eating them. If a man had a fat wife, he was always particularly careful not to leave her unprotected, lest she might be seized by the prowling *Merkani*.†

A correspondent of Mr. Howitt's, referring to the statements made in the Rev. Mr. Taplin's work, says that cannibalism amongst the Tattiara blacks is not well authenticated. Isolated cases of man-eating are told of all the tribes by their neighbours, but they themselves invariably deny that the practice is indulged in. The Tattiara country is in lat. 36° 20′ S., and extends for some miles both on the west and east of the 141st meridian, the boundary between Victoria and South Australia. The Tattiara blacks are nearly allied to the Glenelg tribe, are warlike, and in many points like the *Narrinyeri*.

Gason's account of cannibalism, as existing amongst the Dieyerie tribe, near Cooper's Creek, is given elsewhere.

From a manuscript report placed in my hands by the Rev. Lorimer Fison I learn that the natives of Fraser Island (Great Sandy Island), Queensland, are cannibals; and that in former times cannibalism was much more common than now. They eat the young men and young women that are fat. Their word to express hunger after flesh is said to be *Nulla-peethung*.

The Jardines, on their overland expedition from Rockhampton to Cape York, found "at a native fire the fresh remains of a negro roasted; the head and thigh-bones were alone complete; all the rest of the body and limbs had been broken up, and the skull was full of blood. Whether this was the body of an enemy cooked for food, or of a friend disposed of after the manner of their last rites, must remain a mystery—until the country and its denizens become better known."‡

It must be admitted that the condition of the body was in the highest degree suspicious.

Sir Thomas Mitchell says the Australian savage is not a cannibal.§ In this he is right, if the term be restricted to such practices as were followed in some parts of Europe, up to the end of the fourteenth century, and to the feasts on human flesh in which the men of Fiji and New Zealand indulge. The Australian is not a man-eater as the New Zealander is. When severely pressed by hunger, he has been known to eat human flesh; and for the proper performance of certain ceremonials he is required by his laws to use the fat of the kidneys and

* *The Natural History of Man*, vol. II., p. 62.

† *The Narrinyeri*, p. 2.

‡ *Overland Expedition*, 1867, p. 12.

§ *Eastern Australia*, 1838, vol. II., p. 344.

other parts of the body for anointing himself, and he also swallows the fat and skin on some occasions; but he does not, like many of the South Sea Islanders, build a huge oven, and cook a number of human bodies, in order that a whole tribe and its friends may enjoy a feast. Horrible and disgusting as may be the customs amongst his people, he is not so bad as his neighbours.

Mr. Alfred W. Howitt has been good enough to obtain for me some information from the natives of Gippsland respecting the eating of human flesh. He says:—

"Taking kidney-fat, called *Wurnewunga wallunga—i.e.*, the fat of the 'stone,' the kidney being so called from a supposed resemblance to a rounded pebble—from the conquered enemy, is not the custom of the Gippsland blacks, who, however, know of it as being customary among those of Maneroo—the *Brajeraks*. The custom here is, or rather was, to remove the skin from each side extending from the arm to the waist, and from the breast to the shoulder-blade, and from each thigh in front from the groin to the knee. This was roasted on the fire, and eaten by all men present. Women and boys were not allowed to eat this, or even to see the operation performed. It is said to have been done 'because father belonging to you and me'—that is, the ancestors—did it; in other words, as a traditionary custom, the meaning of which was lost. It is denied that any of the strength or courage of the deceased would pass to the eaters. One blackfellow explained it to me by saying—'After fighting that fellow, berry hungry.' The following instance may be given, which occurred soon after Gippsland was settled. My informant is Long Harry, otherwise Toorl-bourn (name given by his father), Bungil Bottle (name given by his contemporaries on account of his propensity to empty bottles containing strong waters), and otherwise Bungil Wunkin (a name indicating that he is the great boomerang thrower of the tribe, which has been acquired lately). The story is as follows, which I give as nearly as possible as he told me:—'When I was a young man, beard just growing—I had been made "Jerry-ale"—a lot of strange blacks came down to Gippsland. They were some Dargo River blacks, and with them some Omeo blacks. The Gippsland blacks did not meddle with them, because the Dargo blacks live on the upper part of this river (Mitchell), and therefore belong to us. The names of two of the Dargo blacks were Tare-ngun and Too-turn-burr; they were two brothers, very strong men, and left-handed. There were several others, but I forget them. Among the Omeo blacks were one called Panky Panky and another Binjo. I don't know what these names mean, they belong to another language. This mob of blacks camped at the Top Plain, near Bushy Park, and were looking round for 'possums, and so on—hunting. The Gippsland blacks were camped near Bushy Park, and I was there, and so knew all about this. The Dargo blacks quarrelled with the Omeo blacks, and they separated camps. Tare-ngun sent two men to find out where Panky Panky was encamped. In the night, just before dawn, the Dargo blacks all surrounded the Omeo men's camp. Binjo's wife saw them, and jumped up and sang out. The others rushed in—they were armed with reed-spears, pointed with glass—and speared the two men. Binjo ran out, but was followed, and overtaken about half a mile off. He had his blanket.

rolled up like a "Bamarook,"* and caught the spears in front; but other men came behind him, and he was killed. He was full of spears. He was left lying there. I don't know what became of him; I expect the wild dogs eat him. Then they caught the women, and each man who had first speared the man took his wife. Then the men killed in the camp were skinned, and the skin roasted and eaten. Panky Panky was a very big, fat man, twice as fat as "Billy the Bull."† All the men who were there helped to eat the skin. Then the camp was thrown down on the dead men, and Tare-ngun and the others went away with the women. One woman had a fine little boy at her back, in her 'possum rug. One old man took him out, and, holding him by the feet, knocked his head against a tree, and killed him like a 'possum. Some said, "Why did you do that; we wanted to keep him?" He said, "By-and-by, when he grows up, he will kill you." To an enquiry what roast skin tasted like, Harry says, 'Like "porcupine;" '‡ and Toby, otherwise *Wunda Garewut* (which may be freely translated, 'Where is the creek?'), remarks, 'Yes; like porcupine. I once eat a piece of a Tarra blackfellow, when I was a young man.' "

Mr. Howitt's account of the practice, as it existed amongst the warlike tribes of Gippsland, shows, probably, the furthest extent to which the horrible custom was usually followed, and may be taken as a fair statement of the facts as affecting, at any rate, the natives of Victoria. In the northern parts of the continent, and in the interior, when there is a scarcity of food, it is not doubted that revolting instances of cruelty, followed by cannibalism, are not rare.§

The Habits of Animals (from information furnished by the Aborigines).

About seven years ago I obtained from the Superintendents of the principal Aboriginal Stations in Victoria, accounts, taken down from the lips of the natives, of the habits of some of the animals which it was presumed they were well acquainted with; and I now give these in the form in which I received them. They are valuable—not so much because of what they contain, but—as showing in what direction the mental energies of the natives are directed. All that concerns them as hunters and fishers they know; but questions relating to matters of no practical importance to them in their mode of life they neglect.

As regards things of interest to them, and as regards facts in connection with their pursuits, they are full of knowledge, and capable of imparting the knowledge they possess; but they are invariably wearied, and to some extent annoyed, when questioned on subjects to which they are indifferent.

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* Bamarook is the oval shield with which reed-spears or boomerangs are warded off. Turnnumy is the long narrow shield with which blows from the waddy are stopped.

† Billy the Bull, a stout black, of Lake Tyers, and perhaps the strongest blackfellow here.

‡ Echidna.

§ Eyre quotes the official report of Mr. Protector Sievewright, of Lake Tarong (Port Phillip district), published in August 1844, in which some details are given of an instance of cannibalism that are almost too shocking to record. The natives seem to have fallen upon the dead body of their enemy with a ferocity surpassing that of the most savage amongst carnivorous animals. The liver and viscera were torn from the corpse and eaten raw!—*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery*, vol. II., pp. 257–8.

This indifference to the acquisition of knowledge which does not seem at the moment to be of use or profit is as clearly apparent in the Aboriginal mind as in that of an ordinary European, and is shown not more in these papers, contributed by the Superintendents of Stations, than in the statements generally in this work. In this respect the ordinary European is in no way better than the Australian black. Knowledge that cannot be turned to immediate profit is despised by both, and were it not for the labors of those who value knowledge—not for what it confers, not even for what it may confer, but simply for its exceeding preciousness as knowledge—the arts—even those that give wealth—would advance but slowly; and the physical powers that can be governed and directed at the will of man would remain undiscovered.

Habits of Native Animals, according to accounts given to the Rev. John Bulmer by the natives of Lake Tyers, Gippsland:—

Bärlijan or Platypus.

The platypus lives in the water; he makes holes under the banks of the rivers. A good many live in one place; they have plenty of young ones in their holes: never saw any eggs, only young ones. It has young ones about spring-time: never saw him feed his young. It makes its nest of weed out of the water. It is very good to eat: plenty of fat. It has *Gola Koo-yun* or spur on its hind foot, which it sticks into any one: makes hand belonging to blackfellow swell very much. The platypus is not very big; about half as long as the arm of a man.

Jirrah or Kangaroo.

The kangaroo generally has its young ones in the summer-time; it has never more than one young one at a time. Blackfellow finds the young one in the pouch very small; they must grow in the pouch. Kangaroos in the day-time like to lie in the sun, and in summer-time they make themselves a big camp. They go in big mobs; sometimes there is only one male in a mob and sometimes two.

Bathalook or Iguana.

The iguana eats any kind of flesh-meat; he catches birds or rats, or any dead thing; he lives in the holes of trees, and makes his nest in the ground: he has a good many eggs. Blackfellow not know how many. The iguana never sits upon her eggs; the young ones come out without that; the mother does not feed her young ones. The blacks generally keep out of the way of the iguana when it is savage or angry. When it is very angry it makes a hissing noise. It will sometimes run after any one who is trying to kill it.

Fish.

The reason why blackfellow catch many fish sometimes and sometimes not many is because the fish in cold weather go into the deep and in summer they come up.

No-yang or Eel.

The eel is mostly found in weedy places. It goes up the rivers to put its young ones; sometimes it goes out into the sea—generally in the summer-time. Blacks think they go to sea to hide themselves, because they like to stop in weedy or deep places. The eel feeds upon little fish, and will eat young eels and also shrimps or crabs.

Thurrung or Snake.

There are many different kinds of snakes. There is the *Ninballa nark*, or black-backed snake; the *Thurrung*, or grey snake; and the *Galang*, a small red-looking snake. The snake has a good many eggs—about ten. When the young ones come out of the eggs, they go down the mother's throat, for sometimes blackfellow finds them inside the mother when he kills the snake. The snake makes a hole in the ground; some get into a hole in a tree; and some go up very high trees. Snakes like a place where there is plenty of grass. When a snake bites any one, he leaves his tooth in the place where he bites. Blackfellow can get cured of the bite of the snake by the black doctor singing over him. Many blackfellows have been saved in that way.

Habits of Native Animals, according to accounts given to the Rev. A. Hartmann by the natives of Lake Hindmarsh:—

The Platypus.

The platypus lives both on the land and in the water. It can keep under water a long time, say half an hour. It burrows holes into the bank of the river, some ten or fifteen feet, slanting towards the surface of the ground, branching off on either side in short passages, with a nest here and there. The nests are made of layers of rushes and grass. They cast their young ones in autumn, and give them suck. They have from six to ten young ones, which are grown up towards the end of winter, when they are taken out by the mother and taught to shift for themselves. They live chiefly on small cray-fish and other fish. They dive for the fish and catch them in their claws. When leaving the hole in search of food, they cover the entrance with clay: in fact, it is always kept closed. They appear to come out only in the morning and evening, except in cloudy or rainy weather, when they are seen during the day. When attacked, the platypus defends itself with its claws.*

* The Ornithorhyncus is an ovoviviparous animal, and suckles its young. Its burrow and nest are made much in the way described by the natives. It usually feeds in the mud at the bottom of streams, where it finds very small shell-fish, river insects, river weeds, &c. When engaged in feeding, it uses its mandibles in the same manner as a duck. It is stated by naturalists that the spur is not used as a weapon of offence, and that a scratch given by the spur causes no such effects as those described by the natives of Lake Tyers. It is not likely, however, that the natives would make a mistake in such a matter. A recent case of poisoning is mentioned as having occurred near Jerry's Plains, in the Maitland district. A man whilst fishing in the river found a platypus entangled in his net, and in attempting to disengage it, the animal, it is said, struck its spur into his forefinger. The wound caused intense pain, the hand and arm became swollen; and medical aid was sought. The sufferer was treated as for snake-poisoning, and recovered.

The Kangaroo.

They take their rest chiefly during the day; and they are very wary. Even when they sleep, lying on their side, the ears are constantly moving. The hearing of the kangaroo is very acute. I was told that, in trying to sneak near them, the cracking of your ankle-bones they hear at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards. They always feed with the head with the wind, and thus are not easily surprised. When startled, they give a rap with the foot on the ground, to give notice to the others. They fight also a good deal, uttering a sort of grunting *ha ha*, catching hold of one another, hitting with their fore-paws and kicking with their hind ones, but never killing one another. Their usual feeding-time is in the night. As to the mode of breeding, the blacks are not sure whether the kangaroo is born or not. What they have found to be the case is this: a small, small kangaroo—the size of the first joint of the finger—hanging on the teat in the bag. The teat seems to be grown together with the mouth, and is gradually separated on the growing of the young one: the little thing, pulled away from the teat, dies.* The kangaroo feeds its young only by means of the teat; when they grow bigger they eat grass. The old kangaroo, when hunted by dogs, throws its young one out of the bag to save its own life, but dogs generally do not care about the young ones, except they are already pretty big. Number of young—one. Breed once a year. The breeding-time begins about June, and in about six months the young leaves the bag, but even after that the young will stick to its mother for years. The strength of the kangaroo is in its tail; when broken, it can neither fight nor run much. The kangaroo makes no proper nest, but, in the heat of summer, he scratches a hole in the ground to fit his own body, to lie in to keep himself cool. When resting or sleeping in that hole, he keeps throwing dust on his head with his fore-paws to keep off flies and other insects. The red kangaroo catches the big flies that come near him; and if these flies have come from a man just then sneaking near him, he smells the presence of the man in the fly, and makes off at once.

The white and red kangaroo, sleeping very fast, have their own way to guard themselves against being surprised. They make their young ones keep watch, and these young ones sit up, looking like a log. You would not distinguish them from the same.

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* The blacks and the whites, as a rule, are ignorant of the mode in which the young of the kangaroo is placed in the pouch. From the observations of naturalists of the highest repute, it appears that, after parturition, the mother opens her pouch with her fore-paws, and uses her mouth to carry and place the young one on the nipple. A very young kangaroo—say twelve hours after birth—is only one inch and two lines in length, and is nearly transparent. I have myself detached a young one less than two inches in length from the nipple of a dead kangaroo—killed in a kangaroo hunt; and to me it seemed impossible that the mother could have carried and attached it to the nipple; yet there is irrefragable evidence of this being the mode in which it is placed in the marsupium. It is stated that in one instance a very young kangaroo, forcibly removed from the nipple and left in the bag, was replaced by the mother. The fœtus itself could not regain the nipple.

The account taken down by the Rev. Mr. Hartmann is very interesting. The natives evidently rarely or never investigate for the purpose of satisfying curiosity or gaining knowledge that would not be of use to them.

The Lizard.

The lizard lays its eggs in a nest of grubs (which the blacks eat). It does not any more care about its eggs. They lie about ten months among the grubs before being hatched. The big lizards feed on the small ones and other things they can get, such as frogs, &c. All the lizards, and the snakes too, get blind in the middle of summer, and keep so for a month, when they go into holes; but before doing so they throw off their outer coat, and for the space of a month you see no lizards or snakes. They go into the water too, and can keep under water for a little time.

The Eel.

The eel is not found at Lake Hindmarsh.

The Snake.

Snakes are not numerous here. The black snake, diamond snake, and deaf-adder, a snake like the diamond with a very black head, and another black snake with yellow stripes. All of them are poisonous, but especially the one with the black head. The diamond with the black head and the striped ones live only in the Mallee. They live chiefly among the roots of trees. They can keep under water for a long time.

Fish.

The blacks have no particular reason to give why fish are plentiful at one time and scarce at another. They simply say, "This is not the time for fish."

NOTE.—Mr. Hartmann says, in a letter to me, that it is a difficult matter to get a long and minute account of the habits, &c., of the animals mentioned in my memorandum. About the lizard and snake he could hardly get anything from the blacks, in spite of asking a great many questions.

Habits of Native Animals, according to accounts given to the Rev. F. A. Hagenauer, of Lake Wellington, Gippsland:—

The Platypus.

The duck-billed platypus makes no nests, but lives in holes on the banks of rivers; it gets its young ones like the water-rats, always in summer, and has never more than two young ones at one time; it suckles its young ones like rats. When the young ones are full grown, they are very good for eating, but not before.

The Kangaroo.

The kangaroo lives on grass and rushes, and carries its young ones always with it in its bag; it teaches its young ones to jump about every morning before sunrise, till they are old enough to go alone.

The Lizard.

The lizard feeds on worms and flies; it lays its eggs in holes and soft ground, and leaves them; when the young ones are out of the egg, they care for themselves. Both the lizards and their eggs are good for eating.

Eels.

The eels generally live in water-holes, rivers, and swamps; but often, when the grass is wet, they travel long distances over it. Eels are very good for eating.

Snakes.

The common sort of snakes are to be found or met with everywhere; they sleep in winter and travel in summer. Before the snakes changed their heads with the turtles they were not dangerous, but now, if they bite, nearly always is death certain. Some snakes were good for eating long ago, but now beef and mutton are better.

Habits of Native Animals, according to accounts given to Mr. John Green, of the Coranderrk Station (Yarra River):—

The Platypus.

The blacks say that the platypus has but one young at a time, and that it gives birth to it in the same way as a dingo, and suckles it. It is in the spring of the year that they have their young. They make a nest in a hole in the ground on the bank of a creek.

Snakes.

The blacks say that they do not know anything about snakes.

The Lizard.

The small lizards lay their eggs in old logs, and they are hatched by the heat of the sun. The large lizards lay their eggs in the roots of hollow trees, and then clay up the hole. About the middle of summer they return, and remove part of the clay, leaving only a small or thin crust over the eggs, which the young ones can easily remove themselves.

Fish and Eels.

The blacks say they do not know how fish and eels breed.

Kangaroo.

They say that the young are formed first in the womb, and when they are born the mother puts them into the pouch.

Diseases.

Long before the Europeans came to mix with the Aboriginal natives of Australia the latter were afflicted with various diseases—some resembling those that are generally regarded as having had their origin in Europe and Asia. They had, as a common complaint, ophthalmia, brought on by exposure to the weather. Over the dusty dry plains of the interior, which cast back the rays of the sun with an intensity that cannot be believed until it is experienced, they were sometimes compelled to wander; and the heat, and the dust, and the stinging of the flies and mosquitos, almost blinded them.

"The poor winking people of New Holland," as they are called in *Dampier's Voyage*, "have their eyelids always half-closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people, and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at somewhat over them."* It was on the 4th January 1688, in the height of the Australian summer, that Dampier saw the natives of the north-west coast, and his straightforward, uncompromising language was no doubt justified by what he saw.

Sir Thomas Mitchell found a native on the River Bogan afflicted with ophthalmia, and again on the Lachlan one almost blind from ophthalmia or filth.† The complaint, combined with neglect and exposure, sometimes causes a native to lose the sight of one or both eyes. In the low, flat country drained by the Murray, Murrumbidgee, and Lachlan, this disease is common.

A very fatal disease, which nearly all writers describe as small-pox, was prevalent very many years ago, and carried off great numbers. Mr. Gason says that the Cooper's Creek natives call it *Moora-moorà*, and that they were evidently subject to it before coming into contact with Europeans, as many old men and women are pock-marked in the face and body. They state that a great number died of this disease; and Mr. Gason has been shown, on the top of a sandhill, seventy-four graves, said to be those of men, women, and children who perished by this fell disorder.‡

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* *Dampier's Voyages*, 1688, vol. I., p. 464. † *Eastern Australia*, vol. I., p. 197.

‡ *The Dieverie Tribe*. 1874. D. 28.

On the Lower Murray and near Lake Alexandrina the blacks have a tradition that some sixty years ago a terrible disease came down the River Murray, and carried off the natives by hundreds. This must have been small-pox, as many of the old people now have their faces pitted who suffered from the disease in childhood. The destruction of life was so great as to seriously diminish the tribes. The natives always represent that before this scourge arrived they were much more numerous. They say that so many died that they could not perform the usual funeral rites for the dead, but were compelled to bury them at once out of the way. Mr. Taplin, who makes these statements, thinks that there must have been more than one visitation of this kind, judging from the age of those who are pock-marked.*

Mr. Peter Beveridge says many adults on the Lower Murray are marked with small-pox, which he thinks may have been contracted by the natives in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and passed on from tribe to tribe. The people state that their sufferings from this disease were fearful in the extreme, and that the deaths were so numerous that they could not inter the bodies, but left them where they died, and moved their camps to a new locality. This was repeated, they relate, day after day, until the whole atmosphere was tainted with the decomposing bodies. They thought that not one would escape death, and they had arrived at such a pitch of misery as to be careless whether they died or not. When the hot summer set in, however, the distemper gradually abated; but it was years before they got over the panic. This seems to have been the only great terror that is remembered by them, and the only period they can indicate as one in which great numbers died of the same disease.†

Mr. Jno. G. Clapham, of Casterton, states, in a letter to Mr. Nathaniel Munro, to whom I am indebted for much assistance, that in the year 1841 he went to reside on the River Murray, at its entrance into Lake Alexandrina, and he noticed among the different tribes resident on the river and the lake many adults deeply pitted with small-pox. The blacks described to Mr. Clapham the manner of attack and death, and said that the disease came down the river and continued its course along the lake to the sea-coast, carrying off great numbers. They added that the tribes have never recovered the loss of life sustained, but have since remained comparatively few.

In his journey, Sir Thomas Mitchell found nearly everywhere traces of the small-pox; and many of the people of the tribes inhabiting the large area drained by the River Darling were marked with it. He saw pock-marked men on the Bogan, at Fort Bourke, and all along the course of the Darling down to near its junction with the Murray. At Fort Bourke, the marks on the people were not larger than pins' heads—in other places marks of confluent small-pox were seen. The disease had raged amongst them with extraordinary virulence; the people at Fort Bourke at the time of Sir Thomas Mitchell's visit represented only the remnant of a tribe, and it was believed that small-pox had nearly depopulated the Darling. The females were numerous in proportion to the males, and were not secluded by the men, as in other places where they

* *The Narrinyeri*, 1874, pp. 32-3. † *The Lower Murray Aborigines*, &c., 1861.

were more in demand. On a little hill, on the banks of the Lower Darling, Sir Thomas saw three large tombs, of an oval shape, and in length about twelve feet. Each stood in the centre of an artificial hollow, the mound or tomb in the middle being about five feet high, and on each of them were piled numerous withered branches and limbs of trees, no inappropriate emblems of mortality. These tombs, Sir Thomas believed, covered the remains of the tribe swept off by small-pox—the marks of which were left on all that remained alive.*

Collins states that small-pox killed great numbers of the natives shortly after the settlement was formed in New South Wales [1788]. Numerous dead bodies were found in excavations of the rocks, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves. Many families had been swept off. Whether it had ever appeared before could not be ascertained, but the name they gave it—*gal-gal-la*—indicated a previous acquaintance with it.† The name given to this disease at Raffles Bay is, according to Dr. Wilson, *Oie-boir*.

I have been thus particular in collecting information respecting the ravages of the small-pox, because it shows in what manner the numbers of the native race have been reduced in consequence of the introduction by the whites of one contagious disease. Other diseases have been brought by the white man which have killed many thousands; but this terrible malady, so frightful in its effects whether the sufferer lived or died, and so potent in causing destruction, struck the natives with terror. The mother beheld her children dead or disfigured; the husband saw his wife, if she lived, with a body that was the more loathsome because it recalled every day and every time he looked upon her the horrors through which his tribe had passed. Their graves were multiplied in numbers until at last the dead were so many that graves could not be provided for them; and the bodies were left on the banks of rivers, on the sands of the coast, and in the depths of the forest, to rot or be eaten by the dogs. Nothing can be imagined more likely to dispirit a people, to drive them to despair, and to cause them to lose all hope, than such a visitation as that which struck down the natives during the period immediately subsequent to the formation of the settlement at Point Maskeleyne. That it was introduced by the whites is certain, though none of the colonists that accompanied Governor Phillip appear to have suffered from it.

"In the month of April 1789," says Bennett, "the dead bodies of numbers of natives were seen in the bush, and in various places about the shores of the harbour; and others were found in a dying condition from a disease which they called *gal-gal-la*. The Governor, thinking this a favorable opportunity to conciliate and again open friendly relations with them, ordered two sick children and a man who was found nursing them under a rock in the harbour to be brought to the camp. The medical officers at once pronounced the disease to be small-pox. The presence amongst the Aborigines of that dreadful scourge was considered exceedingly remarkable, seeing that it could not have been communicated to them by the whites, having never made its appearance among

* *Eastern Australia*, 1838, vol. i., pp. 216, 255, 259, 260, 304.

† *The English Colony in New South Wales*, 1804, p. 58.

the colonists. Both the black children recovered, but the man died shortly afterwards. Col. Collins gives a most affecting picture of the devotion and attention to the children shown by this poor savage, who was not their parent, but who, in a very short time, endeared himself to the strangers by whom he was surrounded, and died eight days after he was seized with the disease, to the regret of all who had witnessed the amiability and gentleness of his deportment. Not one case of the disorder occurred among the white people either afloat or on shore, although there were several young children in the settlement; but a North American Indian, who happened to be on board the schooner *Supply*, took the disease and died. This fact would seem to indicate that the lower vitality of the colored races sometimes offers a field in which the seeds of disease will fully develop themselves, even when they are not sufficiently vigorous to germinate under conditions afforded by the more robust and enduring constitutions of white people. There was no trace to be discovered among the Aborigines that such a disease as small-pox had ever visited the country before, and therefore it is only reasonable to conclude that the infection, in a latent state, must have been introduced by the newly-arrived colonists, although they themselves escaped its ravages. Their immunity from the scourge might have arisen either from some peculiarity in their system induced by the changes of climate which they had lately undergone, the food on which they existed, or, which is more likely, the superior vitality of their race. The numbers of the Aborigines who fell before this dreadful disease must have been very great. Famine had prepared them for pestilence, and the pestilence which smote them was the more terrible, because, being wholly unknown, it found them entirely unprepared with even such simple remedies as those with which savages frequently combat diseases of a very severe character."*

The small-pox appears to have followed the tribes along the courses of all the rivers, both on the north and on the south, and to have reached those living near the mouth of the Murray and the Lakes some years after it was first heard of in Sydney. The traditions of the natives respecting its ravages may be accepted as accurate—indeed their burial-places are the dumb memorials of the visitation; but the exact period of its appearance in Victoria cannot of course be ascertained from the blacks.

This disease undoubtedly, besides reducing the numbers, effected a great alteration in the condition of the Aborigines generally, and led probably to the breaking up of some tribes—the remnants coalescing for protection from inimical tribes and for the conservation of their common interests.

It is now difficult to ascertain the nature of the diseases which existed amongst the natives prior to the colonization of Australia by the whites. Those that are now named as most fatal appear to be exactly of that character which would be induced by the change of habits incidental to their contact with Europeans. For instance, it is stated by many writers that they are afflicted with rheumatism, colds, and pulmonary diseases; but, in consequence of their association with the whites, they have altered their mode of living.

* *Australian Discovery and Colonization*, 1865, pp. 142–3.

They wear clothes when they can get them; their food is different; they indulge in spirituous liquors, and they are alternately enjoying some of the comforts introduced by the colonists and resorting to their original customs, —at one time too warmly clad perhaps, at another time lying out in the bush, exposed to all weathers—not taking any such precautions as they would have taken when in their natural state. A native living in the wilds of the bush, and uncontaminated by contact with the whites, was probably as healthy as any of the animals that he chased. If he survived the accidents of childhood, and did not break down under the trying ordeal through which he had to pass on being "made a young man," he was for the rest of his life almost invulnerable to the indigenous diseases of his country. That the natives were hardy is unquestionable. Sir Thomas Mitchell says that one "freezing night the natives stript off all their clothes (their usual custom) previous to lying down to sleep in the open air, their bodies being doubled round a few burning reeds."* And this at a time when the earth was white with a hoar-frost.

All that can be collected now relating to diseases bears no reference to the time when the blacks were in a state of nature, and must consequently be received with caution. I have shown elsewhere that a native rapidly recovers from wounds that would prove fatal to men of other races, and this appears to me to be inconsistent with the statement that they are naturally of a weak constitution and of inferior vitality.

"The principal diseases," says Mr. Taplin, "to which these [the Narrinyeri] tribes of Aborigines are subject are of a scrofulous nature. The tendency to tuberculosis is seen in childhood in the form of tabes mesenterica, and sometimes of hydrocephalus. Towards the age of puberty it is developed as pulmonary consumption. Sometimes it is carried off before the age of puberty by induration and ulceration of the glands of the neck. The above are the most fatal diseases amongst the Narrinyeri; the majority of deaths are caused by them. The other diseases to which they are subject are liver complaint, diarrhœa, and dysentery, and, rarely, brain fever. I have never known a case of intermittent fever amongst them. Of course they are subject to inflammation of the bowels, kidneys, liver, lungs, and throat. . . . . I have never known a native to have the measles. This disease has at different times prevailed amongst the whites; but the blacks, although constantly about the dwellings of those laboring under it, never caught it. . . . . I have never known a case of scarlatina amongst the Aborigines, although it was very prevalent some years ago amongst the whites; and I have reason to believe that a great deal of clothing from houses infected by the disease was given to the natives. The natives are very subject to epidemic influenza, which they call *nruwi*." †

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer informs me in a letter that the diseases most prevalent amongst the blacks are rheumatism of the joints, bronchitis and other affections of the lungs, dysentery, and syphilis. No doubt, he says, their mode of living

* *Eastern Australia*, vol. II, p. 144.

† *The Narrinyeri*, p. 32.

tends to induce these diseases. They expose themselves to all kinds of weather; they will sleep without any covering; and their conduct in other respects is such as to bring on diseases of the worst description.

On the Government Stations in Victoria, where considerable numbers of Aborigines are now located, and where their ailments are treated by professional gentlemen who report regularly to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, the most common diseases are catarrhs, influenza, pneumonia, chronic bronchitis, phthisis, rheumatism, glandular affections, inflammation of the kidneys or liver, lumbago, tabes mesenterica (in one case with chorea), eczematous affections (as psoriasis, &c.), hydatid tumours in the lungs, &c., low intermittent fever, ophthalmia; whooping-cough, affecting adults as well as children; gonorrhœa, and syphilitic diseases. The natives are not free either in these establishments from prevailing epidemics, as measles, scarlet fever, &c.

There is one complaint which seems to be indigenous. Collins mentions it. He says that the natives living on the sea-coast, who feed chiefly on fish, have a disorder greatly resembling the itch. They term it *Djee-ball-djee-ball.* It was sometimes virulent, and those afflicted with it were rendered loathsome. Mr. Taplin says this disease amongst the Narrinyeri is called *Wirrullume,* and resembles pustular itch, but is not communicable to Europeans; even half-castes seldom have it, although they may sleep with persons suffering from it. The application of sulphur, he adds, is a specific against the *Wirrullume.* Mr. Gason reports that a cutaneous disease, which he thinks is the itch, and called by the Dieyerie people *Wittcha,* is prevalent at Cooper's Creek. The symptoms are innumerable small pimples all over the body, causing considerable irritation, only to be temporarily allayed by rubbing the parts affected with a sharp instrument or stone—the hand alone being insufficient to afford relief. It is very contagious, spreading from one person throughout the camp, and is probably caused by a general want of cleanliness and allowing mangy dogs to lie with them. They are subject to this disease once a year.

The late Mr. Thomas stated that this kind of leprosy, or itch, was called by the natives of Victoria *Bubburum;* and that they had it always amongst them. He knew scarcely one above twelve years of age that was not affected with it. He added—"All animals, dogs, cats, and even opossums, if kept by the blacks as pets, are soon affected with it; the animals lose all their hair, and soon show only a bare skin."

Boils are common, too, amongst the natives in some parts. Mr. Gason says that a disease—*Mirra*—afflicts every native once in his life—sometimes at three years of age, but more frequently at fourteen or thereabouts. The symptoms are large blind boils, under the arms, in the groin, or on the breast or thighs, varying in size from a hen's egg to that of an emu's egg. The complaint endures for months, and in some instances for years, before it is eradicated, and during its presence the patient is generally so much enfeebled as to be unable to procure food—indeed he is often rendered quite helpless. The only remedy employed is the application of hot ashes to the parts affected.

Mr. John Green informs me that he has observed the blacks to suffer from a disease which is obscure in its origin, and develops symptoms not observed

amongst Europeans. A native will sometimes begin to mope. He may have a slight cold, or there may be nothing in his appearance to indicate any kind of sickness, but he sits over the fire, and will not move if he can help it. He does not complain, but he appears to be ill notwithstanding. This may continue for as long as six weeks. As soon as the lungs are attacked—and, sooner or later, in all such cases, the lungs begin to exhibit signs of disease—the patient rapidly sinks and dies. Recoveries, he says, under treatment by Europeans at even an early stage of the disorder are not common. Sometimes, but rarely, a black will recover without medical treatment of any kind.

The Right Reverend Dr. Rosendo Salvado, Bishop of Port Victoria, in a most interesting and valuable report, addressed to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary of West Australia, makes mention of a case not very dissimilar to that just described. He says:—"A strong and healthy young native, who never in his life knew what strong liquors or European vices were, is admitted into a private house, mission, or establishment; for some time he goes on well, gay and full of life; but in a few months, or perhaps after a couple of years, a fatal melancholy takes possession of him. Being asked what is the matter with him, he answers, 'Nothing!' 'Do you feel sick?' 'No, sir.' 'Do you suffer any pain?' 'No, sir.' 'Why are you not so cheerful as before?' 'I do not know.' He takes his meals as regularly as ever, he has no fever, yet he daily and almost at sight loses his flesh, strength, and health. What is the technical name of such a disease? Perhaps consumption, perhaps liver complaint. Let it be so; but is there no remedy for such diseases? Are there no preventives of their causes? Yes, there are; but, nevertheless, that native died shortly after."

The good bishop consulted several medical gentlemen respecting the maladies which afflict the natives, but he could get no satisfactory information as to their origin or the best mode of treatment.

One doctor confessed that, as a general rule, every time he had taken any sick native under his especial care, he succeeded only, he regretted to say, in killing him the sooner. Dr. Salvado has observed that when a native has been under treatment by a medical man in a hospital or a private house, he has made no improvement, but when consigned to the care of his friends and taken to the bush, he has rapidly recovered.

It is undoubtedly true that the modes of treatment adopted by Europeans are not, as a rule, successful, if the black be at all under the influence of his own people. In the first place, there is the feeling of loneliness; he is separated from his companions, and his spirits droop. Then the old superstitions are strong upon him. His hair, perhaps, has been cut, his old clothes taken away from him, and with them probably some valued possession on which his heart is set. He fears the white man, dreads his medicines, and shrinks from the outward applications which may, for aught he knows, be possessed of secret properties that will cause his destruction. He sighs for a return to his old friends and his old pursuits; and it is highly probable that he neglects every precaution that his medical attendant has enjoined as necessary for his recovery. The European doctor, indeed, is always at a great disadvantage when dealing

with the natives; and though medical men are in Victoria most zealous and painstaking at all the Aboriginal Stations, they are thwarted continually by the people for whose benefit they use their utmost skill. A blackfellow, sent to a hospital for treatment, has informed me confidentially that he was being poisoned. Another has said, "Doctor no good," and some have shown the strongest predilection for quack medicines. They seem to know instinctively what is genuine and what is not; and they cling as strongly to the latter as any of the Europeans. They seem, too, to have the same regard and respect for irregular practitioners as the whites; and some will greedily take medicine from the hands of a person who pretends to a knowledge of physic when they will actually refuse the draught that medical skill has made ready for their cure.

They have in their natural state a firm belief in the methods of cure adopted by their own doctors. Mr. Wilhelmi says that amongst the diseases which afflict them most often are "sores, diarrhœa, colds, and headache. For removing these, or partially curing them for the time, they apply outward remedies, some of which appear to be effective. The chief ones are rubbing, pressing, and treading even upon the afflicted parts of the body, in particular the belly and the back; tightening of the belt, and also of the band which they usually wear round the head; bandaging the diseased part; sprinkling or washing it with cold water in case of fever or inflammation. Sores or wounds are generally left to take their course, or the utmost done is to tie something tight round them, or, if inflammation has ensued, to sprinkle cold water upon them. Bleeding of the lower arm they apply in cases of headache. A most extraordinary remedy against headache I saw applied in 1849, in the case of a woman, who submitted to having her head so cut up by another woman with pieces of broken glass that the blood actually dropped through her thick bushy hair. The cure by bleeding is confined to the males only, and is frequently applied during the hot season. They do not allow the blood to run on the ground, but upon the body of some other man, directing the arm in such a manner that the stream forms a number of small cross lines, in consequence of which the body assumes the appearance of being covered with a tight-fitting network of very small meshes. The object of the custom partly is, as stated above, to act as a cure for headache and inflammation, and partly also to promote the growth of the young people, and to preserve the strength and vigor of the aged ones. . . . . The women may be present at the operation of bleeding. Whenever engaged in this or certain other operations, the *Witarna* is put in motion, to prevent young unmarried people from unwittingly surprising them. The natives have also their regular doctors, called *Mintapas*, who pretend to be able to remove, by sucking, sickness out of the body. They put their lips to the pit of the stomach in case of general disease, and to the suffering part when confined to any fixed spot, and, after having sucked for some time, pull out of their mouths a small piece of wood or bone, pretending that this is the body of the disease, which had been communicated by some evil-disposed person, and now been extracted by them. So superstitious are these ignorant children of Nature, that they have the fullest faith in these absurdities, and passionately

defend them against any one expressing the least doubt respecting them, or hinting even that the *Mintapa* might have put the piece of wood or bone into his mouth previously."

The Rev. Mr. Taplin refers to the vigorous squeezings and kneadings of the native doctors. Sometimes a patient will groan when he is under treatment, so severe are the manipulations, and the cure is indeed often harder to bear than the *wiwirri* (disease) itself. For rheumatic affections the Narrinyeri employ a vapour bath. They heat stones in the same manner as for cooking, and the patient is placed on a sort of stage made with sticks. The hot stones are put under the stage, the sick person is covered up with rugs, all but his head, wet water-weeds are put on the hot stones, and the space below the stage is made as close as possible. The steam ascends, and soon the sufferer is enveloped in it. This method is said to be effectual.*

Sometimes their practices are strange enough. Mr. Taplin has seen a grey-bearded old man, stark naked, performing a solemn dance before his sick son, singing and beating time with the *Tartengk*.† This business will continue perhaps for an hour, the old man being firmly convinced that his labors will result in a perfect cure. The *Kuldukke*—men-priests, sorcerers, or doctors—are imposters, and rob the poor natives of their food, in order that they may live in idleness. They pretend to every kind of skill in treating diseases; and use the superstitions of the natives to their own great advantage. And it appears that the women are the chief supporters and believers in the *Kuldukkes*. Without their favor and countenance, the arts and impostures of this class would fail to support them.

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* Mr. F. Hughan, a gentleman well acquainted with the habits of the natives of the Lower Murray, has sent me the following statement :—"A great number of the natives belonging to the tribe best known to me suffered very much from internal complaints, and swellings or tumours in the side, these latter being sometimes of a considerable size. By way of relieving or curing these complaints, I have seen the blacks resort to bleeding by suction, and also to a system of steam-bathing, which was practised as follows :—A hole was dug in the ground about a foot deep, at the bottom of which was laid lighted bark, and on the fire damp leaves were placed to a level with the top of the excavation; over the hole the patient was placed in a state of nudity. The portion of the body affected being immediately over the leaves, which, acted on by the heat of the fire, emitted a steam, which was not permitted to escape, as opossum rugs were heaped on the doctored individual, who was thereby subjected to the influences of a bath, which could hardly fail in causing perspiration to burst from every pore of the patient in unmistakable quantities. Whether any radical good was effected I cannot say. One case of doctoring, on the principle of counter-irritation, I was witness to, and felt thankful that no such remedial measures were required on my own account. In the employ of a settler on the Lower Murray was a man named Abel, and at the time of which I write he was suffering from a very severe attack of sandy blight, and no means adopted by him to obtain relief were successful. Amongst the blacks on the station was one who went by the euphonious name of 'Dicky the Lawyer,' and this worthy undertook to cure Abel, providing the latter would undergo the operation proposed by the legal darkie. Abel did consent, hopeful of obtaining relief; and having an idea that Dicky might, after all, be in the possession of something which would cure the really terrible pain he (Abel) was suffering. Dicky having plucked some hair from his head, placed it in his mouth, and grinding it between his teeth, he, in course of time, reduced it to fine particles. After doing this he placed Abel in a standing position against the wall of the hut, and then with the finger and thumb of each hand he opened the eyes of Abel, into which he suddenly spurted the hair from his mouth, a proceeding which, to all appearance, caused Abel the most acute agony, for he dropped to the floor, and absolutely rolled about with the pain, until it had somewhat subsided. Whether due to Dicky's peculiar practice, or to some other cause, I cannot say; at all events, from that out, Abel's eyes improved rapidly until they were perfectly restored."

† The two waddies knocked together on such occasions are named *Tartengk*

The doctors (*Koonkie*) of the Dieyerie people are like the *Kuldukkes* of the Narrinyeri. They are chosen apparently partly by the suffrages of the people, but a Koonkie must have seen the devil (*Kootchee*) before he is eligible for election. Mr. Gason relates how a man or a woman becomes a doctor. If any among the young have had nightmare or an unpleasant dream, the particulars are stated to the tribe, and if they are satisfied that the young person has seen the devil, election to the office of Koonkie is at once approved of. The males, however, are not allowed to practise until after initiation. Indeed they are not deemed proficient until they have undergone the rites and ceremonies appropriate to that event. When any one is ill, the Koonkie examines him, feels the parts affected, and rubs them and sucks them until he ascertains the cause of the injury. He then retires. During his absence he provides himself with a piece of wood about one or two inches in length, and at once returns to the camp, where he procures a lump of red-hot charcoal. He rubs the charcoal in his hands to warm them, and he feels the disordered parts again; and, after a little manœuvring, he seems to bring out the piece of stick (which he had provided himself with) from the patient's body. This causes great rejoicing, and all believe in the skill of the Koonkie. He repeats this performance, bringing out of the body twine, or charcoal, or whatever he may have had an opportunity of procuring with the least trouble. Mr. Gason has seen a native who was quite ill actually cry for Koonkie, and, after being treated in this manner, appear to recover. Should the patient not recover, Koonkie tells the people that some Koonkie of another tribe, possessing more skill, has taken away from him the power that was given by the devil; and every one is satisfied. When a Koonkie is ill, he calls in another Koonkie to practise on him. Mr. Gason adds that the Dieyerie natives treat sores, cuts, bruises, and the like, if slight, by applying dirt to the part affected, and, if severe, hot ashes. In cases of any kind of sting, leaves of bushes, heated at the fire, are applied to the part stung. The leaves are made quite hot—as hot as the patient can bear them, and the cure is said to be effectual.

Mr. Stanbridge found the like practices to prevail amongst the natives of the north-western parts of Victoria. The doctor receives his special gifts while in a trance, lasting two days or more, when he visits the world of spirits. He is more reasonable in some respects than the doctors of the Lower Murray, Port Lincoln, and Cooper's Creek. He occasionally administers a decoction of a fleshy-rooted geranium, the only root used medicinally; but, like them, he bleeds in the arm with a sharp flint. Incantations, however, to which all maladies are ascribed, are likewise the most powerful curatives. Mr. Stanbridge describes the operations of the doctors:—"The patient is seated in front of the operator, who utters a monotonous chant, makes passes by drawing his hands downwards over the part affected, and at intervals rubbing and blowing upon it. At the conclusion, supposing the disorder to be rheumatism, hot ashes are applied; but as incantation loses its power by the presence of a third person, it is very seldom, and only by accident, that the ceremony is witnessed."*

* *The Aborigines of Victoria*, by W. E. Stanbridge.

The natives of the Macleay River (Queensland) bleed themselves, and cook and eat the blood, which they believe will cure them of all ailments. The bleeding is carefully done, a piece of broken shell being used as the cutting instrument. Another revolting practice is mentioned as common amongst the Macleay River tribes in cases of illness :—"The wife or gin of the sick man procures a hollow conjeboi leaf, and a strong piece of string made of opossum fur closely twisted; she then draws the string violently backwards and forwards against her gums, until they are terribly lacerated and bleed profusely. She spits out the blood, as it exudes, into the conjeboi leaf, and continues to saw her gums until she has obtained a considerable quantity of blood, which is then swallowed by the sick man."*

Belief and hope are often more powerful in their effects than the medicines of the pharmacopœia. The native believes in the curative properties of his vapour bath, his decoction of geranium, his bleedings, his kneadings and pressings and treadings; the sucking of the parts affected; the existence of pieces of wood or twine or bone in his body; in the power of the doctor to extract them, and in the wild incantations and dances of the old men; and the hope which is engendered by his unfaltering faith strengthens him, and he recovers.

Absurd as many of their practices may seem, revolting as some of them are, they are not more absurd or revolting than the methods of cure adopted by the more ignorant among the peasants of Europe.

The following letters relating to the diseases of the Aborigines appeared in the first report of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines :—

District Police Court,

SIR, Melbourne, 8th November 1860.

I have the honor to forward reply to your communication of the 13th ultimo, touching the diseases most common to Aborigines and mortality among them.

1. Although the Aborigines of this colony are liable to the usual diseases of Europeans, I invariably found, years back, that they seldom had the common diseases, as rheumatism, &c., to the extent Europeans have. Yet, I may state that eight-tenths of the mortality among the Aborigines of Victoria arises through intemperance, bringing on pulmonary disorders, pleurisy, pneumonia, disorders of the chest, consumption, &c., which carry them off so speedily that the ablest medical treatment, when available, seldom saves them. I may safely state, that when their respiratory organs are once affected, recovery becomes hopeless. I have witnessed this so invariably within the last ten years as to look forward for death as soon as they are afflicted in the chest.

2. The Aborigines, however, were not so affected in their respiratory organs years back as at present; they have only been carried off so precipitately since they have become slaves to intoxicating liquors. I have known blacks, years back, to labor under diseases of the lungs for nine or more months, but now seldom so many weeks, and often not so many days.

* *From Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, by C. Hodgkinson, 1845, p. 228.

3. There is a peculiarity even in their pulmonary disorders not usual in the European; there is not that straining, distressing cough which Europeans labor under; the phlegm comes free without much exertion and pain to the invalid, but accompanied with blood.

4. Wounds, of whatever kind, which do not affect a vital part are more readily cured than in the case of white people. I have seen most desperate wounds inflicted by their weapons (that would have kept Europeans for months invalids) healed in an incredible short time, to the astonishment of medical men. Wounds, whether by accident or otherwise, are immediately attended to by their doctors; if in the fleshy part of the body, they suck the blood from the wound, and continue sucking until blood ceases to be extracted. If little blood comes from the wound, they know all is not right, and will put the patient to pain by probing the wound with their lancet (a sharp bone), or place the body in that position so as to compress the opposite part to force blood. They know well the consequence of stagnant blood or matter, especially in the upper part of the body. When the wound is thoroughly clean, they leave the rest to nature, and place a lump of pridgerory (a kind of wax oozing from trees) on the wound; should there follow a gathering, they open the wound afresh, and see all right, and again cover it over with pridgerory.

5. Their general remedy is friction. If very severe about the thighs or legs, the doctor gets a good mound of hot ashes prepared, made solely from bark which is without grit; the patient is laid on his belly, and the doctor rubs most unmercifully the hot ashes on the part affected, as a butcher would in salting meat; if in the thighs or legs, the patient is put into the mound of heated ashes nearly up to his knees, where he sits whilst the doctor is rubbing with hot ashes the parts affected. During this process the doctor is incantating, blowing occasionally a portion of the dust into the air with a hissing noise. When sufficiently operated upon, the invalid is wrapped up in his blanket.

6. The blacks treat boils and swellings thus: when hard, they lotion the part well with decoction of wattle bark; when obstinate, they boil wild marsh-mallow, and poultice—if it softens and does not break, they apply their sharp bone-lancet.

7. The Aborigines are deeply afflicted with a disorder called by them bub-burum; white men call it itch, but it is in no way like it: it appears as raised dark scabs, and spreads, joining each other, until they cover almost all the lower extremities; it seldom affects the head or upper parts, but I have known it almost cover the thighs and legs, so that the afflicted one could with difficulty move about. The native cure for this distemper is every night and morning to grease the parts affected with wheerup (a red-ochre) mixed with decoction of wattle bark. I knew one instance of this disease becoming most distressing to a white man, in a respectable position, who was continually cohabiting with black lubras.

8. Through their imprudence and carelessness they often get severe burns, which they cure by dabbing the parts over with melted fat, afterwards dash the parts affected with a puff made of opossum fur and the dust of wheerup.

9. The Aborigines of Australia are very subject to dysentery, but not to the fatal extent as Europeans: their remedy for this disorder is drinking plentifully of the decoction of wattle bark and eating gum in the day, and pills night and morning made by themselves of wattle bark and gum.

10. If of long standing, the patient is compelled to lie on the back; the native doctor places his foot on the patient's ear, and presses this organ until water literally gushes from the patient's eyes; however rough the treatment, I have known this operation to give relief, and the patient to be cured.

11. The blacks study much the color of the spittle in those affected in the lungs, and know well its stages. When the patient begins to expectorate blood, much attention is paid him; should this increase, which is generally the case, the doctors hold a consultation, and when once a consultation is held the doctors will not allow the patient to take any more medicine from the whites. The invalid is laid on his back and held firm by three or four blacks, whilst the native doctor keeps continually pressing with his feet, and even jumping on his belly. I need scarcely state that this cruel practice brings on premature death.

12. Though this disease (venereal) in the first instance must have been contracted from the whites, the native doctors have prescribed a cure which, though simple, has proved efficacious: they boil the wattle bark till it becomes very strong, and use it as a lotion to the parts affected. I can state from my own personal knowledge of three Goulburn blacks, having this disease so deeply rooted in them that the then colonial surgeon, Dr. Cousin, on examining them, said life could not be saved unless they entered the hospital and had an operation performed, which they would not consent to; after eighteen months these three blacks returned to Melbourne among the tribes (two were young and the other middle-aged) perfectly cured, and the blacks assured me that they had only used the wattle bark lotion. Dr. Wilmot, our late coroner, also saw these three blacks whilst in this state, and after their soundness, and in his report upon the Aborigines stated: "However violent the disease may appear among Aborigines that it could not enter into their system, as it did in European constitutions."

13. In the Aboriginal primitive state, in times of sickness, as influenza or other diseases prevalent, they invariably carried fire about with them wherever they went on thick pieces of bark which they provided for the day's journey.

14. The Aboriginal doctor's treatment in fevers is strictly the cold water system, no matter what kind of fever it may be, accompanied with prohibition of animal food. The doctors have a quantity of water by them, fill their mouths full, and spurt it over the whole of the patient's body, back and front, and for a considerable time on the navel, then with their hands throw it over face and breast, then lay the patient on the back, breathe and blow on the navel, incantating continually while operating. If the patient be young, the doctor will carry him and plunge him into the river or creek; the adult patient will voluntarily plunge himself in three or four times a day. The blacks obstinately persist in this mode of treatment, although they find death generally the result. I was not a little surprised to find many years back that this was also the mode of treatment adopted by the natives of the South Sea Islands. I was called

to witness their habits, when a party of them were enticed over by the late Mr. Boyd. They were located at Mr. Fennel's (Mr. Boyd's agent), on the banks of the Yarra; as soon as fever attacked them, they crept to the banks of the Yarra and plunged themselves in three or four times a day.

15. I attach to this report on the diseases of the Aborigines the opinion of twenty-nine gentlemen, situated in various parts of the colony, who, one and all, bear testimony to the awful mortality among them, the following opinions of the cause :—

Names of the Gentlemen consulted.	Diseases.	Names of the Gentlemen consulted.	Diseases.
Mr. Orr	Venereal	Mr. Gilles	Intemperance
Mr. Lane	Scorbutic	Mr. Strutt	Intemperance and violence
Mr. Templeton	Intemperance and venereal	Mr. Allan	Influenza, inflammation of lungs, venereal
Mr. Sherard	Intemperance and exposure		
Mr. Shuter	Consumption and decline	Mr. Godfrey	Drunkenness, consumption, venereal
Mr. Wilson	Intemperance and exposure		
Mr. Fisken	Bronchitis, pericarditis, psoriasis, and intemperance	Mr. Gottreux	Bronchitis, affection of the chest
		Mr. Currie	Pulmonary complaints, intemperance
Mr. McLeod	Intemperance and exposure		
Mr. Ormond	Consumption, venereal, intemperance	Mr. Lydiard	Syphilis, intemperance, rheumatism
Mr. Cooke	Syphilis	Mr. Stewart	Consumption, intemperance
Mr. Aitken	Liver complaints, intemperance, rheumatism	Mr. Mitchell	Pulmonary consumption, venereal
Mr. Skene	Syphilis, consumption, rheumatism	Mr. Cooke	Consumption and old age
		Mr. Huon	Influenza, intemperance
Mr. Beveridge	Pulmonary consumption, venereal	Mr. Wills	Intemperance, gun shot wounds, venereal
Mr. Allen	Influenza	Mr. Featherstonhaugh	Pulmonary consumption, venereal
Mr. Craig	Influenza, consumption, intemperance	Mr. Lewes	Atrophy, influenza

16. A return from a public hospital I deem would be a fair criterion for the Central Board, embracing the two points, mortality and disease.

Return of Aboriginal Natives admitted into the Melbourne Hospital from 1st January to 8th November 1860 :—

Date.	Name.	Tribe.	Disease.	Remarks.
April 17	Tommy Buckley	Gippsland	Burnt back	Discharged July 20
July 4	Maria	Yarra	Pneumonia	„ „ 24
Sept. 14	James Shaw	Hopkins River	Pleurisy, phthisis	Died October 20
„ 18	Sandy	Sydney	Pneumonia and phthisis	„ Sept. 25
Oct. 30	Tommy Buckley	Gippsland	Pleurisy and phthisis	„ Nov. 2
„ 30	Tommy Mannering	Yarra	Pneumonia and phthisis	„ „ 7

Four deaths and two discharged.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) WILLIAM THOMAS.

Church Mission Station, Yelta, Lower Murray,
GENTLEMEN, 26th November 1860.

In reply to the communication of your secretary bearing date the 15th October, I have the honor to inform you that I have no statistics of the diseases prevalent amongst the Aborigines; of ten that have died here during the last four years, there have died of consumption, three; of debility and purulent scabies, one; inflammation of lungs, one; hardening of the stomach, one; venereal, &c., one; old age, two; and one from a spear wound. The three first were men, the second a boy, the others women, with the exception of the one speared, who was an elderly man.

I do not feel qualified to draw up a special report upon the subject, but, for the information of your Board, will mention the diseases which I have observed to be most prevalent amongst the Aborigines in this district.

I will first state that the treatment I adopt is the homœopathic, the medicines being administered in a solution of the tincture or the crude drug in suitable doses. In all curable cases this treatment has been invariably successful, and in the face of many disadvantages, smoking, unsuitable diet, and such like.

The medical treatment the Aborigines get generally is very little. At the various stations salts is the almost universal remedy for all their complaints, and, I doubt not, is often the source of much after-suffering to them, producing hæmorrhoids, &c.

Inflammation of the lungs is of frequent occurrence, and, when not fatal in itself, is generally the commencement of pulmonary affections, which terminate fatally after a year or two of lingering sickness.

The violent exertion they undergo at corrobborees, combined with sleeping upon wet ground, causes them to take cold, which generally produces inflammation of the lungs; this affection being more frequent in the summer, when they make their camps upon the flooded ground, and sleep upon it almost as soon as the water is off—the coolness and moisture being grateful to them at the time; this I think is one fruitful cause of their sicknesses. Influenza is prevalent amongst them at times, generally at the commencement of winter and at its close. It has proved fatal in several cases. Where it has been combined with inflammation of the lungs or enlargement of the liver, I have known a few cases which terminated fatally in each instance.

Dropsy is not unfrequent. I know of one case in which the woman, after lying for some months very ill and becoming of a great size, recovered, and is now her usual size and free from the disease. As she was not at this station, I had no opportunity of administering medicine to her. A man died of this complaint a few months since, about twenty miles above Euston.

Heart Disease.—Two men died last summer at a station on the Darling, and their deaths were attributed to this disease.

Apoplexy.—I have known one well-marked instance, and the two cases above mentioned may have been similar instances. Sudden deaths are not unfrequent.

Paralysis is not uncommon. I know of two instances in this neighbourhood—both men, who lost the use of one side and the power of speech. The one recovered his speech after a few months; and, later, the use of his limbs. The other is still speechless, and his leg and side are quite paralysed. Another instance, which occurred about two years ago, was a young man at this station, who was suddenly paralysed in one arm, and lost both hearing and speech, but in about a month fully recovered without any medical treatment, and he has had no repetition of the attack.

Rheumatism is very common; I think very few are free from it. I have afforded them temporary relief at times by giving them an embrocation of turpentine and oil.

Diarrhœa, which sometimes results in dysentery, is at times prevalent, especially at the time when certain native berries are in season. The usual homœopathic remedies have invariably counteracted the disease.

Chronic Diarrhœa.—I have met with several instances which, from the irregularity of the patients' diet and other causes, have been very difficult to cure. These complaints, combined with the very injudicious and frequent use of salts, are the fearful cause of hæmorrhoids.

Skin Disease (a virulent pustular scabies) is very common, and often very troublesome. It generally succumbs to sulphur, or, in very severe cases, to sulphur and mercury. This complaint, when combined with a weakly state of body, sometimes proves fatal; it then forms a crust over the whole skin, and is exceedingly painful and itchy, and is accompanied with fever. I know one case, a weakly boy of about twelve years of age, in which death ensued from its effects. It arises principally from filth, and is propagated by contact.

Hardening and Enlargement of the Stomach.—This is a disease that appears to be peculiar to this people. The stomach becomes perfectly hard; at first it feels about the size of the fist, but it gradually enlarges to a great size. The limbs and body waste away to a mere skeleton; the appetite is voracious, with a great craving for meat, though the patient is able to eat but little at a time, and the food seems to afford no nourishment; great debility ensues, and the patient dies after lingering perhaps a year, or even two. I have not been able to find a cure for it, though I have often relieved it for a time by the use of medicine and nourishing diet. A medical friend has treated one case by the external application of iodine with some little benefit, but without effecting a cure. The patient, I hear, is now near death. He pronounces the complaint incurable. Men and women are alike subject to it; the cases I have met with have been persons in the prime of life. No *post-mortem* examination has been made in any case, so that little is known of the peculiar features of the disease, or its cause. It would be interesting and useful to anatomize a case; but I fear the prejudices of the people would be opposed to anything of the kind.

Venereal is not so frequent amongst the men as is generally supposed. I have seen very few cases, but I believe many of the young women, and even girls, are afflicted with it. I have seen on the Darling several severe cases. The young women and girls are sought after by the white men, who suffer very severely for their folly and wickedness. The women, when very bad, abstain

from animal food, and live chiefly on vegetable diet, and generally get round after a short time, though I should not say that they were cured. They rarely apply for medicine for it, except in very severe cases.

In conclusion, I would remark that the sexual excess which the present generation of Aborigines indulge in renders them weak in constitution and deficient in stamina, and consequently more liable to disease and less able to bear it. The present generation is not equal to the former. The old people are finer, stronger, and better able to endure fatigue. As one remarked to me a short time since, "in former times, before whitefellow come, blackfellow could run like emu; but now, supposing big one run, then big one tired, and plenty heart jump about: not always like that blackfellow."

Many of their best customs and most stringent rules in regard to the young people have been weakened and broken by the introduction of the evil habits of vicious white men; and the young men, being more intelligent, pay less regard to the old men, and follow their own sexual desires to the full extent. The young women are even more sensuous and reckless of future consequences.

I am not aware that complaints common to Europeans exhibit any marked difference upon the Aboriginal constitution.

The universal belief that all sickness is caused by witchcraft, worked by one of another tribe, has often an injurious effect, and I think sometimes hastens the disease to a fatal termination.

Trusting these few remarks will be useful to your Board, in assisting them to reply to the questions of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,

THOS. HILL GOODWIN.

Dress and Personal Ornaments.

THE coverings and ornaments used and worn by the Australian natives—male and female—are fully described in the notes prepared at my request by the late Mr. William Thomas, and in the letters and memorandums furnished in reply to questions put by me, by Mr. John Green, of Coranderrk, the Rev. Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, in Gippsland, and Dr. Gummow, J.P., of Swan Hill.

The males paid attention to their weapons rather than to their dress; and the females relied more on the attractions presented by their forms unadorned than on the necklaces and feathers which they carried. The proper arrangement of their apparel, the ornamentation of their persons by painting, and attention to deportment, were important only when death struck down a warrior, when war was made, or when they assembled for a corrobboree.

In ordinary life little attention was given to the ornamenting of the person.

Different from the women of Polynesia, the Australian females seem to have no love for flowers. The rich blossoms of red, purple, and yellow, so abundant in the forests, are never, or very rarely, twined in their hair, or worn in rich garlands around the neck: nor do they deck themselves with the bright plumage of birds. A warrior may wear a plume, but his daughters are content with the grey, hair-like feathers of the emu for the slight covering which decency demands. Nor did they use in Victoria—as far as I can gather—the gaily-colored shells of the sea-shore for necklaces, as the Tasmanians did.*

The men had no ear-rings of gold, nor armlets of silver: none of the metals were known to them; and no precious stone—not a piece of jade even—was worn by them: yet their rugs of skin; their aprons of feathers or skins; their necklaces of reeds or teeth; their head-bands of fibre; their dresses of boughs for the dance—are not without interest.

I believe I have gathered together all that is known of the dress and ornaments of this people; and my correspondents have been careful in making enquiries and exact in giving information. The dress and ornaments of the Aborigines of the Yarra tribe were, according to the information afforded by the late Mr. Thomas, as follows:—

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* The Tasmanian necklace is described elsewhere. * The late Mr. Thomas states in one of his papers (referred to in another part of this work) that Aboriginal girls are sometimes decked with flowers when they dance together. I have never seen the natives use flowers for ornamenting their persons. Careful enquiries have been made, and it would appear that they are not so used commonly in any part of Australia.

1. The opossum rug, called *Waller-wal-lert.* It hung loosely about the body, had a knot at each upper corner, and was fastened by a small stick thrust through holes made by the bone-needle—*Min-der-min.* It could be cast off in a moment. It was carried or worn when travelling, but in the camp it was usually kept in the miam. In making an opossum rug some skill and knowledge are employed. In the first place, it is necessary to select good, sound, well-clothed skins. These, as they are obtained, are stretched on a piece of bark, and fastened down by wooden or bone pegs, and kept there until they are dry. They are then well scraped with a mussel-shell or a chip of basalt, dressed into proper shape, and sewn together. In sewing them the natives worked from the left to the right—not as Europeans do—and the holes were made with the bone awl or needle, and instead of thread they used the sinews of some animal —most often the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo.

The rug was usually ornamented on the inside. Lines straight, of herring-bone pattern, or sometimes representing men and animals, were drawn with a sharp bone-needle, and filled in with color.

2. The band around the forehead, called *Leek-leek.* In this band is placed a feather from the native companion, the eagle, or the lyre-bird. Sometimes the native put his tomahawk, or some other small article, in this band; but the tomahawk was usually carried in the belt that is worn about the waist.

The *Leek-leek* was usually made of the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo, but often of the sinews of other animals, if these could not be obtained. The *Leek-leek* was fashioned by the women, as a rule; but young men often amused themselves by making this ornament.

3. The bone, or a piece of reed, worn in the septum of the nose, called *Noute-kower.* The bone of some animal—generally a bone somewhat curved—three or more inches in length, was passed through a hole made in the septum of the nose, and carried joyfully, as something likely to gain favor with both sexes.

4. The reed-necklace. Reeds cut into short pieces—of different lengths and different diameters—were strung on twine made of the wool of the opossum, or of some fibre, and hung round the neck in many folds, falling in some cases quite down to the chest. The reed-necklace was called *Kourn-burt.* Another necklace, worn sometimes, was made of the sinews of the legs of the emu. This was formed into a kind of net, and was called *Kour-ur-run.*

5. The ornaments worn around the loins. Strips of the skin of some animal, fashioned as shown in Fig. 22, were tied with some fibre around the loins, so as to conceal the lower parts of the body in front and behind. These ornaments were called *Murri-guile.*

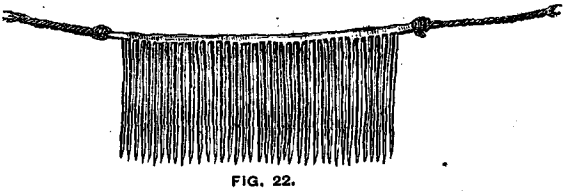

FIG. 22.

6. The band around the arm, called *Yel-un-ket-ur-uk.* A band made of the skin of a small flying squirrel (*Tuin-tuin*) was fastened around the arm to give strength.

7. The hunger-belt. The native used occasionally a belt, made of the skin of the native dog (*Wer-ren-Willum*), which was worn round the waist, and so arranged as to admit of its being tightened when required. The fur of the animal was outside, and the skin pressed against the body. This belt was called *Ber-buk*, and it was used chiefly when travelling rapidly, or on some expedition requiring secresy, in the course of which the native might have difficulty in procuring food or water. When oppressed by hunger, the belt was tightened.

In traversing country occupied by a hostile tribe, the native might be afraid of even taking an opossum from a tree. The noise made by cutting steps with his tomahawk would be sufficient to attract attention in a still night. Fearful and anxious, yet bent on performing what he conceived to be his duty, resorting to many stratagems — walking backwards in soft sand or loamy ground; crouching in the day time, and making rapid journeys in the night— hunger and thirst would have overcome him but for his belt. Tightening it more and more, and having still a craving appetite, he would doubtless deal with his enemy, when he found him, with less mercy by reason of such sufferings.*

Mr. Thomas has given but little information respecting the dress and ornaments of the females. In his notes I find that the band tied round the forehead of the females was called *Murra-kul*. It was made of the fur of the opossum or the hair of the native cat. The fur was twisted into threads by the hand, in the same manner as the material for net-bags was prepared.

The young females wore, not as a garment but for preserving decency, a skirt or girdle (composed of the fur of the opossum) called by them *Leek-leek*.

The *Til-bur-nin*, or apron (Fig. 23), worn by adult females when dancing,

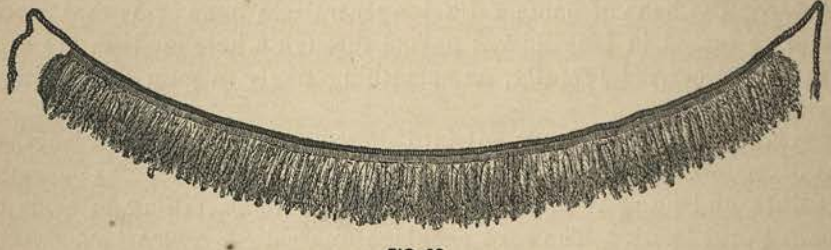

FIG. 23.

is made of the feathers of the emu. The feathers are attached to a strong cord, generally made of the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo, and they are worked in, six or more together, by fine sinews or fine cord made either of some fibre or of the fur of the opossum. It forms a thick but short apron, in length six feet or more, and when wound round the waist descends not quite halfway to the knee. It is fastened by a knot. One specimen in my possession is very well fashioned. The cord, made of the fur of the opossum, is double, and the shafts of the feathers are bound and secured to the cord by extremely fine

* Speaking of the Moors of Africa, Winwood Reade says that they are remarkably hardy, and can pass days without eating or drinking. On such occasions they wear, like the Red Indians, a hunger-belt, which they gradually tighten.—*Savage Africa*, by W. Winwood Reade, p. 444.

sinews. The whole is neatly wrought, and the feathers are so arranged as to hang gracefully, even when the cord is twisted.*

The kangaroo bag, carried by the males, sheltered them from storms at times, and therefore may be described here. The large kangaroo bag, *Bool-la-min-in* or *Moo-gro-moo-gro*, is used and carried by the males only. When not engaged in hunting, the Aboriginal keeps his tools and implements in this bag, his *Leange-walert*, teeth of animals, mussel-shells, bits of quartz and black basalt, &c., &c. When engaged in hunting, he starts in the morning with the bag almost empty. It contains only his tomahawk, waddy, and wonguim; and all the game he secures during the day is put into the bag. If successful, he has a heavy load to carry back to his miam, the bag itself not being very light. The bag is made of the skin of the kangaroo, which is taken from off the animal with the greatest care, cleaned with a basalt-chip and mussel-shell, and stretched on pegs and dried in the sun. The ends are brought together and tied with strings made of grass, and a grass rope is attached to the ends, so as to enable him to sling the bag over his shoulder. The kangaroo-skin bag is now rarely seen south of the River Murray.

Mr. John Green says the full dress of an Aboriginal man, when prepared for the dance in the corrobboree, was as follows:—Around the head and crossing the forehead a piece of the skin of the ringtail opossum was worn, the ornament being called by them *Jerr-nging;* a feather of the tail of the lyre-bird was inserted between the band and the forehead (named *Kan-kano*), and around the neck and the biceps of each arm were worn ornaments made of reeds, like necklaces (*Tarr-goorrn*). Suspended from the loins by a cord, and hanging in front, was a strip of opossum skin (*Barran-jeep*). Each ankle was decorated with small boughs (*Jerrang*), and in the hands were held two sticks (*Nanalk*) for beating time. The body was painted with white clay. The double line of horizontal stripes on the chest was named *Bikamnop*, and the straight lines from the cord around the loins to the ankles were called *Beek-jerrang*.

The ornaments worn by a female of the Yarra tribe were few and simple. In the septum of the nose was inserted a piece of the bone of the leg of a kangaroo, called *Ellejerr;* around the neck was worn a very long reed-necklace (*Tarr-goorrn*), and around the loins was fastened the usual apron made of emu feathers and sinews, called *Jerr-barr-ning* (*Til-bur-nin*).

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer has given me a description of the ornaments which were worn by the natives of Gippsland in the olden time. The natives, he says, were fond of ornaments of their own manufacture, and, not able to decorate themselves with articles made of gold, silver, or other metals, or with precious stones, they strove to make their appearance agreeable by using such adornments as the materials within their reach enabled them to fashion. Round the forehead (*Nern*) the males wore a piece of network, made of the fibre obtained from the bark of a small shrub which grows plentifully near Lake Tyers. The length of the band was from nine inches to one foot, and the breadth about two

* The ancient Egyptians used the *Til-bur-nin*. Young girls wore "a girdle, or rope, of twisted hair, leather, or other materials, decorated with shells, round the hips."—*The Ancient Egyptians*. Wilkinson, vol. II., p. 335.

inches. It was called *Jimbirn*. It was worn sometimes by females, but very seldom; and was always regarded as belonging to men. The *Jimbirn* was useful as well as ornamental, as it kept the hair from falling over the eyes.* To the *Jimbirn* was attached an ornament, made of the teeth of the kangaroo—*Nerndoa jirrah* (*nerndoa*, teeth; *jirrah*, kangaroo)—and string formed of the wool of the opossum, which was so arranged as to cause the teeth to hang on each temple. At the back of the head was suspended from the string which fastened the *Jimbirn* a wild dog's tail—*Wreka baanda* (*wreka*, tail; *baanda*, dog). This much resembled the cue, which was thought becoming some few years ago in Europe. Over the ears and pointing to the front was placed the fur of the tips of the ears of a native bear (*Koola*), called by the natives *Kinanga Koola*. Over the forehead was worn sometimes the feather of the eagle, a tuft of emu feathers, or the crest of a cockatoo. This ornament answers to the tuft of feathers with which military men decorate their hats and helmets. The hair was always well greased, and plentifully sprinkled with ruddle, called by the natives *Ni-le*. Mr. Bulmer says he has never seen any ear-ornaments. They never, he thinks, pierced the ears. But it was considered proper to bore the septum of the nose. Indeed it was ordained that the septum should be pierced, and that each person should wear in it a piece of bone, a reed, or the stalk of some grass, the name of the ornament being *Boon-joon*. The old men used to predict to those who were averse to this mutilation all kinds of evils. If it were omitted at the proper time, the sinner would suffer—not in this world, but in the next. As soon as ever the spirit—*Ngowk*—left the body, it would be required, as a punishment, to eat *Toorta gwanang* (filth—not proper for translation). To avert a punishment so horrible, each one gladly submitted, and his or her nose was pierced accordingly.† Around the neck were worn a few

* The fillet was used by the Egyptians, but whether to bind the natural hair or the wig is not clear.—(See *Wilkinson: The Ancient Egyptians*, vol. II., p. 325.)

The Chaldæans wore "a band of camel's hair—the germ of the turban which has now become universal throughout the East."

Amongst the Assyrians, "if the hair was very luxuriant, it was confined by a band or fillet, which was generally tied behind the back of the head" (like the Egyptian fillet).

The rich worshippers who brought offerings to the gods in Babylonia "had a fillet, or head-band—not a turban—round the head."—*Rawlinson: The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World.*

Some of the Ancient Persians wore round the head a twisted band, which resembled a rope.

The Greeks and the Romans wore fillets.

Dido bids Barce bind her head in these words—

"Tuque ipsa piâ tege tempora vitta."

The infulæ and vittæ—a sort of white fillets—were used in Roman sacrifices.

The Italian *lista*, the French *bande*, and the English bandeau, or brow-band, are little different from the Aboriginal head-band. Shoemakers wear a band round the head, so as to keep the hair from falling over their eyes when they are at work; and until lately the bandeau was worn by English ladies. It is certain that the *Jimbirn* is more ancient than these.

† It is very singular, says Mr. Bulmer, that the natives, who have no form of religion, should have a distinct idea of a spiritual existence. They think that the soul, as soon as it leaves the body, goes off to the east, where there is a land abounding in sow-thistles (*Thallak*), which the departed eat and live. The spirits are sometimes prevented from reaching the happy land by the moon, which devours them if they encounter it, and indeed feeds on stray mortals and spirits of departed men and women. When the moon is red, they see proof that it has eaten plentifully of its favorite food.

strings of beads, made of reeds called *Thaqui*, or of opossum fur (*Kyoong*). Wrapped around the right arm were worn a few strips of the skin of the ring-tail opossum (*Yunda-bla-ang*). This list includes all the ordinary articles of adornment used by the natives of Gippsland.

Mr. Bulmer once asked a native why he wore such things, and he replied that he wore them in order to look well, and to make himself agreeable to the women—a motive that, in Mr. Bulmer's opinion, is not confined to the blacks. Many will agree with Mr. Bulmer.

When prepared for the corrobboree, the men had suspended from their waist-belts bunches of strips of skin, both before and behind; but usually they had no covering of any sort. What they did wear was not as clothing, but as ornament. They painted themselves for this dance. Ordinarily, they smeared their cheeks with ruddle, but for the dance they painted their bodies. They seemed to desire to make themselves as hideous as possible. They marked each rib with a streak of white pipeclay (*marlo*), and streaks were drawn on their legs and arms and on their faces, so as to make themselves appear, in the flickering and flaming of the camp-fires, as moving skeletons. Mr. Bulmer believes that they so painted their bodies with the design of making themselves terrible to the beholders, and not beautiful or attractive. An Australian native is wise: that man who could make himself appear very hideous at a corrobboree—who could by his art attract all eyes—was not likely to be forgotten on the next day. And as much care would be employed to attain this as the other position depending on the milder efforts of the toilette.

The ornaments worn by the females were not much regarded by the men. The woman did little to improve her appearance. She was the worker, the carrier, often the food-winner; and if her physical aspect was such as to attract admirers, she was content. Her chief ornament was the string of beads—*Thaqui*. From her waist was suspended—not so much for ornament as for a covering—a piece of fringe about four inches in depth. This was called *Kyoong*, and was worn by girls until they attained a marriageable age. While she wore the *Kyoong* she was called *Kyoongal Woor-kut*—that is, a girl who wears the *Kyoong*. It was the duty of the mother, at the proper time, to remove the *Kyoong;* but it frequently happened that the girl would elope with some young man, and take it off herself—which invariably gave rise to scandal, base suggestions, and quarrels. Nearly all the ornaments, Mr. Bulmer says, were made by the females.

The dress of the male Aboriginal of the Lower Murray, according to information furnished by Dr. Gummow, of Swan Hill, consisted only of the opossum rug, called *Pir-ri-wee*. The female also used a rug as a covering; but by both males and females it was worn only on cold days, or when moving from camp to camp. On ordinary occasions the females wore nothing more as a dress than the apron of emu feathers, called by the natives of the Lower Murray *Mor-i-uh*. This was cast aside after the birth of a child.*

* Some article of dress or ornament worn for the purpose of distinguishing the maiden from the wife seems to be necessary to a people in a state of savagery or barbarism. The snood used by maidens in Scotland is no doubt very ancient.

The young males wore wallaby skins, cut into shreds and fastened by a string around the loins. It was worn until the whiskers grew, and the upper incisors—*Wid-don-wo-ri*—were knocked out.

The women, when travelling, carried a bag made of the leaves of some aquatic plant or flag, in which their fish, game, and yams were placed. The bag was called *Koorn-goo.* Each man also had a bag, but larger, in which he carried kangaroo and emu meat. This bag, too, was called *Koorn-goo.*

Dr. Gummow has sent me specimens of the ornaments worn by the natives of the Lower Murray:—

The band tied round the head, extending from the occiput over the parietal bones to the place of the frontal suture, called *Mar-rung-nul,* is shown in Fig. 24. This specimen was obtained by Dr. Gummow from one of the old natives.

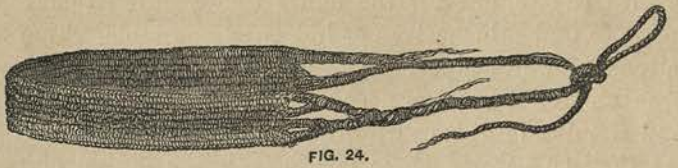

FIG. 24.

This ornament is closely woven, and to the eye resembles a thick coarse cloth, but it is really soft and pleasant to the touch. It is made of the fibrous root of the wild clematis (*Mo-u-ee*). It is exceedingly strong. The length of the band is twelve inches, and the breadth one inch and a quarter. Dr. Gummow says that these bands are usually made by the women. Wing feathers of the cockatoo are stuck in the band, one on each side of the head. The feathers are called *Wyrr-tin-nay.* This band is worn by males only.

Mr. A. F. Sullivan, of Bulloo Downs, Cunnamulla (Queensland), gave me a specimen of the *Mar-rung-nul,* made of the fur of the opossum. It is very soft, and well and closely woven. The band is fourteen inches in length. When worn by the natives, it is made white with clay or burnt gypsum.

The band of network (Fig. 25) Dr. Gummow says is named *Moolong-*

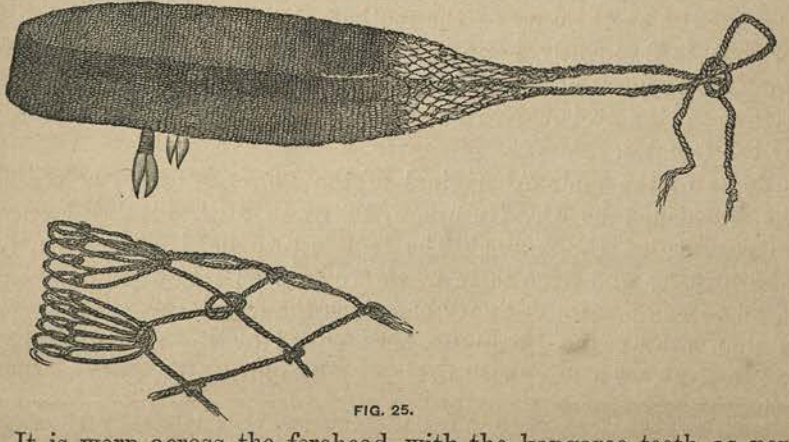

FIG. 25.

nyeerd. It is worn across the forehead, with the kangaroo teeth as pendants, which, when lashed together, are known as *Leangerra.* When stretched, as it

would be when on the head, the broader part of the network is nearly twelve inches in length and three inches in breadth. The open network on each side up to the knot is four inches in length. The material is the fibre of some aquatic plant, twisted and formed into a fine, hard, durable twine. The teeth are fastened neatly with the tail sinews of the kangaroo (*Wirr-ran-nee*). It would not be easy to find anywhere a more highly-finished piece of work of its kind than this. The wider part is beautifully knitted. This band was worn both by males and females.

The sash or band of network, called *Ni-yeerd* (Fig. 26), is worn as a belt round the loins. In it the native carries the *Wan-nee* (boomerang), or the

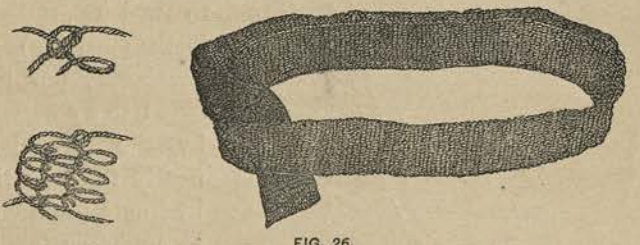

FIG. 26.

tomahawk or other weapon. This specimen, which was sent to me by Dr. Gummow, is not inferior to any other piece of network I have seen. The twine, formed of the fibre of some flag, is uniform in thickness and evenly twisted; and the meshes are all of the same size. It is very strong and elastic, and as well fitted for the purpose desired by the native as if it had been manufactured expressly to his order by the most accomplished of Europeans. It is six feet four inches in length. Its general character, and the manner in which it is knitted, are shown in the engraving.

Dr. Gummow has carefully described the several ornaments worn by the natives of the Lower Murray in the letters, memorandums, and drawings which he has sent to me. He thus speaks of the bone, *Mellee-mellee-u*, which is carried in the septum of the nose :—"Enclosed is a sort of awl made from the thigh-bone of the emu, called *Pin-kee*, which is used for boring the septum of the nostrils, also for perforating opossum skins when sewing them together to form rugs (*Pirri-wee*). The sinews of the kangaroo tail were used as thread, and called *Wirr-ran-nee*. After using the perforator called *Pin-kee* for piercing the septum of the nose, a piece of reed is slipped on to the point as a canula, and as the *Pin-kee* is withdrawn, with the reed as a sheath, the latter is left to act as a tent, so as to dilate the opening. Gradually increasing the size of the reeds until the opening is sufficiently large, the *Mellee-mellee-u*—a piece of bone from the leg of the emu or the kangaroo—is finally inserted, and this remains in the septum of the nostrils of the males until the front teeth are knocked out. The females undergo the same treatment, and wear during their lives a ring of bone, cut from the wing of the bustard (*Narroo-vee*). The ring, called *Kolko*, is rather more than one-third of an inch in length, and the diameter is two-thirds of an inch. The aperture in the ring forms a foramen between the nostrils."

Dr. Gummow's specimens of the ornaments described by him are very valuable; and as he has obtained from old natives the names and uses of the several specimens, his contributions are of more than ordinary interest.

The natives of Cooper's Creek, according to Mr. Howitt, sometimes place feathers in the nose, instead of a bone.

This necklace (Fig. 27) was very common many years ago; but the only examples I have seen have been obtained in the western districts of Victoria. It is formed of a long strip of well-dressed kangaroo skin, to which are attached the teeth (incisors) of the kangaroo.* Each tooth is fastened to a small piece of skin by the tail sinews, and is neatly fixed to the long strip by knots passed through incisions. The skin is stained with red-ochre; and the contrast of colors is not unpleasing. The specimen here figured is in the possession of Mr. E. von Guerard, the well-known landscape painter.

FIG. 27.—(Scale $\frac{1}{3}$)

The reed-necklace (Fig. 28) commonly worn by the Australian females (and not seldom by the males) is named *Jah-kul* by the natives of Lake Hindmarsh,

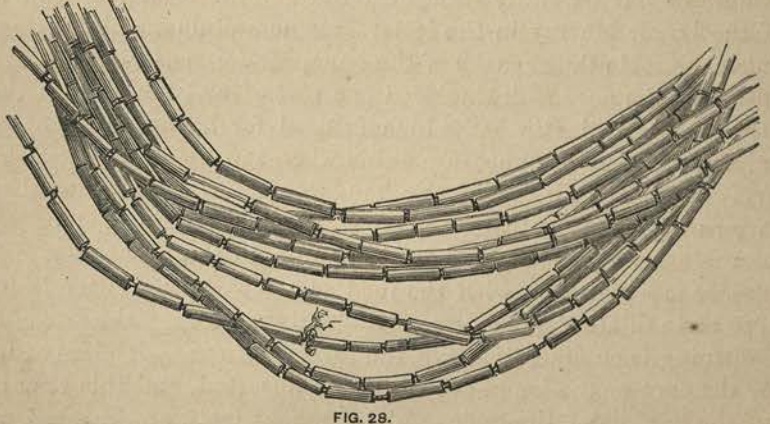

FIG. 28.

and *Kor-boort* or *Tarr-goorrn* by the natives of the Yarra. The reed is called *Djarrk*. Pieces of reed—in length from a half to three-quarters of an inch—

* Dr. Gummow informs me that the incisor teeth of the lower-jaw of the kangaroo—such as are used for a necklace of this kind—are named *Lean-now*.

are strung on twine made either of some fibre or the hair of the opossum ; and, when extended, the necklace is thirty feet or more in length. In the example here figured there are four hundred and seventy-eight pieces of reed. This light and not inelegant ornament is greatly prized by the young females, and they expend a great portion of their time in making necklaces of this pattern. A reed-necklace, worn both by males and females, and named by the natives of the Lower Murray *Kill-lid*—formed of pieces of reed half an inch in length, and little more than a sixteenth of an inch in diameter—was presented to me by Dr. Gummow. It is well made. The fibre on which the sections of reed are strung is very fine indeed, and I cannot conjecture how it was manufactured. Dr. Gummow says that this kind of necklace was of different sizes—according as it was intended for the male or the female.

FIG. 29.

This necklace (Fig. 29) was found in a basket, described in another place, which was dropped by a woman of the Burdekin tribe, when surprised by a party of whites. The string is made of the fibre of some root, wrought into a very strong but thin twine. On this twine are strung short sections of a reed. The pendant is composed of twine coated with gum, on which are fastened human hair, feathers, and shells (unio), by a wrapping of twine made of the fur of the opossum. This ornament exhibits in its manufacture more of neatness and delicacy than is usually seen in native work. It was sent to me with the native bag in which it was found by the late Mr. Matthew Hervey.

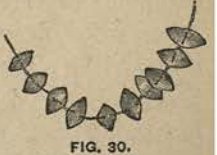

FIG. 30.

I have received from Mackay, in Queensland, through the kindness of Mr. Bridgman, an ornament which is used as a decoration by the natives of the Far North. It is worn round the forehead, and is named *Ngungy-ngungy*. The shells—fragments of the nautilus—are ground into form and strung on a fine twine made of the fibre of some plant.—(Fig. 30.) Larger pieces of shell—also of the nautilus—are worn on the breast, suspended from the neck, and are called *Carr-e-la*. These are also strung on twine of the same kind as that used for the stringing the smaller pieces.—(Fig. 31.)

FIG. 31.

Mr. J. A. Panton has sent me a very curious head-dress (*Oogee*)—(Fig. 32)—which is worn in the corrobboree dance by the men of Cape York. It is formed

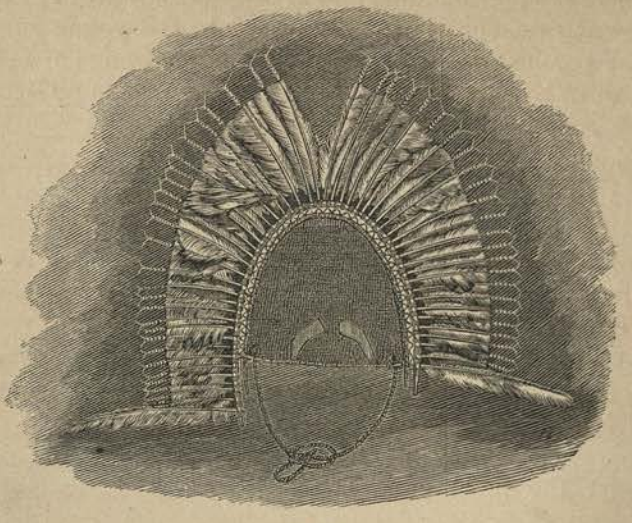

FIG. 32.

on a framework of sticks. The feathers of the cockatoo are notched at the ends (except the lower feather at each side), and the quills are turned over the curved stick, and very neatly tied with twine. The inner arch is strengthened at the back by sticks, and the cloth which covers them is exactly like canvas. The two spaces which would appear just above the eyes when the head-dress was worn have a border of thick twine. They are colored with red-ochre, as is also the edge of the inner circle. The whole is ingeniously constructed; and the white and yellow of the feathers, and the red paint, must have appeared hideous by the light of the corrobboree fires.

Mr. Wilhelmi says that in the north-west the men decorate their heads after a strange fashion, on occasions of rejoicings and when engaged in their mystic ceremonies. They place in the head-band, behind the ears, two small pieces of green wood, decorated from one end to the other with very thin shavings, which appear like a plume of white feathers. The sticks are so placed as to admit of their being tied together in front, and at a distance they resemble two long horns. The Port Lincoln blacks get white birds' down, and make a sort of wreath, which looks not unlike a woman's cap.

A head-dress of feathers is also worn by the old men at Cooper's Creek.

On the Macleay River, at the ceremony of initiation, the men wear high top-knots of grass, while others tie the hair in a knot, and cover the head with the snowy down of the cockatoo.*

In other parts a plume of white cockatoo feathers is worn. Sir Thomas Mitchell saw, near the River Bogan, some rather curious decorations. One had a kind of network, confining his hair in the form of a round cap, from

* *From Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, by C. Hodgkinson.

the front of which arose a plume of white feathers. A short cloak of opossum skin was drawn tight round his body with one hand, and with the other he grasped his boomerangs and waddy. At another spot he saw two natives with hideous countenances, and savagely painted with crimson-red on the abdomen and right shoulder, the nose and cheek-bones were also gules, and some blazing spots were daubed like drops of gore on the brow. The most ferocious wore round his brow the usual band newly whitened.*

Some were seen by the same explorer with the nose and brow painted with yellow-ochre; and a boy, led by a man, was so dressed with green boughs that only his head and legs remained uncovered. Emu feathers were mixed with the wild locks of his hair, and he presented altogether a strange spectacle. On the Darling, at a native dance, the men were hideously painted, so as to resemble skeletons.

As far as I have been able to learn, yellow is most commonly used for purposes of decoration in the north and north-eastern parts of Australia.

Mr. Samuel Gason gives the following list of ornaments worn by the Dieyerie tribe:—

Kultrakultra Necklace made of reeds, strung on woven hair, and suspended round the neck.

Yinka - A string of human hair, ordinarily three hundred yards in length, and wound round the waist. This ornament is greatly prized, owing to the difficulty of procuring the material of which it is made.

Mundamunda A string made from the native cotton-tree, about two or three hundred yards long; this is worn round the waist, and adorned with variously-colored strings wound round at right-angles. These are worn by the women, and are very neatly made.

Kootcha - Bunch of hawk's, crow's, or eagle's feathers, neatly tied with the sinews of the emu or wallaby, and cured in hot ashes. This is worn either when fighting or dancing, and also used as a fan.

Wurtanurta- A bunch of the black feathers of the emu, tied together with the sinews of the same bird, worn in the *Yinka* (girdle) near the waist.

Chanpoo - A band about six inches long, and two inches broad, made from the stems of the cotton-bush, painted white, and worn round the forehead.

Koorie - A large mussel-shell pierced with a hole, and attached to the end of the beard or suspended from the neck. Also used in circumcision.

Oonamunda - About ten feet of string, made from the native cotton-bush, and worn round the arm.

* *Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell.

Oorapathera - A bunch of leaves tied at the feet, and worn when dancing, causing a peculiar noise.

Unpa - - A bunch of tassels, made from the fur of rats and wallaby, worn by the natives for the sake of decency. They are from six inches to three feet in length, according as they are intended to be worn.

Thippa - Used for the same purpose as *Unpa*. A bunch of tassels made from tails of the native rabbit, and, when washed in damp sand, very pretty, being white as snow. It takes about fifty tails to make an ordinary *Thippa*, but some Mr. Gason has seen consisting of three hundred and fifty.

Aroo - - The large feathers from the tail of the emu, used only as a fan.

Wurdwurda - A circlet or coronet of emu feathers, worn only by the old men.

Ornamentation.

The modes of ornamenting the shields, clubs, and other weapons of the Aboriginal natives of Victoria are similar to those of the people who fabricated the urns of baked or burnt clay found in tumuli in England and Scotland. They are restricted to forms few and simple, but, whether separate or in combination, not without some pleasing effects. Of the hundreds of old weapons that I have examined—weapons made before the natives had gathered any hints from Europeans—I find that the lines carved on them were in the form of the chevron, herring-bone, or saltier. In some, the round or egg-shaped figure was used as a border. If the reader will refer to the figures of the shields and clubs in this work, he will see every variety of these styles; and in not a few broad bands at right-angles to the longer axis of the shield, or in the form of a cross with two feet (saltier).

Similar figures are found impressed on an urn recovered from the stone cists of Lesmurdie, in Banffshire; and on another of well-baked material and of unusual thinness which was "discovered under a tumulus at Memsie, Aberdeenshire. Beside the latter lay a bronze leaf-shaped sword, broken in two." *

In the Memsie urn, the round dots or rings are arranged in a band dividing one set of herring-bone lines from others above and below it.

It seems that the savage, in all parts of the world, has, in his first attempts at ornamentation, used the lines above described for decorating his weapons and utensils. We may suppose that he depicted, first, straight lines; secondly, lines forming the herring-bone and the chevron; and, lastly, the saltier, which would arise naturally out of the combinations of those figures. This is borne out by a careful examination of the wooden shields.

Some of the spear-shields are ornamented with dots and bands only; and the bands are always hollowed out. Curved lines are rarely seen. Any attempt to represent a curve in all the specimens I have examined has been a failure.† The folds of the snake and the neck of the swan are shown as angles—acute or obtuse—not as curves.

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* Wilson: *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 426–7, vol. I. Wilson thinks the idea of these patterns was derived from the observation of the indentations originally made by the plaited network on rude sun-dried urns. Our Aborigines knew not the use of clay. The origin of this system of ornamentation must be sought for elsewhere.

† The encircling lines dividing the pictures in the bark drawing which follows may be regarded as an exception. But it does not represent native archaic art; and the attempts in the same pictures to show the folds of the snake and the curves of the necks of the birds justify and support the statement that, as a rule, the uneducated native cannot describe a curve.

On a few of the weapons appear rude figures of men and four-footed animals. One figure of a man shown by lines on a club is in the dress and attitude of a native dancing in a corrobboree.

The carvings are confined to their weapons of wood. Not one of the bone implements in my possession has a single line engraven on it.

There are peculiarities in the arrangement of the lines on the ornamented shields of the West Australian natives which suggest that some meaning—understood only by the warriors themselves—is conveyed by such representations. The natives of Victoria often used forms the meaning of which is discoverable now. A *Lyl-lil* (figured in this work) represents a lagoon, and probably an anabranch of the Broken River, and the space enclosed by the lines shows the country which the tribe of the owner of the weapon occupied. In like manner the natives of the Upper Darling represented on their shields figures in imitation of the totems of their tribes. One in my possession has engraven on it the figure of an iguana.*

Among the common forms on their shields and other weapons are the following.—(Fig. 33.)—

FIG. 33.

Designs after the following pattern (Fig. 34) are not often seen. On the flat or rounded surfaces of their weapons they not infrequently scored lines in detached parallelograms.—(Fig. 35.) The remaining surface of the weapon, when this style was used, was left smooth, or was polished, so as to give greater prominence to the figures.

The shields of the natives of Queensland are ornamented with very fine lines in rather irregular patterns, and with circular dots.—(Fig. 36.) The inner side of the shield is also carved, and on one in my collection there appears what is probably a figure of the totem of the tribe. It is strange that it should be shown on the inside of the shield.

FIG. 34.

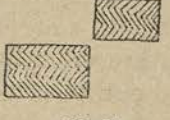

FIG. 35.

FIG. 36.

Their boomerangs are made of a hard, nearly black, wood, resembling ebony, or of a wood resembling the raspberry-jam wood of West Australia, and, unlike those of any other part of Australia which I have seen, are decorated.

* "Most of their instruments are ornamented with rude carved work, effected with a piece of broken shell; and on the rocks are frequently to be seen various figures of fish, clubs, swords, animals, and branches of trees, not contemptibly represented."—*An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, by Lieut-Col. Collins, 1804, p. 381.

Collins states, in another part of his work (p. 377), that, in ornamenting their weapons and instruments, each tribe used some peculiar form by which it was known to what part of the country they belonged.

The figures cut on them are in all the specimens in my possession of the following patterns.—(Fig. 37.) Other missiles are marked thus.—(Fig. 38.) All these forms have a meaning intelligible to the blacks of that part of the continent.

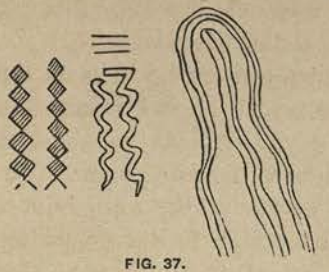

FIG. 37.

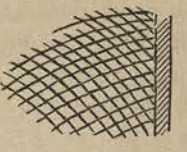

FIG. 38.

One sees in the simple forms used by the natives of Australia the rudiments of the arts which gave splendour to the palaces of ancient Chaldæa. In the richest monuments of the luxurious races that dwelt on the lands watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris the same lines and combinations of lines as those here figured are used and repeated. On some of the columns there are patterns which are line for line the same as those seen on the shields made by the natives of the Yarra. From a race that used the like style of ornamentation the Saxon derived the zigzag moulding of his arch—and Gothic architecture, perhaps, the hint of the quatre-foil. The lines that ornament the fowling-piece and the pistol of modern manufacture in Europe are but repetitions of the designs which are seen on the Australian *Mulga* and the *Leon-ile*.

The artist will view with interest these first attempts at ornamentation. That such forms have been in use in all ages, and are still universally adopted, show that artistic invention has its limits, and is as surely subject to law as are the physical forces which we may investigate, and in some sense control, but cannot change.

A common instinct prevails whenever the mind is left to its own resources, and is unaided by experience and untaught by example. A very young child in Europe and a full-grown native of Australia will make a diagram and not a picture in any attempt to represent the figure of a man or an animal or a plant. The coarser pictures of the Chinese and the Japanese are but highly-colored diagrams.

The rude drawings of men made by European children are all alike. For the head there is a circle, with dots where the eyes, nose, and mouth should appear; the body is shown by another circle or an oval; and the arms and fingers and legs are represented by lines.

FIG. 39.

The Australian native shows the human figure somewhat differently. He sketches it usually thus.—(Fig. 39.) Throughout the continent this form is understood. In like manner the natives have conventional forms for trees, lakes, and streams; and in transmitting information to friends in remote tribes they use the conventional forms, but in many cases modified, and in some cases so simplified as to be in reality rather symbols than diagrams or pictures.

The natives of the Murray and the Darling, and those in other parts adjacent, carved on the trees near the tombs of deceased warriors strange figures having meanings no doubt intelligible to all the tribes in the vast area watered by these rivers.

That they possessed the power of conveying ideas by a sort of picture-writing is beyond doubt: picture-writing indeed was common long before Europeans made encroachments in any part of the island-continent. The characters employed, and the meaning of some of them, are referred to in another part of this work. The native not only was able to convey ideas in this manner, but occasionally made pictures, intelligible to all, representing events in his life.*

Some years ago, the Honorable Theo. J. Sumner sent me a piece of bark on which were depicted various scenes in the life of an Aboriginal. It was obtained near Lake Tyrrell, from a hut of bark constructed by a native. He had ornamented the sheets of bark composing his hut very elaborately, and one piece was brought to Melbourne by Mr. Stanbridge. The native artist was not a wild black. He had observed the customs of the whites; but he had received no instruction from them, except such as an intelligent man would derive from looking at their works. He cannot be strictly regarded as an uneducated native. The landscapes, if they can be so called, and the figures shown in Fig. 40, are faithfully reduced from the original sheet of bark on which they were drawn, and which is now in my possession. The bark was smoked on the inside by placing it over a fire of twigs and leaves until the surface was blackened but not charred, and the artist drew the figures with the nail of his thumb.

Beginning at the top, we see what appear to be clouds beyond the horizon. A snake is gliding towards the farther edge of the plain, and a part of the body is out of sight. There are a few trees on the plain, and these are placed seemingly for the purpose of illustrating events. There is a pigeon perched on the top of a tree; there are two kangaroos exchanging signals; a native companion walking, and another feeding; an emu at rest, but with the head turned watchfully towards the rear; there is a snake coiled; there are turkeys walking, feeding or pluming themselves; and there is a gum-tree admirably depicted, with apparently a cherry-tree quite near it (commonly seen in the bush—the

* How like are the practices of men throughout the world! "And so the Indian Cadmus, with his paints of diverse colors, depicts on the smooth birch bark such simple figures and symbols as are now to be found engraven on hundreds of rocks throughout the American Continent; and are in constant use by the forest Indian in chronicling his own deeds on his buffalo robe, or recording those of the deceased chief on his grave-post. This is a simple process of picture-writing, translatable with nearly equal facility into the language of every tribe."—*Wilson's Pre-Historic Man*, vol. II., p. 125.

The Bosjesman is also an artist. He makes figures on rocks, and paints the roofs of caves, like the Australians and the North American Indians. He represents figures of men and the forms of beasts. He uses in coloring them red and black, and sometimes white, and his drawings have given rise to speculations as to their origin somewhat similar to the theories propounded respecting the cave-paintings of the natives of the north-western part of the continent. He, like the Australian, understands and appreciates art. He loves pictures. They appeal to his intellect in a manner that only an artist can comprehend.

cherry-tree seems to seek the shelter of a gum), and a man is climbing the gum-tree, tomahawk in hand. Two men are seen on the right of the picture: one is seated, with a pipe in his mouth; the other, gun in hand, is regarding attentively the game in the distance. Their spears, clubs, shields, bag, and tomahawk are lying on the ground. The following parts of the picture are divided from the above by encircling lines. Towards the left, in a circle, there are two figures of natives and a snake: one native is pointing towards the snake with his right hand; in his left hand he holds a stone tomahawk. The other native has a bag in his right hand, and a tomahawk uplifted in his left. The artist has evidently made a mistake here: natives are very rarely left-handed. He no doubt believed when he drew these figures that he had placed the implements in the right hand of each, not in the left. Unskilled persons sometimes make this mistake when they attempt to draw figures. Towards the right, within the next encircling line, there is an inner line, within the bounds of which a native is seen in a canoe on a stream. A spear is in his right hand, ready to strike any fish he may see, and a stick (*kannan*) in his left hand, with which he is propelling the canoe. A duck is skimming the water in front of the canoe.

Lower down, towards the right, is a crateriform lake, exactly resembling those of the Western district of Victoria. It is fringed with small trees (true to nature), and the fences of the squatter are depicted. A stream having a connection with the lake (also true to nature) is well drawn. In the lower part of this picture are shown a crateriform lake, with an outlet or a feeder and a squatter's house. The lake on the upper side is fringed with small trees, and an old dead tree on the right is rigidly true in execution. The way in which the motion of water is conveyed is excellent; it is nearly at rest in the lake, and it is running in the stream. This is worthy of study. The squatter's house is seemingly built of stone (basalt), and the chimney of brick. At the back of the house, and at a distance from it, some of the natives are dancing, and others are apparently engaged in a mystic ceremony. The figures in motion, those at rest, the women who beat the opossum skins, the weapons held in the hands of the dancers or laid aside, are all clearly shown.

This picture, the work of a native who had never received instruction, far surpasses any work of art that could be produced by even an educated European who was not a landscape painter. It is full of life and action. The unaffected plainness of the work, the simplicity of it, and the skill and knowledge evinced, are sufficient to compel admiration. And the poor materials! A piece of smoked bark, carved and indented with the nail of the thumb or a piece of bone! *

* "A boy belonging to a tribe at the Manning River, who had been induced to accompany a friend of mine as far as the Macleay, drew with a piece of chalk human heads and figures, kangaroos, &c., with a firm, well-defined outline, which few English boys of his age could have done better, unless they had had lessons in drawing."—*Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, 1845, by C. Hodgkinson, p. 243.

The Tasmanians also made pictures on bark. Bunce describes their drawings.—See *Australasiatic Reminiscences*, pp. 49, 50.

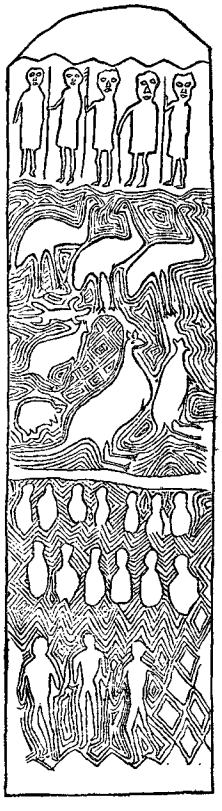

FIG. 41.

On the death of Bungeleen (an Aboriginal native who was tolerably well educated, and was for some time under the care of the late Mr. Wm. Thomas, the Protector of Aborigines), one of the men of the Yarra tribe was requested to make a suitable design for a tombstone to be placed over his grave; and he furnished accordingly the following picture. It is carved in wood.—(Fig. 41.) The artist is now dead; and it is impossible to give an explanation of the picture. Mr. John Green says that the Aborigines of the Yarra do not know what meaning he attached to the several figures; but they suppose that the men represented in the upper part of the drawing are friends who have been appointed to investigate the cause of the death of Bungeleen; the figures of the birds and animals (emus, lizard, wombat (?), and kangaroos) indicate that he did not die for lack of food; and the strange—somewhat obscure—forms below the hollow band are those of *Mooroops*, or spirits who have caused the death of the Aboriginal by their wicked enchantments. The carving is excellent; and the engraving accurately represents the figures.*

The natives, as already stated, frequently carved figures of some kind on the trees growing near the graves of deceased warriors. Oxley gives a drawing, from which it appears that a portion of the bark was first removed from the trees and that the designs were cut in the wood. These would last for a long period.

They also ornamented the places of burial by cutting figures in the turf; and when the priests exercised some of their rites, spaces were cleared, and designs made by removing the grass and cutting into the soil.

The inner sides of the opossum rugs used by the natives were usually ornamented. They inscribed lines on the skins, and darkened them with powdered charcoal and fat, or with other colors. The figures were the same as those on their weapons, namely, the herring-bone, chevron, and saltier, with representations of animals in outline. In many examples a pattern was chosen and fairly worked out. When an animal was figured, it was common, as in the drawings I have given, to fill in the space around it with lines —(Fig. 42). This style of ornamentation is effective. When a figure of some bird or beast is carved in wood—as on shields or throwing-sticks—it is, in some specimens, in relief, the surrounding lines being cut on a somewhat lower plane; but most often it is cut out to the depth of the eighth of an inch, the surrounding lines

FIG. 42.

* The tomb-board of Wabojeeg, a celebrated war chief, who died on Lake Superior in 1793, resembles that of Bungeleen. It is described in Sir John Lubbock's work on *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, 1870, p. 35.

being raised. Both methods are striking, and when colors are used, the effects are far from unpleasing.

Attention has been given from time to time to the figures and paintings found in caves in Australia. As far as I am aware, no paintings have been discovered in caves in Victoria, though in one or two there have been detected evidences of such caves having been frequented by the Aborigines, not perhaps because of the shelter which they afforded, but in order to enable the priests to perform some rites, or to present, for the purpose of increasing their influence amongst the natives, some tricks or jugglery. One cave in Victoria, which I have often visited, is said to have been the abode of Pundjil. In Western Australia there are numerous caverns in the sandstone rocks, and Capt. (now Sir George) Grey, the explorer, has given a very interesting account of the paintings which he saw in them. I have carefully examined all the figures and descriptions of the cave-pictures given in Grey's volumes,* and, with one doubtful exception, they appear to me to be the work of natives, unassisted by any knowledge gained by intercourse with persons of a different race. Moreover, I believe them to be modern, and similar to the drawings that are now made in caves by the natives of North-Western, Northern, and North-Eastern Australia.

These figures have been compared with those of the Hindoos and Egyptians, and an attempt has been made, as far as I am able to understand the argument, to show that the natives of Australia have derived their ideas of such forms from the representations of the gods of the ancients.† If there be any resemblance, I can find none. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the Hindoos and Egyptians used forms derived from the representations of the Aboriginal peoples who once roamed over the sites of their splendid cities than that the savages now living borrowed from them.‡

The figures in Capt. Grey's work resemble, in many respects, those usually drawn by the natives of Victoria and other parts, and the colors are those employed by them. The first figure given in Capt. Grey's work is that of a face and part of the body of a man. The eyes and nose are shown, but not the mouth. The head is surrounded with bright-red rays.§ The arms are neatly

* *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, by George Grey, 1841.

† *Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, 1846.

‡ The Hindoos, it is true, paint their bodies. They paint their arms and their breasts, and sometimes their throats. "Sandal-powder, turmeric, chuna or lime, ashes from a consecrated fire, cow-dung and other holy combustibles, made adhesive by a size of rice-water, or sometimes rubbed on dry, are the ingredients and usages on this occasion. Several lines of white, ashen, or yellow hue are commonly seen drawn across the arms and breasts; and I understand that *Yogis* and *Saniasis*, and other pious persons, frequently carry about them a little packet of these holy pigments, with which they mark those who show them respect in repayment of their attentions."—*The Hindu Pantheon*, by Edward Moor, F.R.S., p. 375.

Surely these practices have been derived from those of a more ancient uncivilized race. Civilization struggles vainly against such usages; it may sometimes almost extinguish them, but it is certain it never originates them.

§ Fresh light is thrown on this subject by the discovery of the head-dress (*Oogee*) worn at corrobborees by the men of the North. As soon as Mr. Panton sent me the decoration, it occurred to me that this picture in Grey's volume was an attempt to represent it. The head-dress is figured

drawn, and the thumb and fingers are delineated. On the body are markings of this kind.—(Fig. 43.) The face is painted white, and the eyes black, with encircling red and yellow lines.

FIG. 43.

Figure No. 2 is thus described :—" Upon the rock which formed the left-hand wall of this cave, and which partly faced you on entering, was a very singular painting, vividly colored, representing four heads joined together. From the mild expression of the countenances, I imagined them to represent females, and they appeared to be drawn in such a manner, and in such a position, as to look up at the principal figure which I have before described (No. 1) ; each had a very remarkable head-dress, colored with a deep bright blue, and one had a necklace on.* Both of the lower figures had a sort of dress, painted with red in the same manner as that of the principal figure, and one of them had a band round her waist. Each of the four faces was marked by a totally different expression of countenance, and although none of them had mouths, two, I thought, were otherwise rather good-looking. The whole painting was executed on a white ground."

Figure No. 3—an ellipse—painted a bright-yellow, and dotted over with red lines and spots, and having across it two transverse lines of blue, encloses a drawing of a kangaroo. The kangaroo is well sketched, and is exactly such a figure as an Aboriginal native would make. The ellipse seems to me to be intended for the representation of a spear-shield, but the black spots are not placed exactly where the handle of the weapon is usually inserted.

Another drawing, No. 4—that of a native carrying a kangaroo—presents many of the peculiarities that belong to native art.

A colored picture of a man at page 214 is also—as far as I am able to judge—the work of a native. It is thus described by Capt. Grey :—" The principal painting in it [the cave] was the figure of a man, ten feet six inches in length, clothed from the chin downwards in a red garment, which reached to the wrists and ankles ; beyond this red dress the feet and hands protruded, and were badly executed. The face and head of the figure were enveloped in a

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in another part of this work, and the reader may consider it in connection with the drawing in Grey's volume. It must be borne in mind that everything else figured in the caves where these pictures were seen was undoubtedly the work of the natives ; and it is highly improbable that foreigners—intruders—who necessarily would have been daily and hourly in fear of losing their lives—unless they were guests of the natives, or captives—would have taken the trouble to procure the several colors necessary for such decorations as those described. It is suggested that the natives borrowed from India. But no figures in the Hindoo Pantheon resemble the cave-drawings. Around the head of Krishna, rays like those of the sun (not at all like the feathers of the cockatoo) are depicted, and Krishna wears a crown elaborately wrought. And not the head only but the body of Surya is surrounded with rays. If the red lines in the figure copied by Grey were intended to represent rays, and not the feathers of a bird, there is something to be investigated in the history of the natives of Australia that is of absorbing interest.

One of my correspondents has suggested that the figures may have been drawn by Portuguese or Spanish sailors, and are sacred emblems : if so, they must have been painted some three centuries ago—but, assuredly, they are not of a character to endure for any very great length of time.

* The necklace is so drawn as to remind one at once of the necklace of kangaroo teeth figured in another part of this work.

succession of circular bandages, or rollers, or what appeared to be painted to represent such. These were colored red, yellow, and white; and the eyes were the only features represented on the face. Upon the highest bandage or roller, a series of lines were painted in red; but although so regularly done as to indicate that they have some meaning, it was impossible to tell whether they were intended to depict written characters or some ornament for the head."* At the right hand of the figure there are shown in the drawing, in three perpendicular lines, a number of circles—a kind of ornamentation already described. Capt. Grey seems to have regarded all these figures as the work of the Aboriginal natives.

Fronting one of the caves was seen cut out in sandstone rock the profile of a human face and head. The rock was hard, and Capt. Grey states that to have removed such a large portion of it with no better tools than the stone knife and hatchet, such as the Australians use, must have entailed great labor. "The head," he says, "was two feet in length, and sixteen inches in breadth in the broadest part; the depth of the profile increased gradually from the edges, where it was nothing, to the centre, where it was an inch and a half; the ear was rather badly placed, but otherwise the whole of the work was good, and far superior to what a savage race could be supposed capable of executing."

The head shown in the drawing at page 206 resembles that of a European; and, if it was the work of an Aboriginal, is a proof that the artistic skill of this people has been greatly underrated.

In one of the caves Capt. Grey found imprinted on the sides the stamp of a hand and arm. The outline of the hand and arm was painted black, and the rock about it white.

These representations appear to be common in Western Australia and elsewhere. Mr. H. Y. L. Brown, formerly a Geological Surveyor in Western Australia, informs me that the natives make these pictures by blackening the hands and pressing them against the roof. He saw one cave in granite rock where there were many such figures of hands of different sizes, the form of each being cut out very neatly.

Indeed the practice of ornamenting caves, rocks, and trees, and cutting figures on the ground by removing the grass, is characteristic of this people. There are amongst the natives artists who take delight in depicting figures of animals, and scenes in their domestic life, and in making strange devices for their weapons. Their pictures are found in every part of the continent, and also on the islands adjacent to the continent to which they had access. A large number of references could be given illustrative of their love of art, but a few will suffice to induce the reader, perhaps, to regard with a higher interest the first attempts of a savage people to imitate the forms of natural objects, and to pourtray, though usually in no very durable form, incidents in their lives.

* Sir George Grey observes that "this figure brings to mind the description of the Prophet Ezekiel:—'Men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity.'—Chap. xviii. 14, 15."

Mr. A. W. Howitt informs me that it was the custom of the natives of Gippsland to strip a sheet of bark, bend it across the middle, and set it up like a tent, and draw figures inside with charcoal, or perhaps red-ochre (*nial*). He says he saw such an one on the Wonnangatta River, when prospecting, in 1861. He thinks the figures drawn were those of men, emus, &c.

Mr. Hodgkinson saw, at the place prepared for the ceremonies of initiation, at the Macleay River, trees minutely tattooed and carved to such a considerable altitude that he could not help feeling astonished at the labor bestowed on the work.

When exploring in the Cape York Peninsula, Mr. Norman Taylor found in one place a flat wall of rock on which numerous figures were drawn. They were outlined with red-ochre, and filled in with white. A figure of a man was shown in this manner, and was spotted with yellow. And on the hardened-earth flats at the back of a beach were some regularly-drawn turtles cut out in outline, reminding him of the sculptured rocks on the South Head of Sydney, near Bondi, where men, sharks, fish, &c., are carved on the flat sandstone rocks.

Mr. Giles, in his explorations in Central Australia, found, at the camping-places of the natives, paintings of snakes, principally white, and imperfect shapes of hands, scratched, he thinks, by children with bits of charcoal. In the caves he found the same kinds of ornamentation as those used by the natives of the Barrier Range and the mountains east of the Darling, namely, representations of the hand, generally colored red or black. These are made by filling the mouth with either charcoal or red-ochre, damping the wall where the mark is to be left, and placing the palm of the hand against it with the fingers stretched out, and then blowing against the back of the hand. When the hand is withdrawn, the space it occupied is clean, while the surrounding wall is black or red. One device represented a snake going into a hole. The hole was actually in the rock, and the snake was painted on the wall, and the spectator was to suppose that its head was just inside the hole. The body of the reptile was curled round and round from the tail, but the breadth was out of all proportion to its length. It was painted with charcoal-ashes, which had been mixed with emu-fat. In another part he saw again the rude figures of snakes, and hands, and devices for shields.*

On Depuch Island, one of the Forestier group, lying close to the north-west coast of Australia, Stokes discovered a large number of paintings, consisting of figures of birds, fishes, beetles, crabs, &c. The natives had removed the hard outer coating of the rocks, and thus obtained a smooth surface for their pictures. "Much ability," says Stokes, "is displayed in many of these representations, the subjects of which could be discovered at a glance. The number of specimens was immense, so that the natives must have been in the habit of amusing themselves in this innocent manner for a long period of time. I could not help reflecting, as I examined with interest the various objects represented —the human figures, the animals, the birds, the weapons, the domestic inci-

* *Geographic Travels in Central Australia*, 1872–4, by Ernest Giles.

dents, the scenes of savage life—on the curious frame of mind that could induce these uncultivated people to repair, perhaps at stated seasons of the year, to this lonely picture gallery, surrounded by the ocean wave, to admire and add to the productions of their forefathers. . . . . These savages of Australia, as we call them, who have adorned the rocks of Depuch Island with their drawings, have in one thing proved themselves superior to the Egyptian and the Etruscan, whose works have elicited so much admiration, and afforded food to so many speculations—namely, there is not in them to be observed any trace of indecency."*

Three of the figures from the plate in Capt. Stokes' work are here shown:—Fig. 44 represents "a native armed with spear and wommera or throwing-stick, probably relating his adventures;" Fig. 45, a kangaroo; and Fig. 46, a crab.

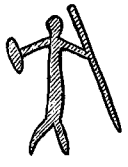

FIG. 44.

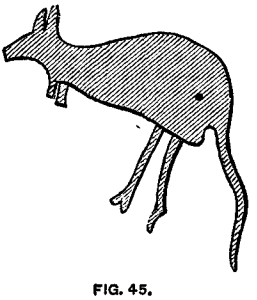

FIG. 45.

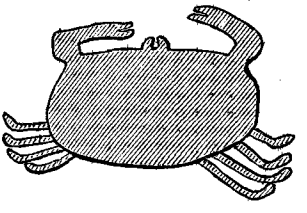

FIG. 46.

Mr. Green informs me that amongst the natives of the Yarra, white, when used for decoration in the corrobboree, is called *Trrin-in bigger-min-in;* and when used in mourning, *Trrin-in mir-rin mir-rin.* The native name for red is *Trre-barrien*, and when used in the corrobboree *Trre-barrien mirra-lin.* Black is *Woorr-karrim*, and blue (which probably means dark or dusky) is also named *Woor-karrim.*

According to Mr. Bunce, red was named *Bee-bee-thu-ung*, and black *Boorooee* (meaning "darkness" or "night").

Mr. Bulmer, of Lake Tyers, says that white, red, and black are the only colors used by the natives of the districts he has visited. Blue is not known to them. Since the white man came they have used blue colors, but they obtained them from the whites. The native names of the colors, according to Mr. Bulmer, are as follow:—White, *Tarpa-tarpal;* red, *Noorook* or *Krook;* and black, *Nirnba-nirnbal.* The last name is applied to anything dark or dusky, so that a blue coat would be called *Nirnba-nirnbal gree.*†

Mr. Bulmer says he has seen both white and red used during periods of mourning, but in the corrobboree white only.

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* *Discoveries in Australia*, 1837–43, vol. II., pp. 170–3.

† Mr. Bulmer informs me that the word *gree* does not mean a coat only, but is used to designate anything a native possesses. A man calls anything he owns *gree.* He adds that the natives express different shades of color by putting before the word for color the equivalent of our word *very:* thus very dark or nearly black is *Mak-nirnba-nirnbal.* Blackness itself, or more properly "the mother of darkness," is *Yackan-nirnba-nirnbal.* The work *Yackan* is used to express something extraordinary, as *Yackanda-willang*, a great rain. One of the towns in the Beechworth district is named Yackandandah.

The colors used by the natives in painting the caves which were visited by Capt. Grey were white, black, red, yellow, and blue. Blue is rarely used by the Aborigines, and in some districts it was unknown prior to the colonization of Australia by the whites. This color was perhaps obtained by mixing black and white.

In ornamenting their rugs they copied from nature. One man told Mr. Bulmer that he got his ideas from the observation of natural objects. He had copied the markings on a piece of wood made by the grub known as *Krang;* and from the scales of snakes and the markings of lizards he derived new forms. The natives never, in adorning their rugs or weapons, as far as Mr. Bulmer knows, imitate the forms of plants or trees.

A red pigment was obtained by the natives, either from decomposed rocks, where it is found as clay, or by burning some trap-rock or porphyry. Yellow clays and yellow-ochre are not plentiful, and in some districts the pigment is not found at all.* White is got in the areas occupied by granite and Palæozoic rocks almost everywhere; but in the large tracts occupied by Tertiary rocks, where white clays are not found near the surface, the natives collected gypsum and selenite, burnt the mineral, and produced a very good pigment. A black color was made from charcoal or from soot. The charcoal or soot was mixed with fat and used as a paint.

The color most commonly used during periods of mourning was white, but, as already stated, both white and red are used by different tribes. Amongst the natives living within the water-shed of the Murray, white alone, Mr. Bulmer thinks, is used. On the eastern side of the Cordillera, however, he has seen the bodies painted with a mixture of red-ochre and fat. The natives take the fat of the deceased, mix it with ochre, and smear their bodies. Both white and red are commonly applied at other times, for purposes of decoration.†

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* In an official report addressed to the Government of South Australia, and dated 30th June 1874, which I have just received from Mr. E. A. Hamilton, the Sub-Protector of Aborigines in South Australia, it is stated that serious depredations have been committed by Aboriginals known as the Saltwater blacks. These men come down every year from Cooper's Creek and elsewhere to obtain supplies of ochre from the Aroona cave. On returning to their own country, they not unfrequently rob the huts of shepherds. Mr. Buttfield, one of the Sub-Protectors, has suggested that a supply of ochre should be sent to Mount Hope, so that the natives might no longer be obliged to travel a long distance to obtain it.

† "The next day the women separated from the men and painted themselves all over with white clay, and the men did so with red, at the same time ornamenting themselves with emu feathers, which they tied round their waists. They were in every other way quite naked."—*Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, p. 47.

"They grease and paint themselves with red and white ochre. They pluck the white hairs out of their beards."—*Ibid*, p. 72–3.

"They use three colors in painting themselves—viz., black, red, and white. The black and red colors are the produce of a soft stone, which they draw from a great distance in the north. By rubbing or scraping it they obtain a powder, which they rub into the fat which they have before put on their faces, arms, and breasts; the colors then assume quite a metallic lustre. The white color is prepared of a soft clay or chalk. It is applied on particular occasions only—among others, for dancing and when in mourning. . . . . For indicating mourning, the women paint their whole front, a ring round each eye, and a perpendicular line about the stomach; but the men paint the breast by making drawn or punctured streaks down from the shoulders, all verging

In the corrobboree, when an effect had to be produced at night in front of the fires, they used white. The ribs were indicated by lines of white, and the prominent bones and limbs by daubs and streaks. The aspect of a crowd of natives so painted is hideous.

Mr. Bulmer says that the men generally smeared themselves with red when they wished to make themselves attractive, or smart (*Taa-jaan*). A young man would cover his hair with red powder, put on a *jimbirn*, or brow-band, and rub his body with fat and red-ochre. In some parts yellow, as well as red and white, is used for painting the body. Oxley met with men on the Lachlan whose faces were daubed with a red and yellow pigment.* In painting their weapons they generally used white and red. The smaller lines on a shield were filled with white, and the broader lines were colored red. Sometimes they painted the herring-bone lines white, and then drew a streak of bright-red paint along the lines formed by the angles, producing a curious and not unpleasing effect.

None of the natives of Australia appear to have practised the art of tattooing. They marked themselves by scars ordinarily in a very rude manner, but occasionally men have been seen whose bodies were covered with cicatrices in regular lines, making a sort of pattern. One remarkable instance of the kind, illustrated by a drawing after a photograph (Fig. 6), is shown in this work. It is a portrait of a native of Queensland.

Mr. Bulmer tells me that, according to his observations, the natives of each tribe scarred themselves after a pattern common to the tribe. The people of one tribe, he says, had a mark of this form—(Fig. 47); another used this—

FIG. 47.

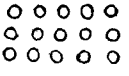

FIG. 48.

FIG. 49.

(Fig. 48); another, with lines after this fashion—(Fig. 49). In some tribes the scars were on the back, in others on the arms, or on the chest or abdomen.

We may regard these markings as the rudiments of the art practised by the New Zealanders and Polynesians, whose methods of tattooing have been brought to the highest state of perfection. The cicatrices are made by cutting the skin,

towards and joining at the navel. The difference in the design of the painting indicates the nearer or more remote degree of the relationship with the deceased. The black color in some parts is also used for mourning, according to what Mr. Schürmann has been able to ascertain, at the death of a relation by marriage, while the white is used at the death of blood relations. It thus becomes evident that the natives do not paint themselves in one and the same manner, but differently, according to the degrees of relationship between them and the deceased, which is expressed by the various designs."—*Natives of the Port Lincoln District*, by C. Wilhelmi.

* The natives of the Louisiade Archipelago, Macgillivray states, paint themselves with two pigments—pounded charcoal mixed up with cocoa-nut oil, and lime, obtained from burnt shells, similarly treated. They also decorate their persons with flowers and strongly-scented plants, and with large white cowries appended to the waist, elbows, and ankles. They use, too, fragments of other shells, and human bones made into bracelets.—*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, 1852, vol. I., DD. 215-16.

and filling the openings with clay.* Both men and women mark themselves in this manner; and in Queensland it is rare to see a native without cicatrices on the shoulder.

On the plains beyond Nundawar, Sir Thomas Mitchell saw a man with scarifications all over his body; and Sir Thomas stated, quite correctly, that these scars or ridges distinguish the Australian natives in all parts of the continent. They have attracted the attention of all voyagers, and are mentioned by Cook. Oxley on his journey saw two natives, both youths, not exceeding twenty years of age, most horribly marked by the skin and flesh being raised in long stripes all over the back and body. Some of the stripes were full three-quarters of an inch deep, and were so close together that scarcely any of the original skin was to be seen between them.†

The figures — from photographs — given in this work show how this mode of decoration was practised. Though they are used certainly as tribal marks, the pain and misery attendant on such cuttings are endured more for the purpose of adornment than anything else. A man covered with these ridges of flesh is very proud of his appearance, and would not hide them if he could.‡

It is not unprofitable to compare the modes of ornamentation in common use in Australia with those of neighbouring races.

The people of New Guinea decorate their weapons and implements much after the fashion of the Fijians, using in all the specimens I have examined black and white, to give effect to their patterns. Some of the lines, however, are unlike any I have seen on Fijian weapons, and greatly resemble the forms that appear on some of the razor-knives from Denmark, of the age of bronze. I have copied these lines from a wooden drum of the New Guinea natives.—(Fig. 50.)

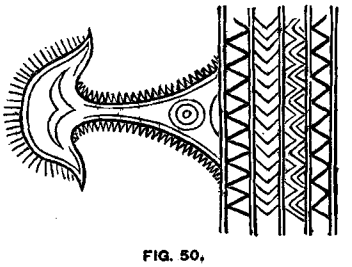

FIG. 50.

* Collins says that the scars are made with the broken pieces of shell that they use at the end of the throwing-stick. By keeping open the incisions, the flesh grows up between the sides of the wound, and after a time, skinning over, forms a large weal or seam.—*New South Wales*, 1804, p. 358.

† *Journal of Two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales*, by John Oxley, 1817–18, p. 172.

‡ At the village of Tassai, on the largest of the Brumer group, Macgillivray saw specimens of tattooing. He says:—"This practice of tattooing the body, or marking it with coloring matter introduced into the skin by means of punctures or incisions, is rarely exhibited by the men, and in them is usually confined to a few blue lines or stars upon the right breast; in some instances, however, the markings consisted of a double series of large stars and dots stretching from the shoulder toward the pit of the stomach. Among the women the tattooing extends over the face, fore part of the arms, and whole front of body, continued backwards a little way over the shoulders, usually, but not always, leaving the back untouched. The pattern for the body consists of series of vertical stripes, less than an inch apart, connected by zigzag and other markings—that over the face is more complicated, and on the forearm and wrist it is frequently so elaborate as to assume the appearance of beautiful lace-work."—*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, vol. I., pp. 262–3.

The New Zealanders use the herring-bone, broad bands, and triangular markings, but these are subordinate to the loop-coil, which is prominent in all their decorations. The *He Taiaha*, or staff of office of a chief (of which I have two very old specimens), is thus carved. — (Fig. 51.) Their canoes and paddles often show these lines.—(Fig. 52.) They imitate the human figure, and grotesque faces and figures appear on their canoes, paddles, and indeed on all things that they carve. Eyes are invariably represented by rings made of the shell of the haliotis.

FIG. 51.

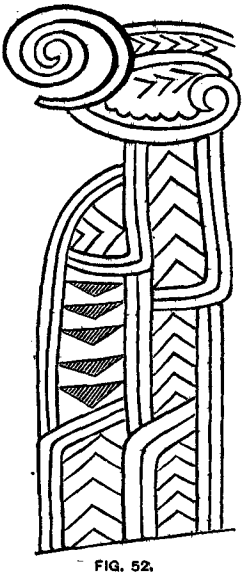

FIG. 52.

Many of their works of art are very beautiful. The patterns are intricate, the lines deep, and the style bold. In those that are elaborately decorated the effect is rich, calling to mind very often that of the markings on crustaceans and the shell of the tortoise. The posts of their pahs, their houses, their canoes and weapons, and their boxes, are minutely carved; and though they use but few patterns, these are so adroitly placed as to produce very pleasing contrasts.

The Fijians use such figures as these for their weapons.—(Fig. 53.)

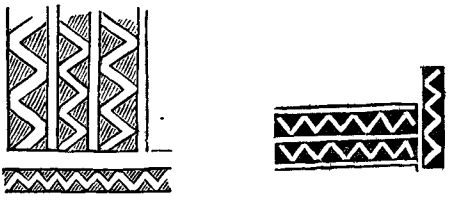

FIG. 53.

Their cloaks usually exhibit the following lines.—(Fig. 54.)

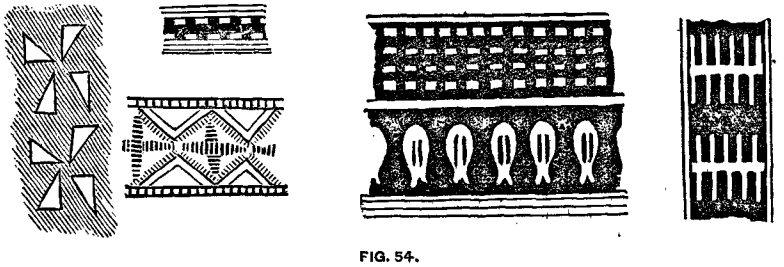

FIG. 54.

Their pottery is embellished, and almost in such a manner as to suggest that the devices may have originated in the indentations made on soft clay by

plaited network. A water vessel in my possession is ornamented thus.—(Fig. 55.)

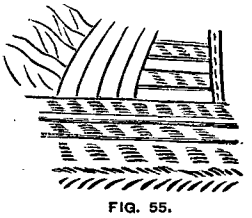

FIG. 55.

The people of New Caledonia, it appears, do not decorate their clubs or other weapons. Only one of the specimens in my possession is marked in any way. They are good artists, however, and scratch figures on wood with neatness and skill. A stick in my collection, about five feet in length and two inches in diameter, is entirely covered with drawings, and many of the forms are very cleverly executed.

It is to be regretted that it is not possible to show here all the various forms of ornamentation in use in the islands of the Pacific. Better perhaps than language—better perhaps than the physical aspect or color of the peoples—they would suggest affinities which by research might be established. It is worthy of note that the spears of the North Australians are ornamented nearly in the same manner as the arrows of the South Sea Islanders. They carve on them bands, filled in with longitudinal lines, which alternate with blank spaces, and the lines are colored—in the arrows usually with a black pigment, and in the spears with red or yellow ochre.

Offensive Weapons.

THE club or waddy called by the natives of the River Yarra *Kud-jee-run* or *Kud-jer-oong* is used mostly in single combat, when both combatants are provided with the strong shield (*Mulga*).* Blows are aimed at the head only with this weapon. To strike at any other part would be deemed unfair. It is a heavy and strong weapon, and is made of the *Burgan* (mountain tea-tree, *Kunzea peduncularis*), or box or red-gum (*Eucalyptus rostrata*).

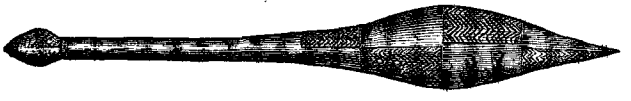

FIG. 56.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

Figs. 56 and 57 are common forms of the club. This club is called by some of the men of the Murray *Koom-bah-mallee*.

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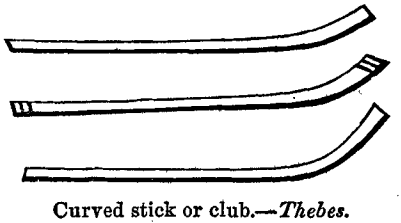
* The figures on the Egyptian monuments would lead one to suppose that the weapons used by the allies of the Egyptians were not very different from those made by the Australians, as shown in this work. In an engraving in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, one of the allies is represented as carrying a club somewhat similar to the *Kud-jer-oong*.

And speaking of the Egyptians, Wilkinson says :—"A club has also been found and is now in the British Museum, armed with wooden teeth, similar to those in the South Sea Islands; but it was probably of some rude, foreign people, and is not represented on the monuments.

"In ancient times, when the fate of a battle was frequently decided by personal valour, the dexterous management of such arms was of great importance; and a band of resolute veterans, headed by a gallant chief, spread dismay among the ranks of an enemy. They had another kind of mace, sometimes of uniform thickness through its whole length, sometimes broader at the upper end, without either the ball or guard; and many of their allies carried a rude, heavy club; but no body of native troops was armed with this last, and it cannot be considered an Egyptian weapon.

"The curved stick or club (now called *lissán 'tongue'*) was used by heavy and light armed troops as well as by archers; and if it does not appear a formidable arm, yet the experience of modern times bears ample testimony to its efficacy in close combat. To the Bisharieen it supplies the place of a sword; and the Ababdeh, content with this, their spear and shield, fear not to encounter other tribes armed with the matchlock and the *yatagán*. In length it is about two feet and a half, and is made of a hard acacia wood."—Pp. 364-5, vol. I.

The curved sticks or clubs above referred to are thus figured :—



Curved stick or club.—*Thebes.*

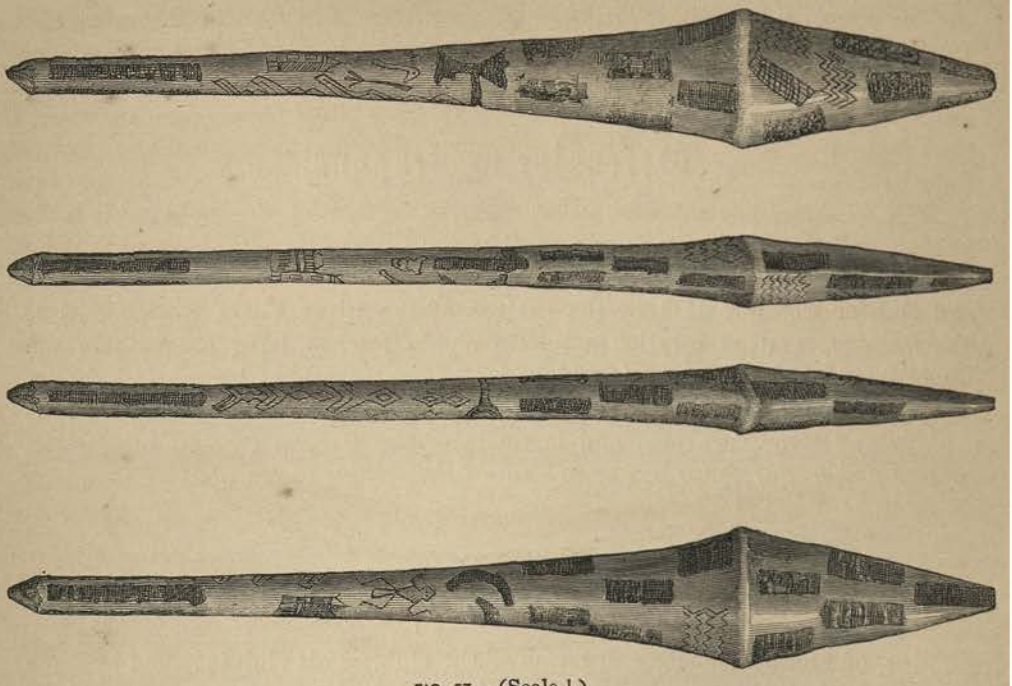


FIG. 57.—(Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.)
(Showing different aspects of the same weapon.)

Fig. 58 is not uncommon in Victoria, and is called by the natives of the Yarra *Yeamberrn*, and by the Lower Murray people *Moonoe*. *Wye-rye-a-nine*, a native of the Murray, says that the proper name is *Mun-nup* (pronounced

FIG. 58.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

with a lisp), and that the weapon is used for striking most often, but is sometimes thrown so as to cause the sharp point to enter the body of the enemy. He instructed me carefully in its use. Some of these clubs are more sharply pointed than that shown in the drawing.

Fig. 59 is that of a club obtained from the River Burdekin by the late Mr. Matthew Hervey. It appears to have been used not only as an offensive weapon, but also for digging roots, thrusting into hollow trees when searching

FIG. 59.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

for animals, &c. The lower end is much worn. The native (Burdekin) name of this instrument is not known to the writer. It is exactly like the clubs in use at Rockingham Bay, and at Mackay in Queensland. At Mackay the club is double-pointed, and is named *Mattina*.

The form of the waddy varies with every tribe, and men of the same tribe have clubs very differently formed and ornamented. The upper part of some is pear-shaped, and in others like two cones placed base to base, and so fashioned as to present a cutting edge. Of this latter form there are various modifications. It is with the *Kud-jer-oong* that the natives usually chastise their wives.

Fig. 60 shows another and rather remarkable form of the waddy. It is the weapon called *Kul-luk* by the Aborigines of Gippsland. Its shape approaches that of the wooden sword used by some natives of Australia, but it is thicker and heavier and not so broad as the wooden sword of the Victorian natives. The name of this weapon on the Murray is *Pirr-ben.* Any tough, hard, and heavy wood is selected for this instrument.

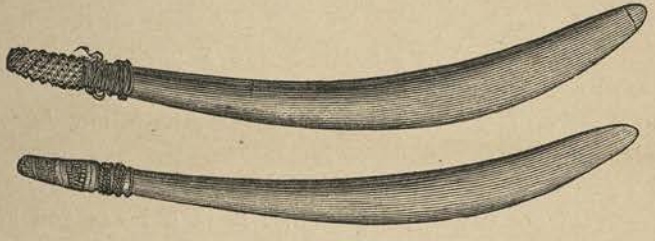


FIG. 60.

The names *Kud-jer-oong*, *Kul-luk*, and *Warra-warra* are applied to the clubs used in Gippsland; but the *Warra-warra* is not, properly speaking, a club or waddy.

The *Warra-warra*—or *Worra-worra*, as it is named by the Yarra and Western Port tribes, or *Nulla-nulla* of the Lower Murray—is made from a sapling.

A young tea-tree (*Melaleuca ericifolia*) is pulled up, cut short, and the root fashioned into a knob forming a weapon of the shape shown in Fig. 61.

FIG. 61.

The root is called *Kow-un-o.* This instrument is sometimes used in a general fight, but more often in single combat. When fighting with it the men are not allowed to carry the *Mulga* to protect themselves. They strike and guard with the *Worra-worra;* and a man who knows how to use it will soon disable a less skilful antagonist.

There is another form of waddy, much resembling in shape the *Li-lil*, but thicker, heavier, and stronger.

The clubs in my possession vary in weight from ten ounces (a weapon fit only for a boy) to two pounds eight ounces.

The *Leon-ile* or *Langeel* (Fig. 62) is perhaps the most dangerous of all the weapons of this class. It is employed in single combat in the same way as the *Kud-jer-oong*, but because of the facility with which the point can be suddenly

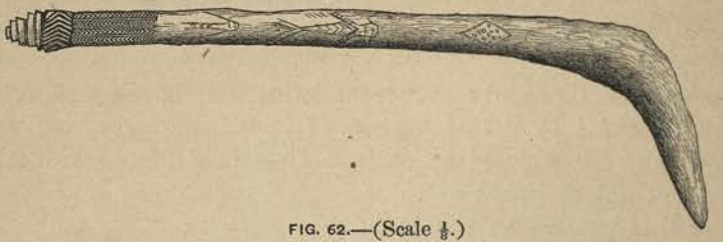


FIG. 62.—(Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.)

turned at the moment of striking, is difficult to avoid. Both combatants are protected by the *Mulga*. This is the instrument, I believe, which the natives of Lake Tyers name *Darn-de-wan*. In choosing wood for making this weapon the native endeavours to select a sapling, and a part of the root forms the head. Any hard tough wood is taken for the purpose.

A weapon nearly of the same form as the Australian *Langeel* is found in New Caledonia.

A waddy (Fig. 63), said to have been made by the natives of Cooper's Creek, is different from any I have seen. It is a large and heavy weapon. The sunken parts are painted with a white clay, and the protuberances are colored a bright-red.

FIG. 63.

The fighting-stick, *Konnung* (Fig. 64), of the native men, is much shorter than that carried by the women. It is not more than two feet six inches or three feet in length. It is employed in close combat principally, and dreadful

FIG. 64.

wounds are inflicted by it sometimes. The warrior, holding it with the right hand by the middle, makes stabs into the neck, breast, and sides of his opponent, and not seldom forces the sharp point into the eye. This stick is used also as a missile, and with it the hunter can kill birds and small animals with ease and certainty. A weapon of a very similar character was in use amongst the natives of Tasmania.

FIG. 65.

The weapon Fig. 65 is from Queensland. Mr. Bridgman informs me that it is a double-pointed *Nulla-nulla*, called by the natives near Mackay *Meero*.

Rough instruments similar to this, he says, are used for killing game, but that here figured is employed only when fighting. It is either thrown at the enemy, or used to pierce him in close combat. It is curious to find the word *Meero* applied to a weapon of this kind. In West Australia the lever for propelling the spear is named *Meero*. The weight of this missile is twenty-four ounces. It could not be used as a throwing-stick.

The wooden sword (Fig. 66) was sent to me by Mr. George Bridgman, of Mackay, Queensland. It is two feet eleven inches in length, and rather more than two inches and three-quarters in breadth. It is colored with a bright-red

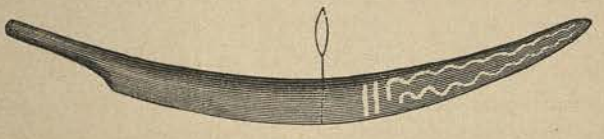


FIG. 66.

pigment, and farther ornamented with rude serpentine streaks of white clay. It somewhat resembles the *Kul-luk* of the Gippsland natives, but is not so well made. It weighs forty-one ounces. The name of this weapon at Mackay is *Bittergan*, and I am informed is used with two hands, to strike the back of an opponent's neck and break it.

The natives of Queensland use also a weapon exactly like the *Leon-ile* or *Langeel* of the people of Victoria, a figure of which is given in this work.

The sword used at Rockingham Bay (Fig. 67) is a larger and much more formidable weapon than that just described. Mr. John McDonnell has sent me a drawing and a description of one. It is fifty-seven inches in length, three and a half to five inches in width, and three-quarters of an inch in thickness.

FIG. 67.

It is made of hard wood, and the weight varies from eight to ten pounds. It is sharp at both edges and at the point. The handle is bound with twine, and gum is used to attach the twine firmly to the handle, and to assist also in retaining a firm grasp of the weapon. It resembles the large club or sword (described elsewhere) made by the natives of Port Darwin.

Mr. A. J. Scott states that the wood of which the swords are formed is like brigalow. The handle, he adds, is bound as described, and is only large enough for one hand. They are so heavy that few white men can raise them at arm's length; and it is difficult to understand how they can be in any way an efficient weapon in the hands of the Australian savages, unless they are far more powerful men than their more southern brethren, and more so than the generality of white men.*

* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1865, vol. xxxv., p. 204.

Spears.

War Spears.

The *Mongile*, a double-barbed spear (Fig. 68), is one with which cruel wounds are inflicted. If it strikes a black fairly, it will enter quite up to the lower barb, and it can be extracted only by cutting open the wound and drawing it through. The Rev. Mr. Bulmer informs me that the natives of Lake Tyers name this spear *Wal*.

FIG. 68.

A hard and tough wood is used for making spears of this kind. With a piece of quartz the native cuts a groove on each side of the upper end, and he inserts therein small chips of hard black basalt, or chips of some other suitable stone, and these chips are fastened and fixed in their places by *Pid-jer-ong*, a gum resembling pitch.*

A gum called *Jark*, obtained from the *Acacia mollissima*, is occasionally used for fastening the chips; but the blacks of the Goulburn had either a better gum or a better mode of preparing it than other blacks, because at one time they used to exchange their *Pid-jer-ong* for various articles with the members of neighbouring tribes.

FIG. 69.

FIG. 70.

Another form of the *Mongile* is shown in Fig. 69. This is a double-barbed spear, made wholly of wood; and though difficult to fashion and to keep in good order, because of the barbs, which required care in cutting out, and were always liable to be broken, was much in favor at one time with the men of all tribes. The lower end is sharpened, and it is thrown with the hand alone, not with the *Kur-ruk*. There is a lighter spear, fitted on both sides with chips, and having a thicker piece of wood at the lower end, and made to be thrown with the *Kur-ruk*, which is used in hunting.

The woods used for making the *Mongile* were *Dargoin*, messmate (*Eucalyptus fissilis*), *Wool-ip*, tea-tree (*Leptospermum lanigerum*), and other hard and tough timber.

These spears vary in length from eight to eleven feet.

The spear Fig. 70 is, I believe, not common. It is pointed at the lower end, and cannot therefore be thrown with the *Kur-ruk*.

* *Pid-jer-ong* oozes from a tree called *Mi-mee-rong* by the natives of the Goulburn.

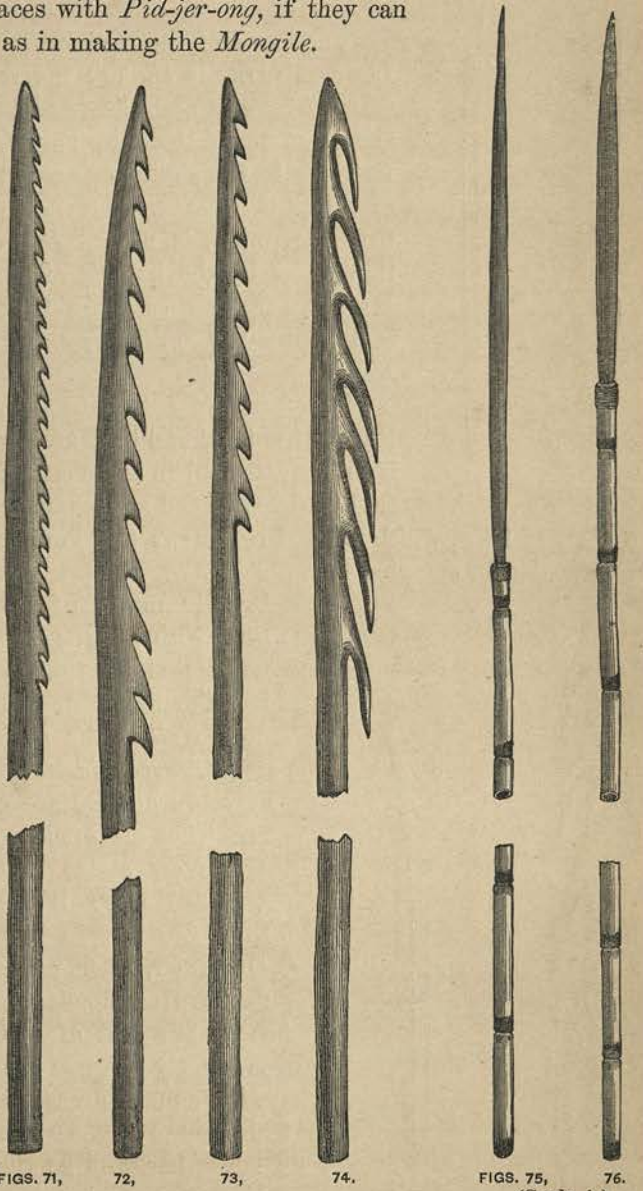
Figs. 71, 72, 73, and 74 show various forms of the *Nandum*. This spear is used in war. As in making and keeping the wooden *Mongile*, great skill, patience, and care are necessary so as to fashion the barbs of the *Nandum* neatly and to keep them whole. The same kinds of wood are used for this spear as for the *Mongile*, and it is generally of the same length.

Some men, instead of carving barbs, which is a difficult and tedious business, cut a groove on one side, and insert chips of quartzite, quartz, or black basalt, fastening them in their places with *Pid-jer-ong*, if they can get it, in the same manner as in making the *Mongile*.

The *Nandum* is sharpened at the lower end, and is not thrown with the *Kur-ruk*. Spears similar to the *Nandum* are used by the natives of Central Australia, but they are propelled with the throwing-stick.

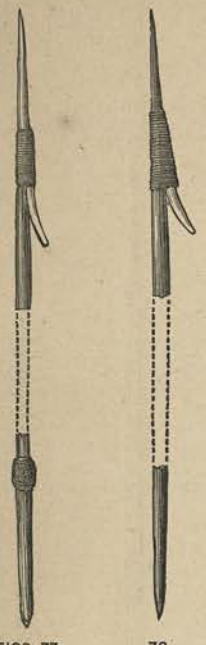
The natives of the Murray and other parts have a spear of hard wood, barbed on one side, and fitted into a reed, which is thrown with the *Kur-ruk*. This resembles the *Tir-rer*. The jagged war-spear of the natives of the Lower Murray, made wholly of wood, is called *Tilloo-koanie*.

Figs. 75 and 76 show the usual form of the reed-spear — *Tir-rer*, *Da-aar*, *Djer-rer*, or *Jer-aor*. It consists of a tough heavy piece of wood, rounded and brought to a fine point, and hardened and polished, which is fitted into a reed (*Phragmites communis*) which grows abundantly on the banks of the River Goulburn and other rivers. The wood is fastened to the reed by the sinews of the tail of the kangaroo, and



FIGS. 71, 72, 73, 74. FIGS. 75, 76. (Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

the union is commonly made perfect with *Pid-jer-ong*. Sometimes a bone is substituted for the piece of hard wood.

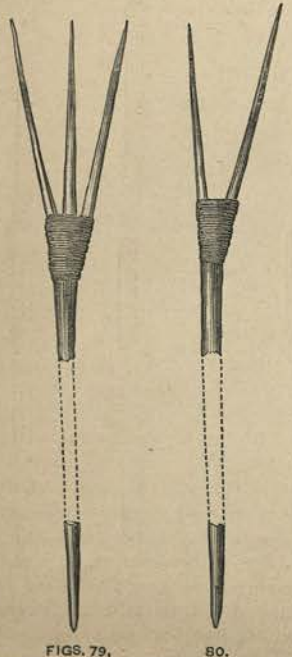


FIGS. 77, 78.

This instrument is commonly used for spearing eels; but it is employed in battle also, and it is then thrown with the *Kur-ruk*. It is known and used in all parts of Victoria. The reed-spears of the Lower Murray, Dr. Gummow says, vary in length from six to seven feet, but they are seen of all lengths.

The name of the reed-spear amongst the natives of the Lower Murray is *Ulawa;* the reed of which it is made is called *Tar-gie*, and the hard-wood head *Tarronnie*. The sinews of the tail of the kangaroo with which the head is fastened to the shaft are named *Werrannee*, and the resin of the pine (*Callitris verrucosa*), which is used to make firm the union, is named *Bij-jin-ne*. The name given to this spear by the natives of Lake Tyers is, according to Mr. Bulmer, *Kam-ma*. Another kind of reed-spear, which is thrown with the *Merri-wan* or *Kur-ruk*, is called by them *Kowat*.

Two forms of spear are shown in Figs. 77 and 78. In Fig. 77 the head and barb are formed wholly of bone, which is firmly attached to the shaft of wood by sinews and gum. In Fig. 78 the head and shaft are of wood, and the barb is a piece of bone, which is fixed by sinews and gum to the side. These are used principally for spearing fish.



FIGS. 79, 80.

Dr. Gummow, of Swan Hill, who is well acquainted with all the weapons and implements of the natives, states that these are used also in war. The name of the spear is *Koanie;* the spike of bone is called *Kulkie*, the barb *Tilloo*, and the shaft of the spear *Marrongie*.

Figs. 79 and 80 are common forms of fishing-spears. They are made wholly of hard tough wood. Dr. Gummow states that No. 79 is called *Gowdalie*, and No. 80 *Wormegoram*. They are from ten to fifteen feet in length. They are used, says Dr. Gummow, during the spawning season, when the fish are on flooded ground, in about eighteen inches or two feet of water. The blacks in their canoes quietly traverse the extensive flooded ground, where the aquatic grasses are just appearing through and above the surface of the water. The fish are then spawning, and as the canoe proceeds, the fish gently glide or steal away, conveying to the grass a wavy motion perhaps within a few feet of the canoe, when the black with unerring aim strikes with

No. 79 or No. 80, pressing the fish against the ground until he can secure it with No. 81.*

FIG. 81.

Fig. 81 is a fishing-spear of wood (*Ujie-koanie*), used both in securing fish and for striking them when the native dives. It is commonly employed for taking fish in deep clear water-holes. A number of blacks at a given signal go down feet foremost, and as the cod, &c., pass them they spear them. They often spear them under logs also. The spear is from five to six feet in length. One end is brought to a fine point, and is smoothed and hardened and well polished, and the other is pointed but not sharpened. It is a handy weapon.

Fig. 82 shows the form of *Tir-rer* used in spearing and catching eels. It is never or very rarely employed for any other purpose. The upper end is made of a piece of hard wood well rounded, and carved at the point into two short prongs. The wood is attached in the usual manner to a long reed, or, if a reed cannot be found long enough for the purpose, two or more are joined together with *Pid-jer-ong*. The lower portion of these spears is sometimes made of *Bag-gup*, the peduncle of the grass-tree (*Xanthorrhœa Australis*).

Koy-yun (Fig. 83) is made of any hard and tough wood. It is fashioned with great care; one end is brought to a fine point by scraping with quartz chips, rough pieces of sandstone, or the like. It is neatly rounded and well polished, and is from nine to eleven feet in length. It is a spear very commonly used; and a native prides himself in having the weapon thin, smooth, and well balanced. The lower end is thinner than the middle of the weapon, but not brought to a sharp point, and it is not thrown with the *Kur-ruk*.

A spear resembling the *Koy-yun* is made of two pieces of wood; the upper piece is highly polished and brought to a fine hard point, and is fitted into a thicker and coarser piece, and well fastened with gum. It is thrown with the *Kur-ruk*, and used generally as a hunting-spear.

FIG. 82. (Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

FIG. 83.

* Wilkinson gives the following interesting account of the use of the bident by the ancient Egyptians:—"To spear with the bident was thought the most sportsmanlike way of killing fish. In throwing it they sometimes stood on the bank, but generally used the papyrus punt, gliding smoothly over the water of a lake in their grounds, without disturbing the fish as they lay beneath the broad leaves of the lotus. . . . . The bident was a spear with two barbed points, which was either thrust at the fish with one or both hands as they passed by, or was darted to a short distance; a long line fastened to it preventing its being lost, and serving to recover it with the fish when struck. It was occasionally furnished with feathers, like an arrow, and sometimes a common spear was used for the purpose; but in most cases it was provided with a line, the end of which was

A war-spear of a peculiar form (Fig. 84) is used by the natives of Central Australia. It is a long weapon, made of a hard tough wood, and is sharpened at the lower end. It is not thrown with the *Kur-ruk*. I have never seen a spear of this kind amongst the weapons of the natives of Victoria.

FIG. 84.

I have received a collection of weapons from the northern parts of Australia, amongst which are several stone-pointed spears, generally resembling that shown in Fig. 85. The head of one is a piece of nearly black basalt, and the others are formed of fragments of yellowish-grey granular quartzite. They are not ground or polished. They are made by striking off chips, and the form of many of them is perfect. Indeed it is scarcely to be believed that skill could be so directed as to produce from pieces of stone, by percussion only, such beautiful weapons. The length of the stone-heads is usually about eight inches. The spears are from nine to nine feet six inches in length, and the shafts are composed of a kind of reed or bamboo. They are securely fastened to the stone-heads by twine and gum. They are hollowed at the end, and tied with sinews or twine to strengthen them, so as to be thrown with the long throwing-stick which is used in the north. They are ornamented with longitudinal grooves in bands alternating with plain spaces, and the colors used are red, yellow, and white, the white often appearing in dots on the other colors. The weight of these spears varies from ten ounces to eleven and three-quarter ounces.

FIG. 85.

FIG. 86.

With these stone spears were also other specimens of the skill of the natives of the north. Notably, a three-pronged spear, each prong being barbed (the barbs, twelve in number on each prong, pointing outwards); a wooden spear with twelve barbs on one side, and another with twenty barbs, all neatly cut, and certainly most useful implements in fishing and most dangerous weapons in warfare. With these were a long throwing-stick (*Womerah*), and a kind of club, almost paddle-shaped, which could be used for several purposes. It is shaped thus— (Fig. 86). It is colored a bright-red, and ornamented with white lines in the manner shown in the engraving. It weighs seventy-two ounces. Whether the latter is an Australian weapon or one brought from the islands immediately north of the continent is uncertain. It is perhaps one of those

held by the left hand, or wound upon a reel. This mode of fishing is still adopted in many countries; and the fish-spears of the South Sea Islanders have two, three, and four points, and are thrown nearly in the same manner as the bident of the ancient Egyptians. Their attendants, or their children, assisted in securing the fish, which, when taken off the barbed point of the spear, were tied together by the stalk of a rush passed through the gills."—*The Ancient Egyptians*, p. 239, vol. I.

of the Port Essington natives, described by Macgillivray as being four feet in length, and made of the tough hard wood called *Wallaru*—a kind of gum-tree—the ironbark of New South Wales. The natives fight with them only at close quarters.

FIG. 87.

Mr. Suetonius H. Officer informs me that the natives of the Murray, according to their own account, were accustomed to use stone-headed spears. Mr. Officer, however, has seen none. It is not at all improbable that the natives of the Murray procured stone-headed spears from the northern tribes, and they may have made imitations of them.

A model of a spear (Fig. 87), said to be from the Far North, has been sent to me by a gentleman well acquainted with native weapons. The head is made of greenstone, and is polished and brought to a fine point. The stone is attached to a long well-shaped spear of hard wood by sinews and gum. The lower end is not hollowed, and it could not therefore be thrown with the *Kur-ruk* or *Womerah*. I cannot believe that this spear is in common use. It differs altogether from the spears used by the natives of Port Darwin. All the stone spear-heads I have seen have been made by striking off chips. Not one is ground or polished.

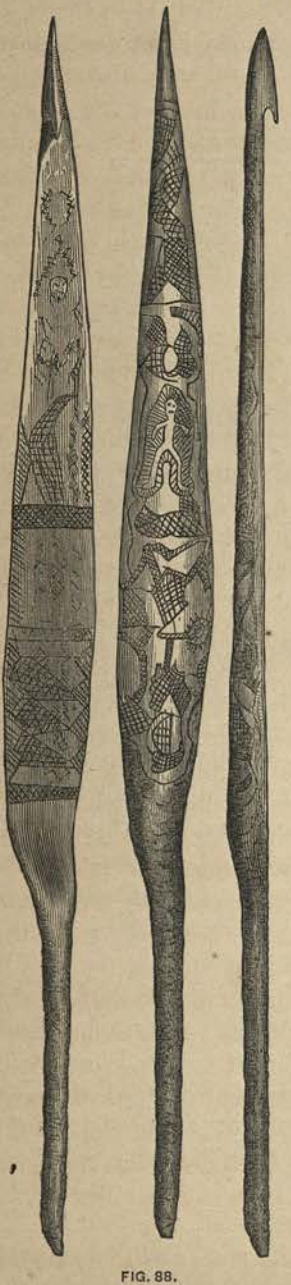
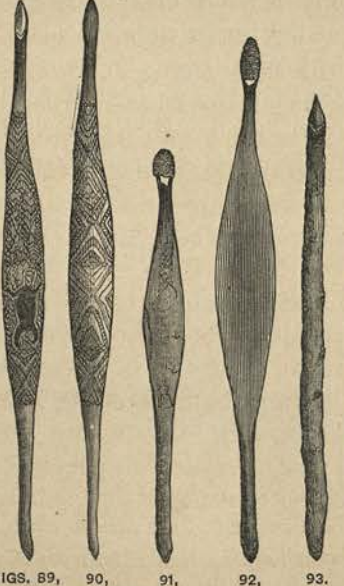


FIG. 88.
(Scale ¼.)



FIGS. 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.
(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

The stick by which spears are thrown — *Kur-ruk*, or *Gur-reek* (Yarra tribe), *Murri-wun* (Goulburn tribe), *Meera*, or *Womerah* —is shown in several forms in Figs. 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, and 93. Three aspects of Fig. 88 are shown. It is a beautiful implement, and apparently an old one. The details of the

ornamentation are drawn with all the accuracy and care that could be employed, and the engraving faithfully represents the original. Figs. 89, 90, 91, and 92 are common forms of the instrument; and Fig. 93 is a mere stick, with a projection at the upper end for insertion into the hollow of the spear-end. Great leverage is obtained by this instrument. It is held in the manner shown in Fig. 94. In throwing the spear, the right hand is drawn backwards

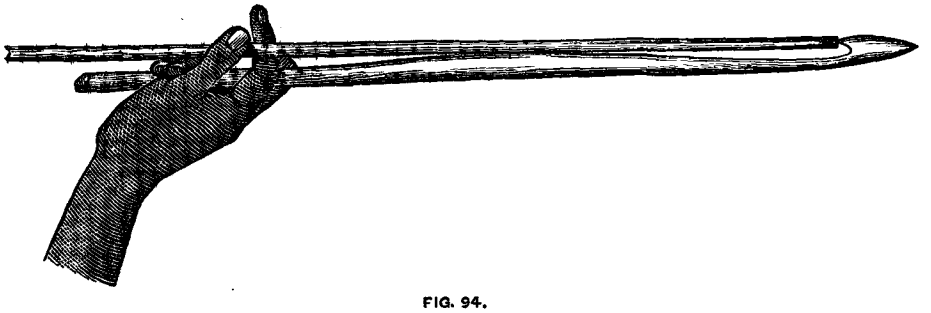


FIG. 94.

over the shoulder. It enables a man to throw a spear with much force and great accuracy. Its simplicity, and its perfect adaptation to the uses for which it is designed, strengthen one's belief in the natural genius of this people.

The woods most commonly used for this instrument are *Ballee* (cherry-tree, *Exocarpus cupressiformis*), and *Moeyang* (blackwood).

When a *Kur-ruk* is broken, either by accident in the chase or in battle, the body is kept, and a new hook fitted to it. Sinews of the tail of the kangaroo and *Pid-jer-ong* enable the black to effect the repairs with ease.

It will be seen that in some of the weapons (Figs. 91 and 92) a tooth is fitted into the wood at the upper end. These have either been repaired in the manner above described, or, for greater convenience, originally so fashioned.

Dr. Gummow states that the natives of the Lower Murray call this instrument *Moor-oona*. At Lake Tyers it has nearly the same name as that given to it by the natives of the River Goulburn—*Merri-wan*.

THROW-STICKS.

The natives of Australia have invented a number of leaf-shaped weapons, which are used as missiles, or for striking and cutting the enemy when at close quarters. Some of these appear to be modifications of the club, and others again bear a resemblance to the *Wonguim* or boomerang which, when thrown, returns to the thrower. The wooden swords are thrown sometimes in the excitement of battle; in some districts they are rarely used as swords, but most often as missiles; and, accordingly as they are most commonly employed by the different tribes, they are regarded either as swords or missiles.

Each kind of weapon is described in turn; and the reader will observe that there is an attempt made to establish a connection between the several classes of weapons, and to suggest in what manner such a missile as the boomerang may have been discovered by the natives of Australia.

Wonguim.

The *Wonguim*, or boomerang (Fig. 95), is known, it is believed, nearly throughout the whole extent of the island-continent. The weapon here figured is one used by the natives of Victoria. It measures twenty inches and a half from point to point; its greatest breadth is two inches and a half, and the greatest thickness about half an inch. It is a flat curved blade, with peculiarities of form which will be described hereafter.

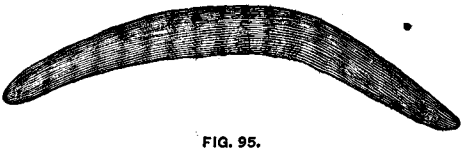


FIG. 95.

The weight of these weapons varies from four ounces to ten and a half ounces. Those as light as four ounces are rarely used in Victoria, but such light weapons seem to be much in favor in Western Australia.

The woods commonly used for making boomerangs are the limbs of the ironbark and she-oak, but the roots of the various kinds of eucalypti are in some places highly esteemed.

Very good boomerangs, of the class to which the *Wonguim* belongs, are sometimes made of the bark of the gum-trees. The bark is cut into the right shape, and heated in ashes and twisted slightly. Weapons made of bark may have a good flight, but they are not so valuable as those made of hard wood. Even those made of wood are not seldom heated, softened, and twisted; but the best *Wonguims* are cut with a tool into the right shape. The eye of the maker guides every stroke, and when the instrument is finished it is not necessary to heat it and bend it.

The *Wonguim* returns to the feet of the thrower when skilfully thrown. Generally it is so fashioned as to describe a curve from right to left; but one in my possession, which I have seen thrown with precision, so as to return every time to within a short distance of the thrower, is a left-hand boomerang. It describes a curve from left to right.

The boomerang here described is usually regarded as a plaything: it is not a war-boomerang; and though it is occasionally used in battle, and sometimes for killing birds and small animals, it is not so handy as the short stick named *Konnung*.

At the present time the natives of Western Australia appear to use the *Wonguim* very often in their battles; but in serious engagements it would not be deemed a sufficient weapon.

In form, in length, and in weight, the boomerangs which return vary a good deal. The men who are most skilful in shaping these instruments rarely make two of the same pattern. They are chipped and smoothed as experiments made from time to time suggest alterations, and the weapon is not finally completed until it has been thrown successfully, and has come back in the manner desired by the maker.

When a skilful thrower takes hold of a boomerang with the intention of throwing it, he examines it carefully (even if it be his own weapon, and if it be a strange weapon still more carefully), and, holding it in his hand, almost as a reaper would hold a sickle, he moves about slowly, examining all objects in the distance, heedfully noticing the direction of the wind as indicated by the moving of the leaves of trees and the waving of the grass, and not until he has got into the right position does he shake the weapon loosely, so as to feel that the muscles of his wrist are under command. More than once as he lightly grasps the weapon he makes the effort to throw it. At the last moment, when he feels that he can strike the wind at the right angle, all his force is thrown into the effort: the missile leaves his hand in a direction nearly perpendicular to the surface; but the right impulse has been given, and it quickly turns its flat surface towards the earth, gyrates on its axis, makes a wide sweep, and returns with a fluttering motion to his feet. This he repeats time after time, and with ease and certainty. When well thrown, the furthest point of the curve described is usually distant one hundred or one hundred and fifty yards from the thrower.

It can be thrown so as to hit an object behind the thrower, but this cannot be done with certainty.

The slightest change in the direction of the wind affects the flight of the missile to some extent; but the native is quick in observing any possible causes of interference.

It can be thrown so as to run along the ground for some distance, hoop-fashion, then ascend, describe a great curve, and return to the thrower. There is another method of throwing it. Lieut. Breton says:—"I have seen a native throw one so as to make it go forty or fifty yards horizontally, and not more than three or four feet from the ground; it would then suddenly dart into the air to the height of fifty or sixty yards, describe a very considerable curve, and finally fall at his feet."*

I have seen the natives at Coranderrk throwing the *Wonguim* on many occasions; and the skilful thrower seemed to be able to do exactly what he liked with the weapon. He would throw a thin blade in such a way as to make it almost disappear in the distance—indeed, when the edge was presented, it was for a moment or two impossible to follow the flight with the eye—it would then return, gyrate above the thrower in an absurd manner, descend and describe a curve as if it were about to strike him, go off in another direction, still descending, so as to alarm a group of blacks at a distance, and fall finally some yards behind him; the thrower, the while, regarding the weapon with an intelligent and amused expression, as if he knew exactly where it was going and where it would fall.

On one occasion I showed a Daylesford native a boomerang made by the blacks of Western Australia. The form of the weapon, the wood of which it was made, and the use for which it was intended, whether for play or war, were all unknown to him. I asked him if it would come back when thrown,

* *Excursions in New South Wales*, &c., by Lieut. Breton, p. 237.

and he said he did not know. All the time I was speaking to him he was examining the weapon attentively. He asked me many questions respecting it—as to the native who made it, where it came from, &c.—and after having satisfied him on these points as well as I was able, he requested permission to make trial of it. I gave permission, and in a short time he had discovered its peculiarities, and threw it in such a manner as to surprise all who beheld his efforts. The weapon made many astonishing flights, and came back as obediently as the larger and heavier weapons which he had been accustomed to use.

In the hands of a native, the *Wonguim* always comes back, and there is no such thing as failure when it is thrown by a skilled warrior.

It is dangerous to stand near the thrower, if the observer have not self-possession. When the instrument returns, it is necessary to look at it attentively, and not to move unless it comes too nigh; any hurried movement, due to alarm, for the purpose of avoiding it, might result in its striking the affrighted person and inflicting a serious wound. The plan is to stand quite still, and to wait patiently until the force is expended. The thrower, if skilful, will take care that, if the observers keep their places, none of them are injured.

The natives of a part of the River Murray (near Kulkyne) name the "come-back" boomerang *Wittoo-ah-wil.*

Barn-geet.

The *Barn-geet*, *Ban-geek*, or *Barn-geek* of the natives of the Yarra, the war-boomerang, is shown in Fig. 96. It is most commonly used in battle. Many of the specimens in my possession are at first sight undistinguishable from the *Wonguim*, but when the characters of the several weapons are understood, it is not difficult to separate the come-back boomerangs from those which do not return when thrown.

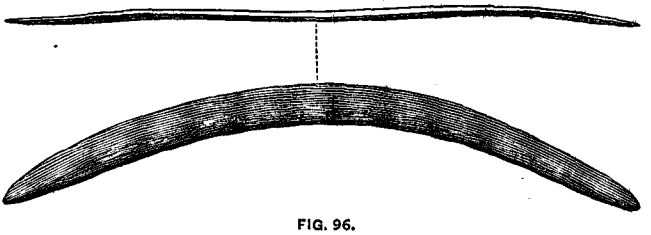


FIG. 96.

Usually, the *Barn-geet* is not so much curved as the *Wonguim*, and the best weapons are nearly as straight as the blade of a sword; there is seldom any twist as in the *Wonguim;* but some are twisted, though not in the same manner as the weapon that returns.

They are made of the hardest woods, are very neatly fashioned, and have a sharp cutting edge. In battle they are dangerous weapons.

The length of the weapon shown in the figure is thirty inches, the breadth is an inch and three-quarters, and the greatest thickness of the blade is half an inch. The weight is ten ounces, which appears to be the ordinary weight of a good weapon, but some are as light as eight ounces.

This instrument is always thrown straight forwards, and if it hit the object at which it is aimed, the blow is very severe. *Wye-wye-a-nine* says that it will pass through the body of a man, if the point strikes the softer parts. It can be thrown a distance of one hundred and fifty yards. Sometimes the thrower will cause it to strike the ground, rebound, and hit the person at whom it is aimed.

The name of this weapon amongst the natives of the Murray is *Praah-ba-wittoo-ah.*

Li-lil.

The *Li-lil* (Fig. 97) is used in battle. It is thrown very much in the same manner as the *Wonguim*, but skill, only acquired by much practice, is necessary to give due effect to the weapon. It is believed by many to be even a more dangerous instrument in the hands of a brave and experienced warrior than the *Barn-geet.* The *Barn-geet* may wound severely, may cause a contusion, or even break the arm if it strikes that limb; but the *Li-lil*, forcibly and skilfully directed, will break a leg, fracture the ribs, or penetrate the skull.

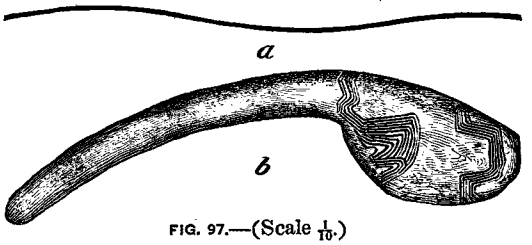


FIG. 97.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

(*a.*) Curve as seen on holding the weapon with the blade from the body. (*b.*) Side view. It is ornamented in the same manner on the other side. (The meaning intended to be conveyed by the lines is referred to elsewhere.)

The weapon here figured is a very old one, and is that used by the natives of the River Ovens and the Broken River, in Victoria. One of the men of the Yarra tribe who examined it informed me that the men of the Mitta Mitta tribe named the instrument *Bunj-jul.*

Wye-wye-a-nine (of Kulkyne) says that the weapon is not usually thrown, but is employed in battle to strike at and cut the enemy, who defends himself with the heavy wooden shield (*Mulga*). His people call it *Bol-lair.*

The fine sharp edge would suggest this as the ordinary method of using the instrument; but in the excitement of battle, or under circumstances when it was impossible to close with their opponents, the natives would doubtless use this, as well as clubs and fighting-sticks, as a missile.

The woods used for making the *Li-lil* are *Moe-yang* (blackwood, *Acacia melanoxylon*), or ironbark (*Eucalyptus leucoxylon*).

The weight of the *Li-lil* is fourteen ounces. The length from point to point is twenty-seven inches, the greatest breadth of the blade is five and a half inches, the breadth of the lower part is two inches, and the thickest part (the centre of the blade) measures half an inch. It is smoothed to a fine edge; and the maker has left the ornamental lines in relief at one part where it was not practicable to show the pattern by incisions. The part to be grasped by the hand is not sharper than the same part in a *Wonguim* or *Barn-geet.*

I believe it would be impossible to procure many examples of this weapon in Victoria: it seems to have been used only amongst certain tribes, now, as tribes, extinct.

Quirriang-an-wun.

The instrument called by the natives of the River Murray *Quirriang-an-wun* (Fig. 98) is not generally used as a missile, but most often in close combat, just as a sword would be used by a soldier.

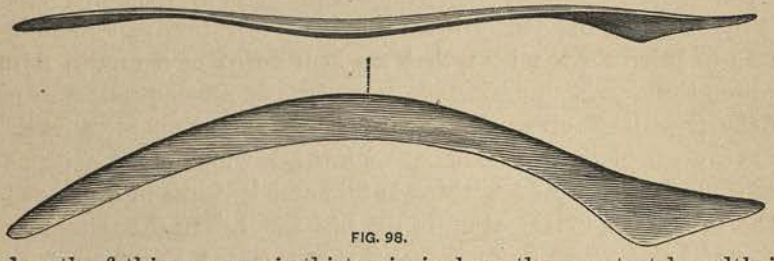


FIG. 98.

The length of this weapon is thirty-six inches, the greatest breadth is three inches and a half, the breadth of the lower part is nearly two inches and a half, and the greatest thickness of the blade is four-tenths of an inch. It weighs from nine to ten ounces.

It is made of very hard wood; the edges are sharp, and whether used as a sword or a missile, it is undoubtedly a formidable weapon.

It is much curved, as shown in the engraving, and both in striking at the enemy and in hurling it this form would not be without advantage to the native who used it. It is now very difficult indeed to obtain weapons of this kind in Victoria. I have been able to find only two specimens amongst the tribes of the southern part of the continent.

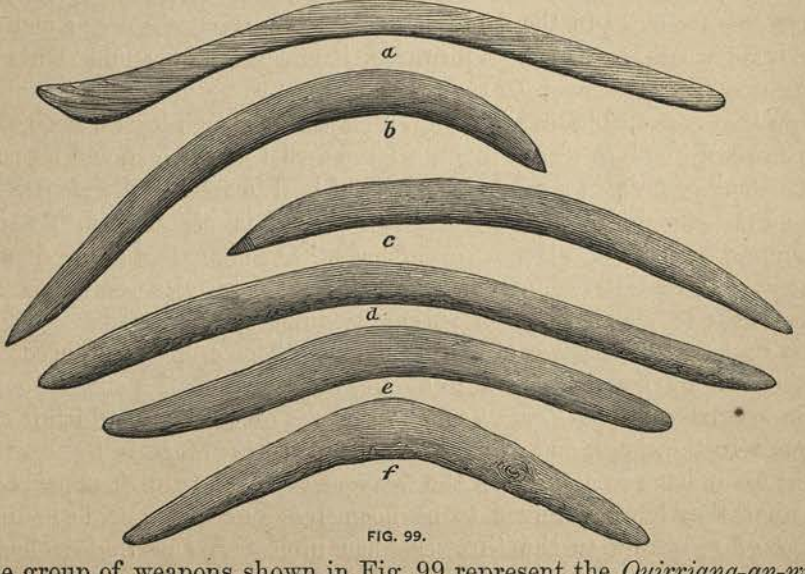


FIG. 99.

The group of weapons shown in Fig. 99 represent the *Quirriang-an-wun*, *a*; the *Barn-geet* or *Praah-ba-wittoo-ah*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*; and the *Wonguim*, *f*.

I purposely omit from this group the *Konnung*, or short stick sharpened at both ends, which seems to have been used at various times by uncivilized peoples in all parts of the earth for the purpose of killing birds and small animals. The *Konnung* is round; it is not a blade; and none of the figures in the group are round: they are blades.

In seeking for the origin of the *Wonguim*—the boomerang which returns when thrown—in endeavouring to ascertain the first steps which led to the invention of it, it is necessary to consider the character of the weapons, simple in themselves, which might, by some slight modification of structure, induce the natives to entertain the idea that an instrument of a certain form would return to the thrower when projected.

The reader will perceive, on carefully examining the figures in this work, that there is a gradual passage from the *Kul-luk*, which is not quite round nor yet quite a blade, to the *Li-lil*, which is thin and leaf-like in form. The *Quirriang-an-wun* is but a modification of the *Li-lil*, and from the *Quirriang-an-wun* to the *Praah-ba-wittoo-ah* there is but a step. If the *Praah-ba-witto-ah* were curved a little more, and if one amongst ten thousand of such had, by some accident, the twist which distinguishes the boomerang, the discovery would be made. It would be difficult to make many war-boomerangs without some twist or departure from the straight line; and if but one answered to the form of the *Wonguim*, the acute intelligence of the native would be awakened.

One cannot say whether or not the boomerang—the most remarkable of all weapons used by savages—was the result of trials of weapons of this class, but it is reasonable to imagine that the invention originated in some such way.

Mr. Hubert de Castella has suggested that the Aborigines derived the invention of the *Wonguim* from observation of the shape and the peculiar turn of the leaf of the white gum-tree. As the leaves of this tree fall to the ground, they gyrate very much in the same manner as the *Wonguim* does; and if one of the leaves is thrown straight forwards, it makes a curve and comes back. Such an origin for a weapon so remarkable is not to be put aside as unreasonable. It is very probable that if children played with such leaves, some old man would make of wood, to please them, a large model of the leaf, and its peculiar motions would soon give rise to curiosity and lead to fresh experiments.

In what manner the instrument was invented is perhaps, at this time, of small importance: that it is used over nearly the whole extent of the Australian continent, and that it has never been used anywhere else—as far as history enables one to judge—is a fact of surpassing interest.

It is said that the natives of California use a boomerang; but, according to the information I have been able to obtain, their weapon is a stick—somewhat like the *Warra-warra* or *Konnung* of the natives of Victoria—which is thrown at animals in the chase, and does not return to the thrower.

That many have recognised in the weapons of tribes in various parts of the world what they have conceived to be boomerangs or instruments having the property of returning to the thrower when projected, and that it has been attempted to prove that the boomerang was known to the ancients, arises principally from the circumstance that the form and character of the

Wonguim of the Australian is not generally understood. Travellers have carried to Europe numerous instruments called boomerangs—such as the *Wonguim* proper, the *Barn-geet*, the *Kul-luk*, the *Li-lil*, and the *Quirriang-an-wun*—and many, desirous of experimenting, having examined these, and viewing them all as weapons of the same kind, and such as should possess the same properties, have arrived at conclusions that are erroneous. Before, however, touching further on this subject, it is proper to describe the *Wonguim*, the weapon which has a return flight.

The most obvious difference of form between the boomerang which returns and that which does not return is in the curve, looking at the flat side of the weapon. Five specimens of the boomerangs which return show the following measurements :—

1. Length, twenty-four inches. Drawing a straight line from point to point, and measuring from nearly the centre of that line to the inner curve, four inches and three quarters.
2. Length, twenty-four inches. To inner curve, measured in the same way as described above, four inches and a half.
3. Length, twenty-four inches. To inner curve, four inches and one-third.
4. Length, twenty-two inches. To inner curve, three and three-quarter inches.
5. Length, nineteen and a half inches. To inner curve, eight and a quarter inches. (This is a left-hand boomerang.)

Of those which do not return the measurements are as follow :—

1. Length, thirty inches. To inner curve, four inches.
2. Length, thirty-four inches. To inner curve, four inches and one-third.
3. Length, twenty-seven inches. To inner curve, three inches and one-third.

The *Wonguim* exhibits almost invariably a much sharper curve than the *Barn-geet;* and this of itself would almost be sufficient to guide the observer in discriminating them, if he had a number of apparently similar weapons placed before him. Considering the *Wonguim* by itself, there are three characteristics on which it appears to me depends its property of returning to the thrower when projected into the air.

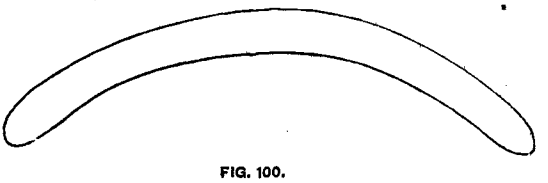


FIG. 100.

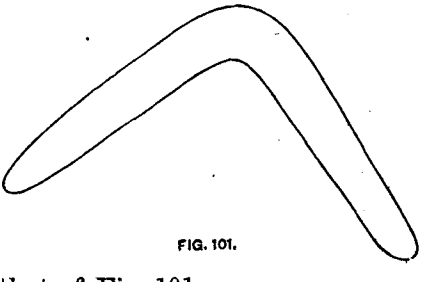


FIG. 101.

1st. The curve of the blade, looking at the flat side, which varies from that shown in Fig. 100 to that of Fig. 101.

2nd. The twist, which, much exaggerated, is shown in Fig. 102.

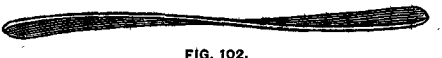


FIG. 102.

This twist is most clearly seen in the heavy weapons, and is that which is observed when the instrument is held in the hand exactly as it would be when

about to be thrown. In many even very good weapons the twist is scarcely perceptible, particularly if the blade be very thin. When the blade is exceedingly thin, the very slightest difference of form at the ends is sufficient to cause a reciprocating motion when the instrument is projected into the air. The twist in the ordinary right-hand boomerang is of the kind shown in Fig. 103. It is to be noted, however, that when the weapon is much bent in the middle, thus (Fig. 104), it is not necessary to give this twist to the ends

FIG. 103.

FIG. 104.

of the blade. If a boomerang showing such a line as that in Fig. 104 were much twisted, the balance would be destroyed, and it would not return to the thrower.

3rd. The section through the middle; two examples of which, full size, are shown in Figs. 105 and 106.

FIG. 105.

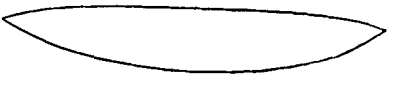


FIG. 106.

As regards the length of the weapon and the curve, looking at the flat side of the blade, it is apparent, judging from the variations in the length and form, that the artist has a free choice within certain limits; but if he make a heavy weapon, the twist must be considerable, and the section through the middle must exhibit a bulge on one side, and a very flat surface, if not actually a depression, on the other.

The twist is clearly observable in all the weapons made by the natives of Victoria. It is exactly that which would be seen if one held each end of a thin strip of cardboard between the finger and thumb of each hand. If the upper end were held by the finger and thumb of the left hand and drawn slightly towards the left, and if the lower end held by the finger and thumb of the other were drawn slightly towards the right, the twist of the right-hand *Wonguim* would be accurately represented. This twist is the twist of the screw, and the property the boomerang has of ascending is due to its having this form.

The form of the weapon in section is apparently essential to its flight and return. It is observable in all the specimens I have examined, and in all, whether right-hand or left-hand, the flat side in gyration is towards the earth.

One can easily imagine the perplexity of an enquirer who should have a number of these instruments presented to him, some left-hand, some right-hand, and some apparently of the like form, but not made to return. His experiments with them would but embarrass him the more; and if he succeeded in throwing one weapon successfully again and again, he might conclude that his want of success with the others was due solely to their imperfections. With such help and instruction as the natives have given me, I would not myself venture to decide at once as regards some weapons

I have seen whether they were left-hand or right-hand. When the blade is very thin, the twist scarcely perceptible, and the section only known by modelling it, and the end to be grasped not marked, it is almost impossible to determine what kind of motion it will have in the air.

If the *Wonguim* is suspended by a string attached to one end, and if a plumb-line be held over the point of suspension, it will be seen that the line cuts a point at some little distance from the inner curve. This indicates that the centre of gravity is not in the weapon itself. But a centre may be found. By attaching a thin slip of wood to the inner part of a boomerang, and using the point of a needle for a support, the weapon may be balanced and made to rotate freely. It cannot be balanced in any other way.

This discovery, however, is not mine. It was made many years ago by the late Sir Thos. L. Mitchell, and in his "Lecture on the Bomareng-Propeller,"* which was read before the Australian Society on the 30th December 1850, this and many other interesting facts connected with the *Wonguim* are mentioned. He says :—

"Of all the novelties presented by New Holland or New South Wales to the European, the original human inhabitant has always appeared to me by far the most interesting. Could he but tell us his history! What may be gathered from his language? Is there anything occult amongst his *coradjes* (or priests) handed down by tradition? Or can we learn anything from his arts, seeing how simple and yet efficient his means and appliances are? Nature alone, or his Maker, must have taught him these when the Australian man first began to exist. How ancient, then, may not these weapons be? So few in number, yet so efficient! The spear and bomareng are available either in war or the chase, although the club seems chiefly intended for warlike purposes. The missiles are nicely adapted to the resistance of fluids and the laws of gravitation; even in the form of clubs the centre of gravity seems to have been most fully considered.

But it is in the use of such missiles and clubs that these children of Nature show how well they know her laws. By means of the *Wammerah*, or throwing-stick, the spear is thrown with much greater momentum, and of course increased velocity. The angular club, the rotary shield, the elastic handle of the stone-hatchet, all appear very original, but yet strictly consistent with whatever science teaches, and not susceptible of improvement by anything to be learnt at colleges. The bomareng is one of the most remarkable of these missiles.

Its flight through the air, from the hand of an Australian native, seems in strict obedience to his will. In its return, after a very varied course, to the foot of the thrower, this weapon seems so extraordinary that a Vice-President of the Royal Society, about twelve years ago, observed to me 'that its path through the air was enough to puzzle a mathematician.'†

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* See report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday, 11th January 1851.

† The following notice of another lecture on the same subject, delivered by Sir Thomas Mitchell, appeared in the *Athenæum* of 10th December 1853, p. 1482 :—

"*Origin, History, and Description of the Boomerang-Propeller:* A lecture, delivered at the United Service Institution, by Lieut.-Col. Sir Thomas L. Mitchell. 'Some sixteen years ago, on his return

Such a remark by one of the ablest mathematicians of his time was not forgotten. On the contrary, it was remembered on the next occasion when I had opportunities of studying the flight of bomerengs thrown by the hands of Australian Aborigines, and then I perceived that in its rotary motion through the air, a hollow centre of greater or less diameter, but usually of about one-third of the disc, was described by the whirl of the bomereng, and it occurred to me that the centre of the whirling motion might be found in a line of equilibrium which should divide the surface acting on the air into three portions, in such manner as that the eccentric portions should equal the central one.*

The discovery of this centre, insignificant as it may appear, was still something new, for on attaching a centre to a bomereng, it was possible to show that this centre was not only during its rotary motion the centre of that motion, but also the centre of gravity when in a state of rest, while it was apart from and quite clear of every part of it.

The natives when bent on exhibiting the more curious flights, twist the bomereng, by placing it at the fire, evidently for the purpose of giving it the property of spiral movement, thus showing how well they understand the screw-action upon the air. On making a small wooden model with a spiral turn like a screw, and giving it by means of an attached centre, and the fork and cord of a humming-top, rapid rotary motion, the model ascended to the roof of the room with such force as to be broken in pieces against it. . . . .

The inner edge of the bomereng is found to form a cycloid. . . . .
The outer edge consists of two parabolic curves whose foci appear to overlap, so as to be both in the axis of motion. These curves are presented by a section of the half-bomereng, when at an angle of 45° with the axis."

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from an expedition into the interior of Australia, Sir Thomas Mitchell exhibited some of the native weapons in this country; among others was the boomerang. The flight of this singular weapon through the air, to use the words of Mr. Bailey, then Vice-President of the Royal Society, "was enough to puzzle a mathematician." One curious point about it was its resemblance to a weapon used by the ancient Egyptians for killing wild-ducks, as this pastime is found represented on the walls of a tomb at Thebes. Interest in the weapon thus excited, Sir Thomas tried a number of experiments with it, the ultimate result of which is the invention of the boomerang-propeller. Into the question of relative merits as between the screw, the boomerang, and the paddle-wheel, we shall not enter. The friends of each are, of course, confident of the superior virtues of their power, and intolerant of any other. Sir Thomas Mitchell's discourse is in part controversial, being a reply to certain strictures by Capt. R. Fitzroy.'"

* When these facts and Sir Thomas Mitchell's theory were promulgated, it was pointed out that the principle had been applied long before by Mr. R. Hodgson, who claimed to be the discoverer of the parabolic-propeller, and whose experiments, it was affirmed at the time, were successful. Mr. Hodgson's blades were each sections of a parabola, and attached to the shaft in positions coincident with the plane of a right cone placed longitudinally with the apex foremost. Mr. Hodgson's theory was that blades of a parabolic form, fixed at the angle chosen, would take a better grasp of the water, and have, therefore, a greater propulsive force than any other; and that, from the property peculiar to the parabola, that all rays of light coming parallel to its axis are reflected into its focus, so also all water thrown off from a blade of parabolic form must diverge from it in the direction of the focal point, and that consequently a propeller with parabolic blades must allow the water to escape from it much more readily than any other.

The discussions which arose in consequence of Sir Thomas Mitchell's application of the principle involved in the flight of the *Wonguim* is not without interest, and the reader may refer with profit to the *Mechanics' Magazine*, from which I have extracted the above notes.—*See* vol. XLI., pp. 238, 256, 268; vol. XLII., p. 234; vol. XLIX., p. 130; and vol. XLIX., p. 547; years 1844–5 and 1848.

Col. A. Lane Fox, at a meeting of the British Association, in August 1872, in his capacity as President, in the Anthropological Section, made some observations on the boomerang (not the *Barn-geet* but the *Wonguim*) which it appears to me are founded on the examination of a number of weapons called by Europeans boomerangs, instruments, as I have elsewhere stated, altogether different from the missile which returns to the thrower. He said :—"The earliest inhabitants of the globe, as they spread themselves over the earth, would carry with them the rudiments of culture which they possessed, and we should naturally expect to find that the most primitive arts were, in the first instance, the most widely disseminated. Amongst the primeval weapons of the Australians I have traced the boomerang, and the rudimentary parrying shield—which latter is especially a primitive implement—to the Dravidian races of the Indian peninsula and to the ancient Egyptians, and although this is not a circumstance to be relied on by itself, it is worthy of careful attention in connection with the circumstance that these races have all been traced by Professor Huxley to the Australoid stock, and that a connection between the Australian and Dravidian languages has been stated to exist by Mr. Morris, the Rev. R. Caldwell, Dr. Bleek, and others. And here I must ask for one moment to repeat the reply which I have elsewhere given to the objection which has been made to my including these weapons under the same class, 'that the Dravidian boomerang does not return like the Australian weapon.' The return flight is not a matter of such primary importance as to constitute a generic difference, if I may use the expression; the utility of the return flight has been greatly exaggerated; it is owing simply to the comparative thinness and lightness of the Australian weapon. All who have witnessed its employment by the natives concur in saying that it has a random range in its return flight. Any one who will take the trouble to practise with the different forms of this weapon will perceive that the essential principle of the boomerang, call it by whatever name you please, consists in its bent and flat form, by means of which it can be thrown with a rotatory movement, thereby increasing the *range and flatness of the trajectory*. I have practised with the boomerangs of different nations. I made a *fac-simile* of the Egyptian boomerang in the British Museum, and practised with it for some time upon Wormwood Scrubs, and I found that in time I could increase the range from fifty to one hundred paces, which is much further than I could throw an ordinary stick of the same size with accuracy. I also succeeded in at last obtaining a slight return of flight; in fact, it flies better than many Australian boomerangs, for they vary considerably in size, weight, and form, and many will not return when thrown. The efficacy of the boomerang consists entirely in the *rotation*, by means of which it sails up to a bird upon the wing and knocks it down with its rotating arms; very few of them have any twist in their construction. The stories about hitting an object with accuracy behind the thrower are nursery tales; but a boomerang when thrown over a river or swamp will return and be saved. . . . . To deny the affinity of the Australian and Dravidian or Egyptian boomerang on account of the absence of a return flight, would be the same as denying the affinity of

two languages whose grammatical construction was the same, because of their differing materially in their vocabularies."*

There are four statements in his address which call for remark.

1. *The utility of the return flight has been much exaggerated.* By whom has it been exaggerated? A well-made boomerang thrown by a skilful native will as certainly return to him as a bullet from a rifle will strike a fair mark. A weapon of this kind thrown at a bird on the wing will kill the bird if it strikes it, and if it does not strike it, it will return to the thrower. The native can easily convince Europeans of the utility of the return flight of his weapon, under all circumstances, whether it be used in the chase or in war. That it is made principally for the purpose of affording amusement is true enough; but it has beneficial uses besides, and if these are not often exhibited, it is because he has other weapons better suited to his purpose.

2. *It has a random range in its return flight.* This is the remark of one who cannot have seen the *Wonguim* thrown by an expert. A well-made *Wonguim*, in the hands of one who can use it, returns always to the place, or very nearly to the place, to which the thrower intended it to return. Many of the natives are not capable of using this weapon skilfully. In order to secure success, there must be some talent, much practice, and, whenever an experiment is made with the intention of displaying the peculiar properties of this missile, a patient observance of the circumstances of place and position. A hill in front which might cause an eddy in the air, a hollow where the wind might be fainter than at the point where the thrower was standing, the slightest thing which might influence the flight of the *Wonguim*, would be carefully noted by a skilful native if he were required to show with what success he could make the instrument perform.

3. *Many will not return when thrown.* The *Wonguim* always returns to the thrower if properly thrown. A skilful thrower never fails in making it return.

4. *Very few of them have any twist in their construction.* I never saw a *Wonguim* made by the natives of Victoria which was not twisted. The thin leaf-like weapons of the West Australians are twisted. In some the twist is so slight as to be scarcely perceptible, but it is there, and can always be discovered.

It is quite possible, as Col. Lane Fox states, to get some sort of return flight, if a crooked stick be thrown into the air; but the *Wonguim* of the Australian is something more than a crooked stick which sometimes comes back. On many occasions I have had the opportunity of seeing the most skilful amongst the natives exerting themselves to the utmost in throwing this weapon —one seeking to rival the other—and it is when they are thus bent on exhibiting their dexterity that it is possible to judge of the power they possess over the weapon. The feeling of the observer on the conclusion of such an exhibition is that the native can do what he likes with it.

* British Association, Section D., opening address by the President, Col. A. Lane Fox.—*Nature*, No. 146, vol. VI., p. 323.

It is safe to deny the affinity of the Dravidian or Egyptian boomerang with that of the Australian native, because the first under no circumstances whatever could be made to behave as the *Wonguim* does. The flat leaf-like weapon of the Australian differs essentially from the Egyptian crooked stick.

Lieut.-Col. Mundy, who was in Australia for some time, had frequent opportunities of seeing the natives throwing the boomerang, and he writes thus:—"There are two kinds of boomerang—that which is thrown to a distance straight ahead, and that which returns on its own axis to the thrower. I saw, on a subsequent occasion, a native of slight frame throw one of the former two hundred and ten yards, and much further when a *ricochet* was permitted. With the latter he made casts truly surprising to witness. The weapon, after skimming breast-high nearly out of sight, suddenly rose high into the air, and returning with amazing velocity towards its owner, buried itself six inches deep in the turf, within a few yards of his feet. It is a dangerous game for an inattentive spectator. An enemy or a quarry ensconced behind a tree or bank, safe from spear or even bullet, may be taken in the rear and severely hurt or killed by the recoil of the boomerang. The emu and kangaroo are stunned and disabled, not knowing how to avoid its eccentric gyrations; amongst a flight of wild-ducks just rising from the water, or a flock of pigeons on the ground, this weapon commits great havoc."*

Sir John Lubbock was informed by Mr. Merry that on one occasion, in order to test the skill with which the boomerang could be thrown, he offered a reward of sixpence for every time the boomerang was made to return to the spot from which it was thrown. He drew a circle of five or six feet on the sand, and although the boomerang was thrown with much force, the native succeeded in making it fall within the circle five times out of twelve. †

These statements stand curiously in contrast with those made by Col. Lane Fox, and with the facts as known to all those who have seen an expert practising with a good *Wonguim*. It would surely be thought ridiculous if a person who for the first time took a billiard-cue in his hand and repeatedly missed the ball were to affirm that the properties of the cue were altogether misunderstood, and that the "breaks" reported as having been made by some players were "nursery tales." It is exceedingly difficult to acquire the knack of throwing the boomerang *with ease and certainty*. I have practised for years, and can throw some boomerangs not unsuccessfully; others which I have in my possession, and which experienced natives can throw with admirable precision, I cannot manage at all. In my hands they behave in the same way as a crooked stick, and this is solely owing to my want of skill.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson gives figures from the Egyptian monuments representing sportsmen using throw-sticks for the purpose of killing birds.‡ The figures in his work no doubt correctly represent the weapon; and it appears in one drawing like the *Warra-warra*, or knobbed stick of the Australians, and in another like the *Quirriang-an-wun*. It is certainly not a boomerang; and it

* *Our Antipodes*, p. 47.

† *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 352.

‡ *The Ancient Egyptians*, by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, vol. I., pp. 236–7.

is but reasonable to suppose that, if the Egyptians had had any knowledge of a weapon having the peculiarities of the *Wonguim*, it would have been represented in use by sportsmen in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt as to its character. Its mode of return to the sportsman would have been accurately depicted by the ingenious artists who have told us by figures on their monuments the most minute circumstances attending the uses of weapons and tools amongst that ancient people.

Wilkinson says that "the throw-stick was made of heavy wood, and flat, so as to offer little resistance to the air in its flight; and the distance to which an expert arm could throw it was considerable, though they always endeavoured to approach the birds as near as possible under cover of the bushes and reeds. It was from one foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about one and a half inch in breadth, slightly curved at the upper end; but in no instance had it the round shape and flight of the Australian *Boomerang*."

Nearly all the writers in Europe who have treated of the Australian boomerang, as I have stated already, appear to have been misinformed as to the character of the weapon; but the most extraordinary error is that made by Bonomi. He gives drawings of the Egyptian bommereng and that held in the hand of Nimrod, and proceeds to say—"The most curiously carved is that from Southern Africa, the *Hunga Munga* (Fig. 107); it is made of iron, and used to throw at a retreating enemy. The *Trombash* (Fig. 108) is from Central Africa, from the neighbourhood of Dar Foor; it is like the former, of iron, and chiefly used in war. The two following are made of wood. Fig. 109, called *Es-sellem*, is that used by the pastoral tribes of the Desert, between the Nile and the Red

FIG. 107.

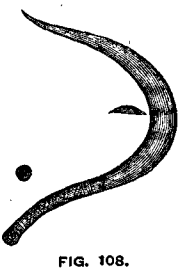

FIG. 108.

FIG. 109.

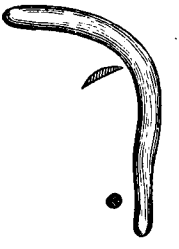

FIG. 110.

Sea; and Fig. 110 is the Australian bommereng. We have given the sections of these missiles, as we conceive that peculiar property of returning towards the thrower may be in some measure dependent on its flatness, although an ancient Egyptian one in the collection of Dr. Abbott, of Cairo, is round, like the *Sellem* of the Bishareen, and like it also made of the sunt-tree, the *Mimosa Nilotica*, an excessively hard wood. . . . . The Australian bommereng is much more curved than either of the specimens we have given, and possesses in a higher degree the singular property of returning to within a few yards of the thrower." *

I know not what may be the behaviour of the weapons here figured when thrown, but they differ essentially in form from the *Wonguim* of the Australians.

* *Nineveh and its Palaces*, by Joseph Bonomi, F.R.S.L., pp. 135–6.

The weapon figured by Bonomi, as an Australian bommereng, is not known to me, and I doubt if the like has ever been seen by an Australian native. The figure somewhat resembles a bad drawing of the *Leonile.*

Some years ago I saw an instrument in Melbourne, made by Mr. J. C. Benyo, which behaved in the air like the *Wonguim.* Two pieces of wood of equal length, flat on one side and rounded on the other, are fastened together at right-angles, in the form of a cross, and this constitutes the missile. It is thrown exactly in the same way as the boomerang is thrown, and when projected either vertically or horizontally it will describe a circle, and return to the thrower. I had two of these missiles made, and I have practised with them frequently. They are more easily managed than the *Wonguim;* and any one, after a few trials, can become expert in the use of them. Shortly after I had procured these toys, I had a model made, consisting of two limbs only, and placed at right-angles to each other, the limbs being flat on one side and curved on the other; but it was useless, and behaved as any piece of stick would when thrown. This puzzled me, and I set to work to find out the cause of the failure. I discovered it at length: it needed to have given to it the twist like that shown in Fig. 103. I cut away a portion of the wood at each end, so as to effect this, and it is now an excellent boomerang. It is made of light wood, and can be thrown effectively only when the wind is faint; but after a few trials, when one has ascertained exactly the direction in which it should be thrown, it will make a beautiful flight, flutter over the head for some time, and at last drop at the feet of the thrower, or very near his feet. Any one can make this toy; and both amusement and instruction are derived from watching its motions, whether it be thrown vertically or horizontally. It was in making this instrument that I discovered what points are essential in the *Wonguim.*

The Rev. Mr. Kane has directed my attention to an essay on the boomerang in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*

The writer, in a scholarly paper, suggests that the boomerang was in use in ancient times amongst the peoples of Europe, that there is in Australia a race of men of Indo-European origin, and that the boomerang was one of the weapons introduced by this race into Australia.

The paper is divided into ten parts: the first treats of the Cateia; the second of the Aclys; the third of the Ancyle; the fourth of the radical meanings of the names Cateia, Aclys, Ancyle, and Teuton; the fifth of the javelin of Cephalus and Aquifolia of Pliny; the sixth of the clava of Hercules and hammer of Thor; the seventh of the remaining names of the Cateia, Caia, and Kaile, and of its origin; the eighth of the comparative antiquity of the boomerang and spear; the ninth, on the transit of the names of the curved missile to the straight weapon; and the tenth, of the modes of throwing the Cateia, &c., among the ancients.

The ingenious arguments of the author are supported by a great number of references to the writings of the ancients.

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* *On the Antiquity of the Kiliee or Boomerang,* by Samuel Ferguson, Esq., M.R.I.A., read 22nd January and 12th February 1838.

Of the Cateia he says:—

"The kiliee or boomerang, at present the peculiar weapon of certain Australian islanders, several varieties of which are represented in Plate I. [reference will be made to the figures in the plate], appears to have been known to European and other continental nations from a very remote period.

The name by which the boomerang is most readily recognised in the works of Roman writers is *Cateia*. Of this, the earliest notice is found in the *Æneid* of Virgil, where, among various tribes who joined themselves with Turnus, mention is made of a people accustomed to whirl the Cateia after the Teutonic manner:—

> 'Et quos maliferæ despectant mœnia Abellæ
> Teutonico ritu soliti torquere Cateias.'
>
> —*Virg. Æneid*, l. VII., v. 740.

The next mention of the Cateia occurs in the *Punics* of Silius Italicus, where the poet describes an individual of one of the Lybian tribes, who accompanied Hannibal to Italy, as being armed with the bent or crooked Cateia:—

> 'Tunc primum castris Phœnicûm tendere ritu
> Cinyphii didicêre Macæ: squalentia barbâ
> Ora viris: humerosque tegunt velamina capri
> Setigeri: pandâ manus est armata Cateiâ.'
>
> —*Sil. Ital. Punic.*, l. III., v. 274.

A third notice of the Cateia is found in the *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus, where, in an enumeration of the Maeotic nations which rose in arms against Jason, a people are described whose tents of raw hides were carried on waggons, from the extremities of the poles of which their young men whirled Cateias:—

> 'Quin et ab Hyrcanis Titanius expulit antris
> Cyris in arma viros: plaustrisque ad prælia cunctas,
> Coraletæ traxêre manus: ibi sutilis illis
> Et domus, et crudâ residens sub vellere conjunx
> Et puer è primo torquens temone cateias.'
>
> —*Val. Flac. Argonaut.*, l. VI., v. 83.

From those notices it may be collected:—1st. That the Cateia was an instrument of a curved shape, for this is the constant meaning of the adjective *pandus*. 'Carinæ pandæ' (*Virg. Georg.*, l. II., v. 89).—'Delphines pandi' (*Ovid. Trist.*, l. III., v. 9).—'Fauces pandæ' (*Stat. Sylv.*, l. III., v. 15).—'Rostrum pandum' (*Ovid. Metamor.*, l. IV., v. 57).—'Rami pandi' (*Ovid. Metamor.*, l. XIV., v. 37).—'Juga panda boûm' (*Ovid. Amor.*, l. I., and *Eleg.* l. XIII., v. 4). 2nd. That it was a projectile—'*e* temone torquens.' 3rd. That it was dismissed with a rotatory motion—'torquens'—'soliti torquere.' For, although the verb *torqueo* is frequently applied to the projection of the straight missile, it is always with reference to the rotatory motion either of the *amentum*, by which several sorts of straight missile were thrown, or of the weapon itself round its own axis.

These marked characteristics of the boomerang would, perhaps, furnish sufficient grounds for inferring an identity between it and the weapon under consideration; for, from recent experience, it might safely be asserted that no instrument having the peculiar shape ascribed to the Cateia could be projected

with a rotatory motion, without also exhibiting the great distinguishing property of the boomerang by a reciprocating flight. But the description of the Cateia, given by Isidore, Bishop of Seville, a writer of the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, renders this line of argument unnecessary. He describes the Cateia as a species of bat, of half a cubit in length, which, on being thrown, flies not far, on account of its weight, but where it strikes it breaks through with excessive impetus. *And if it be thrown by one skilful in its use, it returns back again to him who dismissed it.* The passage occurs in the '*Origines*' under the head CLAVA, viz.:—

'CLAVA est qualis fuit Herculis, dicta quod sit clavis ferreis invicem religata, et est cubito semis facta in longitudine. Hæc et Cateia, quam Horatius *Caiam* dicit. Est genus Gallici teli ex materia quam maxime lenta; quæ, jactu quidem, non longe, propter gravitatem, evolat, sed ubi pervenit vi nimiâ perfringit. *Quod si ab artifice mittatur, rursum redit ad eum qui misit.* Hujus meminit Virgilius dicens. *Teutonico ritu soliti torquere Cateias.* Unde et eas Hispani *Teutones* vocant.'—*Isidor. Origin.*, l. xviii., c. vii.

Thus all the characteristics of the boomerang, its use, its shape, its mode of projection, its extraordinary impetus, and its peculiar reciprocating flight, belong to the Cateia, from which it cannot but be concluded that these were the same weapon."

The statements made and the authorities quoted in the other parts of Mr. Ferguson's paper are scarcely less interesting than those given in the above extract. He thus concludes:—

"Many of the foregoing inferences will, doubtless, appear in a high degree speculative; and the writer is conscious that, in pushing the enquiry in some directions to the length it has gone, the bounds of strict induction have been very closely approached; still it is submitted that if the first step of the argument, namely the identification of the *Cateia* with the Australian weapon, have been taken on sure ground, it will not be possible to stay the subsequent progress of the enquiry. And that this step has been taken with great, indeed with extraordinary, certainty, appears as well from the minuteness with which all the peculiarities of the weapon in question are described in the passages already quoted as from the fact that *unquestionable representations of the boomerang* are found on ancient monuments. The representations in Pl. II., Figs. 1 and 2, taken from Sig. Rosellini's '*Egyptian Monuments*' cannot be mistaken; and the reader who will take the trouble of referring to Mr. Wilkinson's work on the same subject will there find still further confirmation of the acquaintance of this most ancient people with the very implement in question. In the latter instance, parties are represented throwing missiles of a form which, from experiment, it is now certain, must have produced a reciprocating flight, at birds, reminding us strongly of that passage of Strabo (l. iv., pp. 196–7, Ed. Causab.) where he describes the Belgæ of his time as using 'a wooden weapon of the shape of a *grosphus*, which they throw out of the hand, and not by means of an *ancyle*, and which flies faster than an arrow, and is chiefly used in the pursuit of game.' So, also, it is difficult to assign any other use to the instrument appearing in the hand of the Belgic Briton represented in Pl. II., Fig. 6.

If any certainty could be had that the notices so far collected were all that antiquity could furnish on the subject, a new and very wide field of speculation, of perhaps a still more interesting character, would be opened, in the endeavour to trace the international resemblances between those people known to have used such weapons in the old world, and the tribes who still retain the use of them in the new. Even on the scanty materials here brought together, there is, however, sufficient to excite serious attention in the fact that amongst the ancient nations using the *Cateia* and its cognate weapons certain peculiar characteristics are distinctly traceable, such as the prevalence among them, from the earliest periods, of Amazonian habits, and there being in almost every instance of the *white* variety of mankind, and of the *Xanthous* family of that variety, characteristics which point in a very marked manner to an Indo-European origin.

Now there are in Australia two distinct races of men, one of which is clearly of the white variety, as appears from the colored drawings which accompany M. Péron's Voyage to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales in 1824. What, then, shall we say? Has the European or Indo-European weapon, with its characteristic name, been introduced into Australia by these lighter-complexioned islanders; and are these far-separated savages members of the same great Japhetic stock, of whom we have this testimony from the oldest and most authentic of human records, 'By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided' —(Gen. c. x. v. 5.)?"

The drawings which accompany Mr. Ferguson's paper are very interesting. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, in Plate I., are Australian weapons, and represent the boomerang which returns when thrown; and Figs. 5 and 6 represent accurately enough the *Li-lil* or *Bol-lair*. The figures from Rosellini and others are those of weapons not in the least like the "come-back" boomerang, but one is not very different from the *Leonile* or *Langeel* of the Victorian natives. The weapons figured on the coins might be such as would return when thrown; but neither the form of them nor the manner in which they are held would suggest that they had that property.

The figure entitled "Sabre à ricochet," from *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, par M. Péron*, atlas, tab. xxx., as given by Mr. Ferguson, is nearly that of the *Kul-luk* of the Gippsland natives. It is neither a *Wonguim* nor a *Barn-geet*. Probably a mistake was made by the artist.

The weapon in the hand of the Belgic Briton (Pl. II., Fig. 6) is shown thus—

FIG. 111.

If the weapon had had the property of the boomerang, it is not probable that the artist would have represented the warrior as holding it by the middle.

The boomerangs of the people of Rockingham Bay and the districts adjacent are ornamented with incised lines, differing in this respect from those in use in the southern and western parts of the continent. Those from the north-east coast in my collection are not "come-back" or "play" boomerangs; they are such as are used in warfare, and it is doubtful whether "come-back" boomerangs are in general use on the north-east coast.

The boomerangs which I have received from Mr. Bridgman are thus ornamented (Fig. 112):—

FIG. 112.

The name of the boomerang at Mackay is *Wongala*. Others from the districts north of Mackay, the native names of which I have not been able to obtain, have waved lines cut on them, and perhaps exhibit figures indicating the country occupied by the owners.

These boomerangs vary in weight from eight and three-quarter ounces to nine ounces.

They are not very neatly made; but as weapons of war, or as instruments for killing game, they are no doubt effective, and possessed of properties that are understood and highly prized by the natives of North-East Australia.

The most of the weapons now found in this area have been made since the introduction of European tools, and, for the purposes of the ethnographer, are valueless.

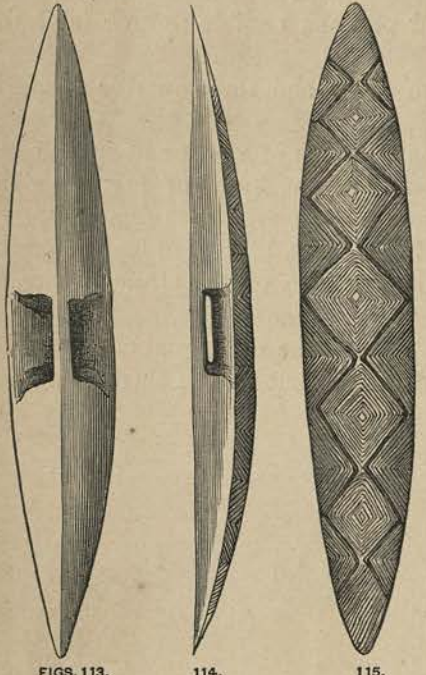
The specimens of the art of the old natives of the north-east coast that are figured in this work could not have been described but for the singular activity of my friends in Queensland.

Defensive Weapons.

Shields.

Of shields there are two kinds—the *Mulga* used for warding off blows given by the *Kud-jee-run* and *Leon-ile*, mostly in single combat, and the *Gee-am* for protection in a general fight against spears.

Figs. 113, 114, 115 show the form of the *Mulga*, and one kind of ornamentation, and Figs. 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124,125, the usual modes of ornamentation of the front of the weapon. I have never seen a shield of this kind ornamented on the inner surfaces.



FIGS. 113, 114, 115.
(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

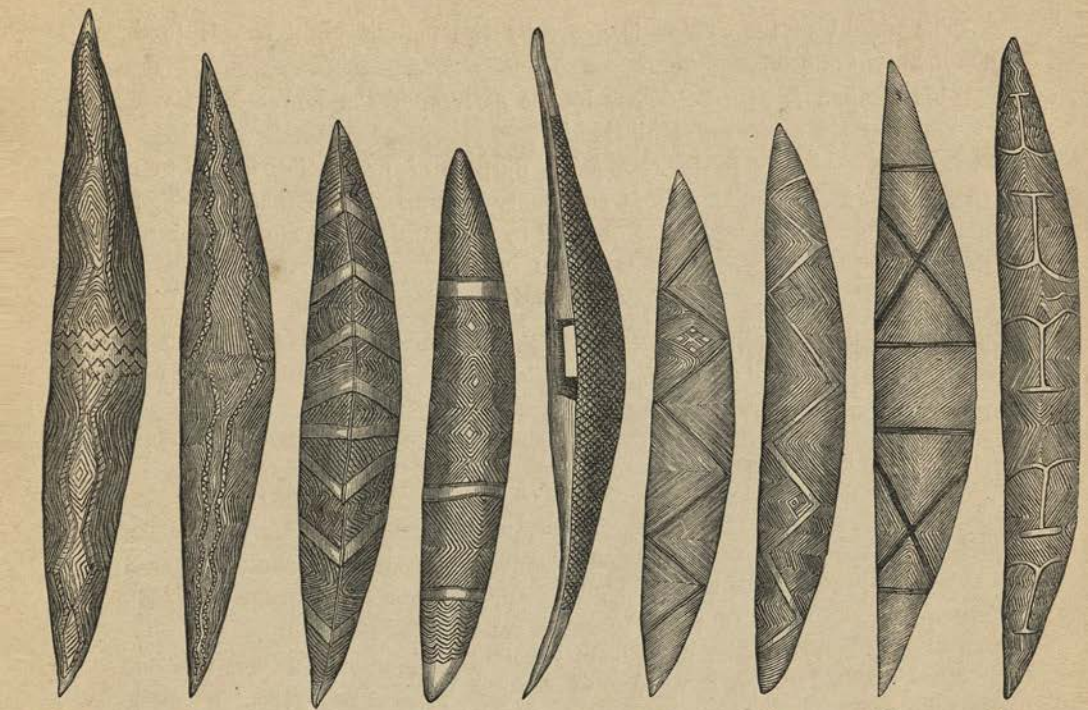
Of the several shields (*Mulga*) in my possession, none measures in length more than forty-one inches. The usual proportions are as follow:—Length, thirty-five inches; breadth, five inches; depth, about four inches; size of the aperture for the hand, from three to three and a half inches.

The wood preferred by the natives for making the *Mulga* is ironbark (*Eucalyptus sideroxylon*), but box (*E. leucoxylon*) is that most commonly used. Gum, peppermint, or indeed any hard wood, is taken if the necessity is great.

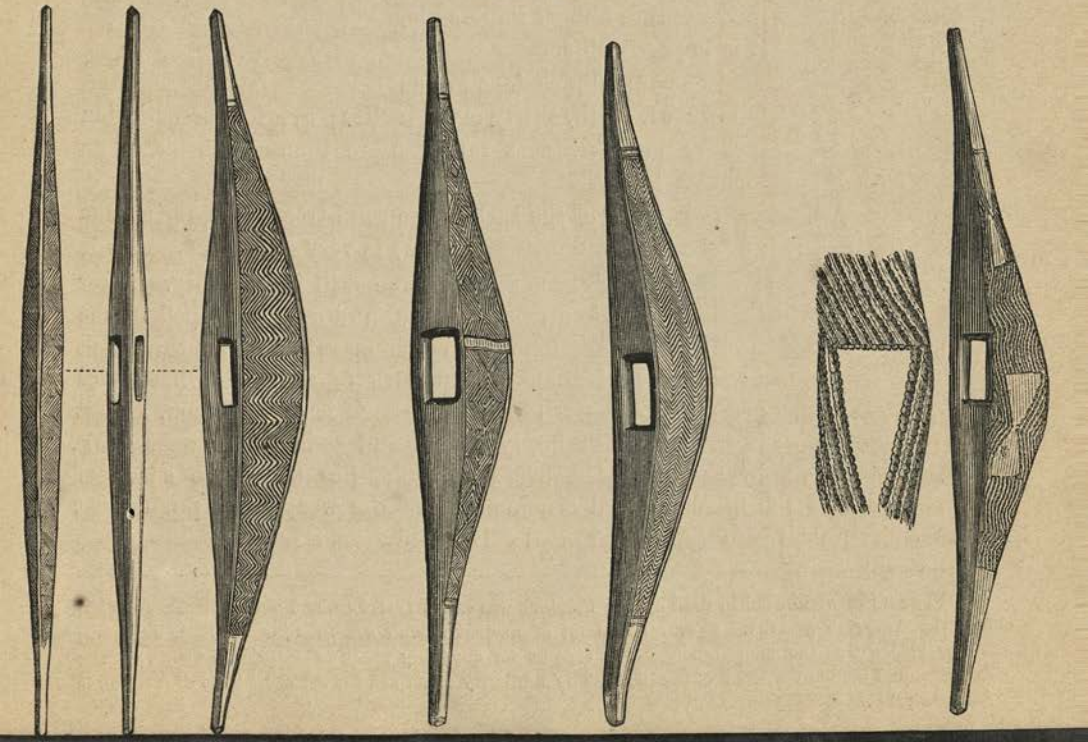
Garrong (wattle-tree, *Acacia mollissima*) is not seldom employed for shields and other weapons.

Shields having an angular face-length from thirty to forty inches, a breadth of two inches, and a depth of five and a half inches, and ornamented in a similar manner to those already mentioned, are used by some tribes in the same manner as the ordinary *Mulga*.

Figs. 126, 127, 128, and 129 exhibit the form of these shields. A portion of Fig. 129 is enlarged, to show the style of ornamentation, which is altogether unusual in Victoria. Weapons of this shape are named *Drunmung* in the Western district.



FIGS. 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124.
(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)



The weight of the *Mulga* is generally two pounds eight ounces to three pounds eight ounces.

This weapon is called *Murgon* by the natives of the Lower Murray, and *Marr-aga* by the natives of Gippsland.

FIG. 125.—(Scale ¼.)

Probably for the purpose of preventing injury to the knuckles, it is customary to wrap around that part of the wooden shield grasped by the hand a piece of the skin of the opossum, as shown in Fig. 130. The *Kul-luk* and other instruments have the handles usually so covered, both for the protection of the hand, and to ensure a more secure hold of the weapon.

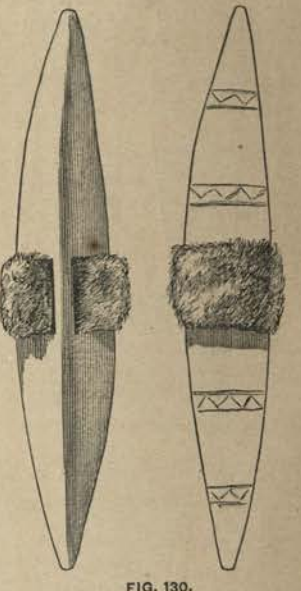


FIG. 130.

The *Gee-am* or *Kerreem* (spear-shield)—Figs. 131 and 132—is used in battle only, never in single combat.* Used skilfully, it protects all parts of the body from spears. Unless the point of a spear happens to strike the centre, which a skilful warrior by his movements makes almost impossible, it is impenetrable.

The usual dimensions are as follow :—Length, thirty-eight inches; greatest breadth, ten inches; and thickness rather more than a quarter of an inch.

It is made of the bark of the gum-tree. *Binnap* (manna gum-tree, *Eucalyptus viminalis*) is very often used.

In making these shields some skill is necessary. After the bark is taken from the tree, and rudely shaped in the form desired, a mound of earth is raised some three feet in length, and about the breadth of the bark; hot ashes are placed on the mound, the bark is laid thereon, and it is covered with heavy stones and sods. The green bark, by the time the ashes are cold, has taken the curve of the mound, and the finishing and ornamenting of the weapon are pursued at leisure. The natives of Lake Tyers call this shield *Bam-er-ook*.

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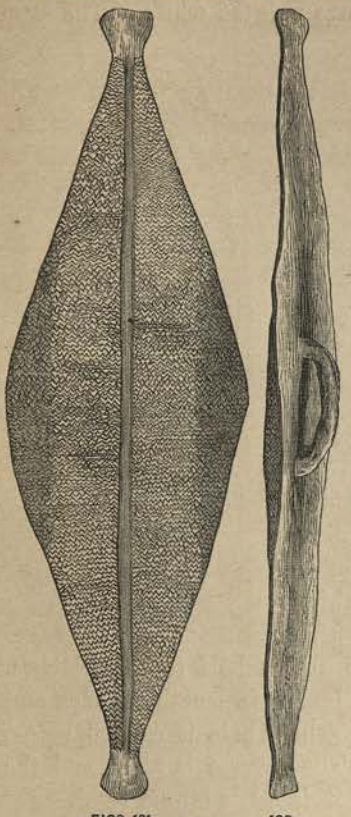
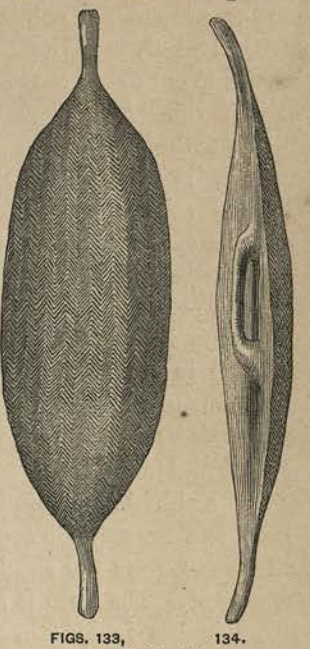
* The large wicker shield used by the Persians was called *Gerrhum*, and was shaped somewhat like the Assyrian *Gerrha*. (For an account of ancient shields see Rawlinson and Wilkinson.) Hence γέρρον was the name amongst the Greeks for anything made of interlaced twigs, as the square shield made of osiers and the like. The similarity of names for the same kind of weapon is indeed strange.

In Figs. 131–2, 133–4 it will be seen that the handle—the inside length of which is usually four inches—is not separated from, but forms a part of the weapon. Such instruments are now rare. In making them, the wood next to the bark and a part of the wood of the tree are used, and great art is necessary in cutting out the piece and perfecting the shape, so as to make the instrument strong and durable. In Figs. 135, 136, and 137 the handle is formed of a separate piece of wood, which, when green, is thrust into holes made to receive the ends.



FIGS. 131, 132. (Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.)

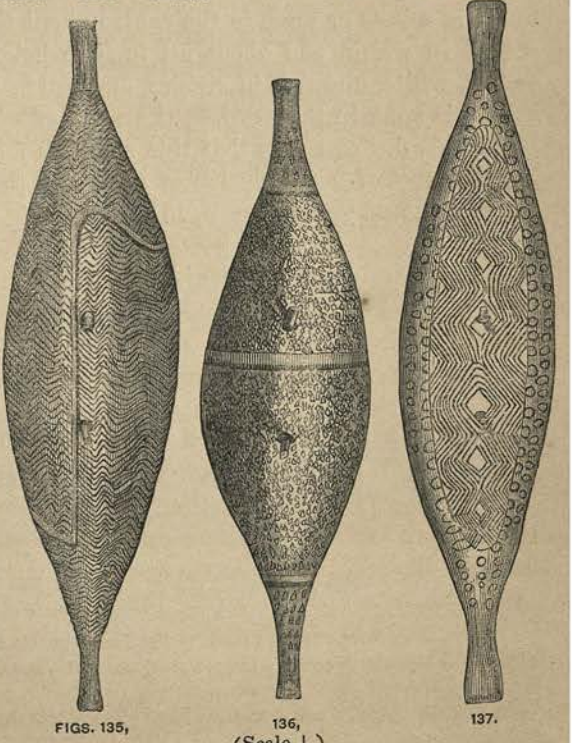


FIGS. 133, 134. (Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

When finished, the handle can scarcely be taken out without breaking the weapon. These figures give different and very instructive examples of the modes of ornamentation in favor amongst the Aborigines.

The weight of a *Gee-am* is about one pound eleven ounces. Some are lighter, but seldom are any of them heavier.

Mr. George Bridgman, of Mackay, in Queensland, has sent me a very curious shield. The back, front, and sides are shown in the engraving. It is rudely but profusely ornamented, with shallow incised



FIGS. 135, 136, 137. (Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

lines irregularly disposed, but so as to form a pattern.—(Fig. 138.) The two rows of shallow depressions marked with detached circles, at the top and bottom are colored red. The spaces at the ends are painted white. The back is nearly flat, and the handle is cut out of the solid wood. A figure, perhaps that of some reptile, is drawn on it, and colored white, and the spaces marked with incised lines are painted red. This shield is twenty inches and a quarter in length, and seven inches in breadth, and weighs only thirty-six ounces. The name of this shield at Mackay is *Goolmarry*.

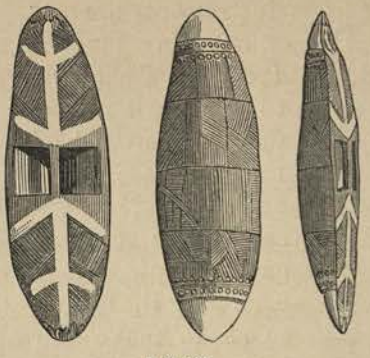


FIG. 138.

The shield Fig. 139, from Rockingham Bay, Queensland, is a remarkable specimen of native art, and differs altogether from the shields in use in other parts of the continent. The form is an irregular oval. It is thirty-seven inches in length, and fifteen inches in width at the widest part. The thickness varies from one and a half to three inches. There is a boss or knob in the centre about three inches in length, an inch and a half in width, and about an inch in height. The whole is colored black, yellow, white, and red, in stripes and patches. The reverse is plain, and the handle is sunk in the wood. The wood of which it is made is very light.

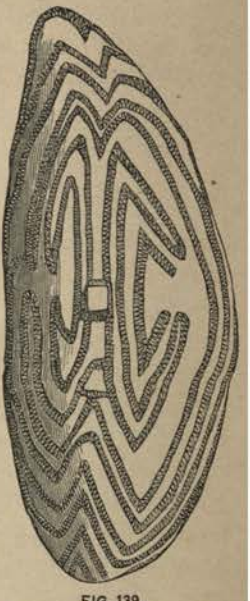


FIG. 139.

Mr. A. J. Scott says that this shield is formed of the soft, light wood of the buttress root of a description of *ficus*, and that it is sometimes painted in blue, black, red, and yellow bands, in a quaint zig-zag pattern.

Weapons and Implements of the West Australians.

Some six years ago I asked Mr. H. Y. L. Brown, who was then engaged in making a geological survey of part of the Colony of West Australia, to procure for me some of the weapons of the natives of the west and north-west coast of Australia; and he was good enough to send me a very valuable collection, which I have used in preparing this brief account of some of the more important implements employed by the blacks in this part of the continent. In order that accurate descriptions of them might be given, I applied to the Honorable Fred. Barlee, the Colonial Secretary at Perth, to supply information respecting some of them; and with his usual kindness, and with an alacrity in the promotion of scientific investigations not always found in gentlemen occupying similar exalted positions, he furnished valuable notes, made by himself, from statements communicated to him by an intelligent native.

No one but a person who has engaged in such labors as have occupied me for many years knows how difficult it is to ascertain the facts respecting even the commoner implements and utensils used by the natives. I have had the most positive statements respecting the use of one kind of spear absolutely contradicted by other statements apparently equally trustworthy; and in all such cases it has been necessary to apply to the blacks themselves for an explanation. A spear of a peculiar form is employed in one locality almost exclusively as a weapon of war; in another it is commonly used for striking fish; and in a district not far distant perhaps it is altogether unknown.

With such difficulties to encounter, it was with peculiar satisfaction that I was able to avail myself of the aid of gentlemen of culture and experience in procuring some few data for this necessarily imperfect description of the West Australian weapons and utensils.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the offensive weapons used by the natives of the western part of the continent is the *Kylie* or boomerang. It is essentially the same as that found in the southern and eastern colonies, but it is somewhat different in form, and is exceedingly thin and leaf-like. Some of those in my possession are scarcely three-tenths of an inch in thickness in the thickest parts, and they have knife-like edges. The weight of the heaviest is four and three-quarter ounces and the lightest a little under four ounces. The extreme length varies from twenty inches to twenty-three inches, and the breadth is from one and three-quarters to two inches. At first sight they appear to be quite flat; but a close examination shows that there is a slight

twist; and in weapons so thin as these a very small deflection is sufficient to ensure their true flight and their return to the thrower. They are made by the natives with wonderful precision and accuracy, and they are dangerous weapons in their hands. Common forms of the *Kylie* are shown in Fig. 140.

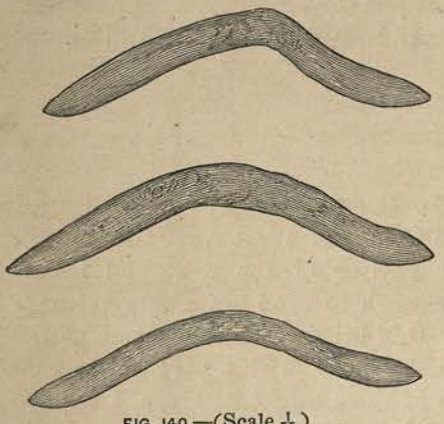


FIG. 140.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

Some years ago, as already stated, I took one of the West Australian boomerangs to Coranderrk, and showed it to the natives. They were much surprised, and seemed at first scarcely to believe it to be a boomerang made by an Australian; but "Tommy Farmer," an intelligent fellow, handled it carefully, and sought to discover whether it was one that would come back. He then threw it, and it made a large circuit, and returned to him. All the West Australian boomerangs seem to fly further than those used by the natives of the east.

The wood of which my specimens are made appears to be that of some species of acacia, and in forming them advantage has been taken of a natural curve of the wood. They are not carved or artificially colored; but they are, nevertheless, very beautiful implements, on account of the natural tints and veins of the wood. Some are of a rich reddish-brown, with streaks of dark-brown, and the edges are cream-colored.

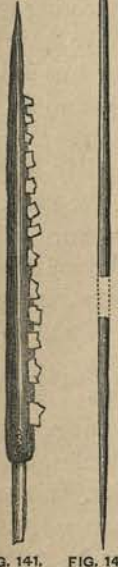


FIG. 141.

FIG. 142.

The most common form of spear in use in West Australia is that shown in Fig. 141, where the head alone is given. It is named *Gid-jee*, *Gee-jee*, or *Borral* (spear-stone). It is about eight feet in length, and is thrown with the *Meero* (or *Womerah*). The heads of those in my collection are coated with a hard gum, forming a ridge on one side, in which pieces of glass are impacted, and the whole is stained with the gum of the *xanthorrhœa*, to render it smooth and impervious to moisture. They weigh from six and a half ounces to seven ounces. The woods used for making this weapon are *Boordono*, which is the best; *Woonarra*, which is good; and *Goodgidgee*, which is common. Mr. Barlee could not ascertain the botanical names of the trees from which these woods are procured. The cutting tools used in making the spear are shells and quartz, or glass, if it can be procured. The point is very sharp. When threatening an enemy, a native will say, *Ngad-jol nhynueen daanaga*—"I will you spear!"

The light spear (Fig. 142) is formed entirely of very hard wood, and is eight feet in length. It is sharpened at both ends, and each end is brought to a very fine point. It cannot, of course, be thrown with the *Womerah*. In the thickest part the diameter does not exceed four-tenths of an inch, and it weighs eight

ounces. The only specimen from West Australia that I have in my possession was obtained by Mr. H. Y. L. Brown, and it is conjectured that it is used both in hunting and in war. It is a light and well-balanced spear; and great skill must have been employed in shaping it and in bringing the ends to such fine hard points as they present. The wood of which it is made has dark veins in it, and it appears to have been polished and rubbed or varnished with some sort of gum or resin.

A rather remarkable spear, Fig. 143, is the only one brought from West Australia by Mr. Brown which is in any way ornamented. The shaft from the point downwards is scraped smooth for a length of nearly nine inches, and marked with black bands; and the wood being white, the effect is peculiar. Below the scraped or polished part the wood is in the same state as when the bark was peeled off, except that it has been rubbed with a gum or resin to protect it from the wet.

The spear is nearly eight feet in length. One weighs five and three-quarter ounces, and another six and a half ounces. The barb is formed of very hard white wood, and is exceedingly thin and sharp. It is firmly fixed to the head by some kind of string or sinew, and further strengthened by a coat of the gum of the *xanthorrhœa*. The lower end is hollowed for the reception of the point of the *Womerah*, and one is tied (as shown in the figure), to strengthen it. As a weapon of offence, it would be highly dangerous. It resembles the barbed spear of the Cape York natives.

The double-barbed spear—*Pillara*—(Fig. 144)—is thrown from the *Womerah* like the *Gid-jee*, but is employed more commonly in close combat, when it is thrust at the enemy. The wood from which this weapon is made is not known, and it is not used within a distance of four hundred miles north of Perth. It is about nine feet in length. It is stated by the Rev. J. G. Wood* that this spear is in use at Port Essington; and this agrees with the information furnished by the Honorable Mr. Barlee.

The four-pronged spear (Fig. 145) is about six feet in length, the tapering heads being apparently of the same kind of wood as the shaft. The barbs on each side project outwards. Though this is named as a West Australian weapon, it is not known, as far as could be ascertained by the Honorable

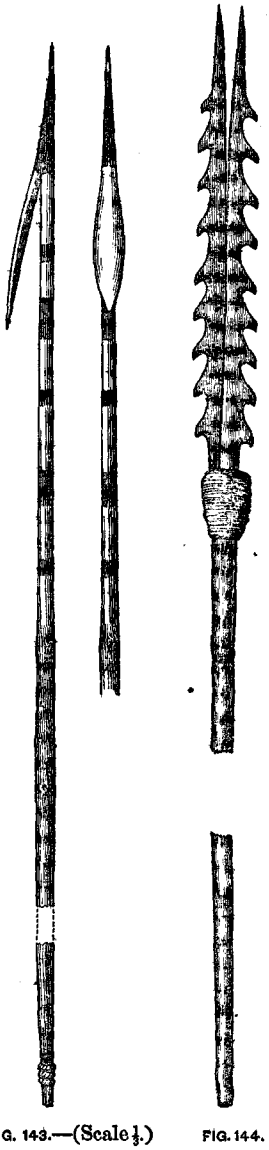


FIG. 143.—(Scale ¼.) FIG. 144.

* *Natural History of Man*, vol. II., p. 41.

Mr. Barlee, to any of the natives of Perth. It is supposed to be a weapon in use at Port Darwin, or on some part of the north or north-west coast.

A three-pronged spear, barbed at each point, somewhat similar in construction to this, is in use amongst the natives of Cape York.

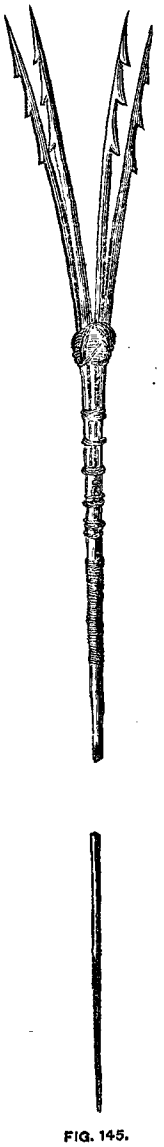


FIG. 145.

The *Meero* or *Womerah*, the lever for propelling the spear, differs in form from those in use in Victoria, though the principle is the same. The flat, shield-like *Womerahs* (Fig. 146) in my collection are made of djarrah, and are very thin and well polished. They are not ornamented in any way. The point for receiving the end of the spear is made of very hard white wood, and is fastened to the head with gum; and there is a lump of gum at the end, so placed as to prevent the implement from slipping in the hand. The length is one foot ten inches, and the greatest breadth five inches. The weight varies from seven and three-quarter ounces to ten ounces. Mr. Barlee informs me that this implement is usually made of *Mang-art*, a species of wattle, called raspberry-jam, from the scent of the wood being like that preserve. The natives carve the wood into proper form with the stone-chisel, and smooth it with a rasp made of the rough bark of any forest tree.

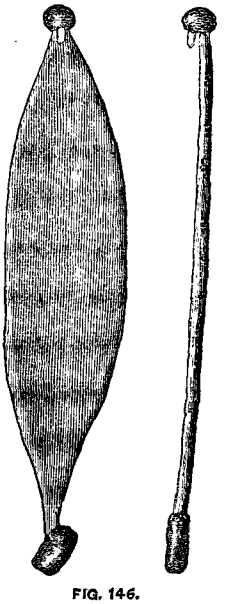


FIG. 146.

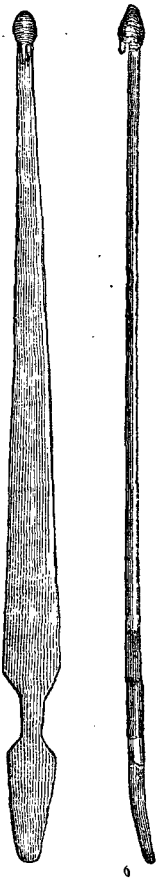


FIG. 147.

Fig. 147 is another form of the throwing-stick in common use amongst the natives of the north-west coast. I have in my possession a good specimen sent to me from Port Darwin by Mr. J. G. Knight.

The wooden shield (*Woonda*) of West Australia (Fig. 148) is two feet nine inches in length, and six inches in breadth. It is made of the wood of a species of bastard cork-tree (botanical name not known), and the hole for the hand is cut out of the solid block. Its weight is thirty ounces. Is is curiously ornamented. The grooved ridges, forming straight lines from the points, take a sudden turn near the middle, where they unite. The dark lines in the engraving represent the ridges which are hollowed or grooved, and these grooves are filled in with ruddle. The hollow parts between the ridges are painted

white, thus forming alternate stripes of bright-red and white. Why the shields are ridged and grooved has not been ascertained. As only one form of shield is known in West Australia, it must be inferred that it is used both as a guard against spears and clubs; and Mr. Barlee says that the natives consider it a sufficient protection for their bodies when in a half-kneeling or stooping position. It is rough-hewn with the stone-chisel, and carved and finished with the teeth of the opossum or kangaroo-rat.* The red color for ornamenting it is prepared from a yellow clay (*Wilgee*), which is burnt into red-ochre, and the white from a sort of pipeclay (*Durda-ak*).

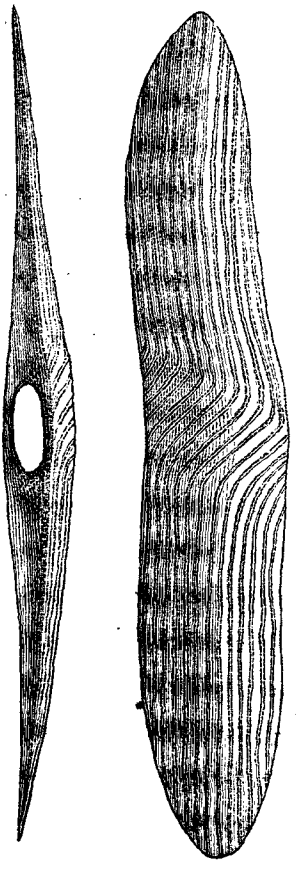


FIG. 148.

All the shields from West Australia are ornamented in the same manner, and the form, as far as I am able to ascertain, is the same everywhere on the west and north-west coast.

It is somewhat strange that we should find in Central Africa a shield very closely resembling that used by the natives of West Australia. The Neam-nam, in the Nile district, just under the Equator, have a weapon nearly of the same size and form as that of the West Australians, and, like it, the hole for the hand is scooped out of the solid block.† The Neam-nam shield is usually covered with the skin of an antelope, but it appears some are carved and colored. Mr. Alexander Williams, in *Notes and Queries*, says that the late Mr. Christy called his attention to the exact similarity of the shields of the West Australian blacks to those used by the natives of Central Africa—"a similarity not only in shape and pattern but actually in the succession of colors in the pattern."‡

It is certainly remarkable that the shields of the natives of the west of Australia should differ so much in their character from those of the natives of the south and the east.

The *Kadjo* or *Koj-jer*—native hammer or tomahawk—(Fig. 149)—differs from all others known on the continent of Australia, and indeed an implement exactly similar has not been found, it is believed, in any part of the world. I have two specimens, and they are alike. One edge is chipped, so as to be of use in cutting and chopping, and the other is blunt, and may be employed as a hammer. The stone is a fine-grained granite—one is almost pure quartz—and the edge and the head are formed by percussion. They are not ground.

* See *Leange-walert*, used for carving by the natives of Victoria.

† *Natural History of Man*, vol. I., p. 493.

‡ Quoted in *Nature*, 20th July 1871, p. 230.

The wooden handle is formed of hard wood like that used for spears, namely, *Boondono* or *Mang-art*, and is about four-tenths of an inch in diameter and seven inches in length. The handle is fixed to the stone by gum obtained from the tough-top *xanthorrhœa*, being stronger and more adhesive than that got from the brittle-top *xanthorrhœa*. It is said that two stones are used in forming the head, and it is not unlikely from the manner in which the handle is inserted that this is so; but the only way in which I could ascertain the mode of construction would be by breaking a tomahawk, and that I should hesitate to do. The *Kadjo* is usually painted a red color with *Wilgee*.

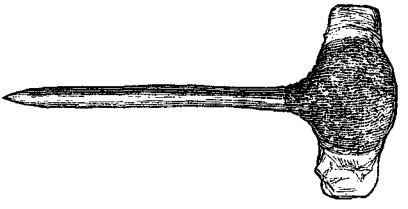


FIG. 149.

The end of the handle is brought to a sharp point, and in climbing trees, the native, after he has cut a hole for his foot, reaches up as high as he can, sticks the sharp end into the bark, and draws himself up with the hold thus obtained.

If the stone forming the head of a West Australian tomahawk were found anywhere divested of the gum and handle, it is doubtful whether it would be recognised by any one as a work of art. It is ruder in its fashioning, owing principally to the material of which it is composed, than even the rude unrubbed chipped cutting-stones of the Tasmanians. There is much to be learnt from the study of a West Australian tomahawk.

The stone-chisel, Fig. 150, is called by the natives *Dow-ak* or *Dun-ah*.* It is two feet four inches in length, and about one inch in diameter. The cutting edge projects about two-tenths of an inch, and the stone is securely fastened to the head by gum.

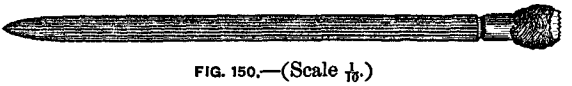


FIG. 150.—(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.)

In two specimens I possess the stone is pure quartz. Below the lump of gum in which the stone is fixed the implement for the length of an inch and a half is smooth; then there is a hollow, and below that the round stick is grooved longitudinally, so as to enable the mechanic to obtain a firm hold of it. The wood is not heavy, but very hard, and of a dark reddish-brown color. It is used for cutting and shaping boomerangs, shields, clubs, &c., and is employed also in war and in hunting. It is thrown in such a manner as to turn over in its flight, and if it strike a man or a kangaroo, death is certain. It closely resembles the stone chisel or gouge used by the natives of the Grey Ranges (lat. 29° 30′ S., long. 141° 30′ E.), but is a neater if not a better tool than theirs.

* Mr. Philip Chauncy informs me that the stone-chisel is named *Dhabba*. The *Dow-ak* is a stick that is thrown, and is rounded at both ends.

The meat-cutter or native knife—*Dabba*—(Fig. 151)—is made by fixing to a short hard piece of wood (such as that used for spears), with the gum of the *xanthorrhœa*, fragments of quartz. It looks like a saw, but it is really a knife, and is employed by the natives to cut or jag flesh. This implement is mentioned by the Rev. J. G. Wood, and its uses, I think, have been misunderstood.*

FIG. 151.

The native scoop or spade—*Waal-bee*—(Fig. 152)—is used for digging roots and holding water. It is made of the outside wood of trees of the eucalyptus tribe, and is formed first by burning it so as to hollow it roughly, and is finished by scraping it with sharp stones and shells, and polishing it with a rasp made of the bark of the *Banksia*. It is a kind of *Tarnuk*, but is thinner and better formed, somewhat like a kava bowl without the feet. It is spoon-shaped, and is sixteen inches in length and seven and a half inches in breadth. Mr. Barlee says that this implement is not at all common in West Australia.

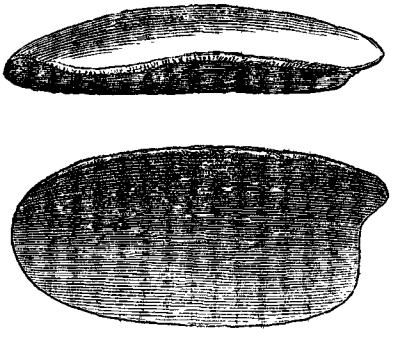


FIG. 152.

The other implements used by the natives are a waddy or club, formed of the same kind of wood as the spears, and a large war club (*Weerba*). The latter is made of very heavy wood, and is found only amongst the natives of the north-west coast.

Amongst their ordinary implements are bone-needles or skewers, and awls or piercers, also of bone; and they use likewise shells, sand, and rough rasps made of the bark of trees.

Mr. H. Y. L. Brown sent me a ball of twine (*Noom-bine*) composed of the wool of the opossum, which the natives wrap round the head or the arms or the body. A warrior places a bright-colored feather in this when it is wound round his head; and with his cloak of opossum skins, his spear, throwing-stick, and tomahawk, he is ready for peace or war.

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* *Natural History of Man*, vol. II., p. 35.

Implements and Manufactures.

The bags, the baskets, the wooden vessels for holding water, and the tools used by the natives, are few in number, but they are sufficient for their wants.

They have made good use of the raw materials within their reach; and, whether dealing with wood or bark, or with the bones, skins, or sinews of animals, they have exhibited ingenuity, and produced work as excellent as it possibly could be under the circumstances in which they labored.

In the descriptions which follow, the reader will discover much information quite new even to those who have lived amongst the Aborigines for many years, and who are well acquainted with their furniture and utensils. I have not relied on my own observations. I have sought to gain information from settlers in various parts of Australia; and though I have used all means available to me in collecting facts for this very interesting branch of my work, I cannot believe that I have secured everything that is known respecting the implements of the natives.

The tool with which weapons are carved—*Leange-walert*—was discovered by accident; and I know not how many other tools of the like kind, or dissimilar, may be in use amongst the tribes in the interior.

That the natives were ready at all times to devise sure means for the capture of animals, and for cooking them, and for entrapping their enemies or killing them, may be accepted as proofs that they are not deficient in invention or energy. The skill exhibited in their works is imperfectly shown in the figures and descriptions in this work.

It was not known until lately that the natives were in the habit of communicating with far-distant friends by means of message-sticks, on which are carved figures and marks sufficiently clear to convey information relative to important occurrences. The picture-writing in use amongst this people, rude as it is, is of the highest interest, and all that relates to it will be studied by ethnologists perhaps more carefully than anything else in this work.

I was glad to receive from the Honorable Mr. Barlee, the Colonial Secretary in Western Australia, sticks on which messages are written—thus confirming other statements made respecting this method of transmitting intelligence.

Bags and Baskets.

The native females use a great many kinds of bags and baskets. They carry all their little treasures in the large bags when they are travelling. Fig. 153

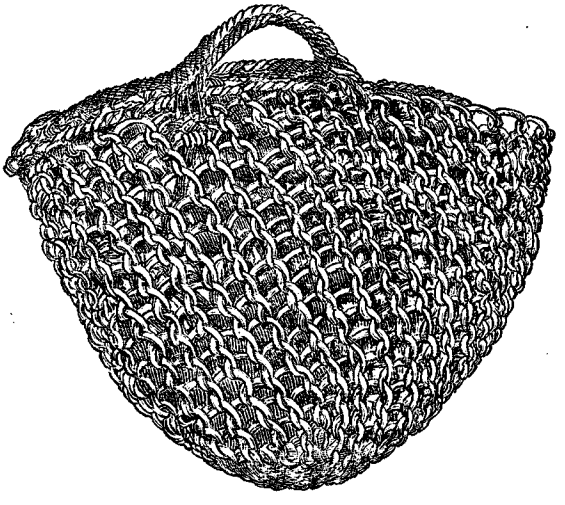


Fig. 153.—(Scale ¼.)

shows a large bag or basket, made of the leaves of the common reed (*Phragmites communis*) which grows abundantly on the banks of the Rivers Yarra and Goulburn. The material is twisted into a rope, and arranged in loops, as shown in Fig. 154.

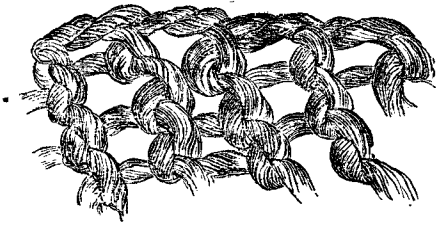


Fig. 154.—(Scale ¼.)

The above figure is drawn from a bag presented to the late Mr. A. F. A. Greeves, in 1840, by Mary, the wife of Benbow, at that time the principal man of the Yarra tribe. I have never seen a bag or basket resembling this in use, but it was common amongst the Aborigines of the Yarra and Goulburn prior to the arrival of the whites. Though it is now old, it is yet a strong and useful bag, the material of which it is made being durable; and it is well and neatly put together.

The net-bag—*Bel-ang* or *Pel-ling*—(Fig. 155)—is made of the fibre obtained from bark, or of the hair of the native cat or opossum, and it is of all sizes.

Some are no larger than a purse, and others almost like fishing-nets. The fancies or necessities of the women determine the size of the bag. When the fur is picked off the opossum or native cat, the woman sits down and works it into twine by rubbing it with her hand on the inside of the thigh. The bags are very strong and durable. Fig. 156 shows the arrangement of the loops.

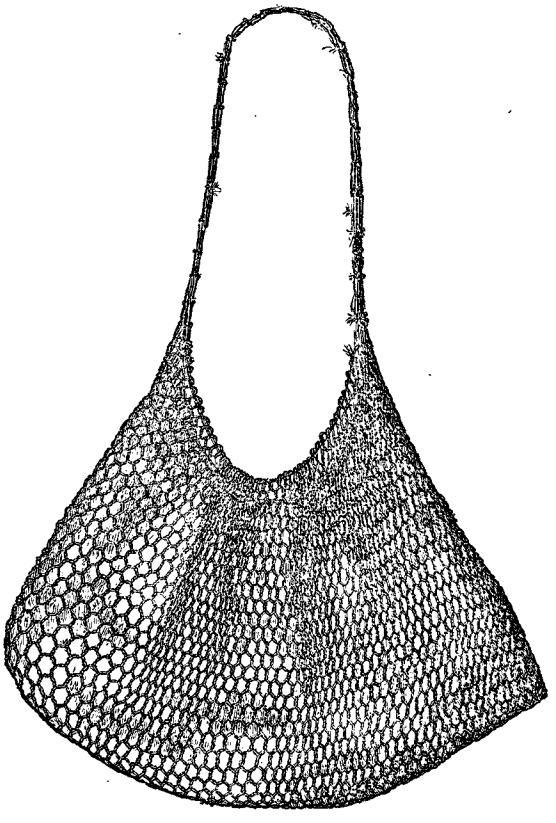


FIG. 155.—(Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.)

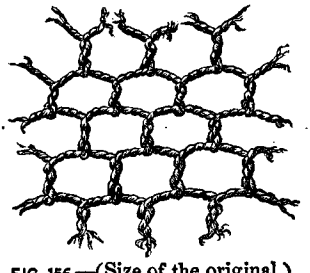


FIG. 156.—(Size of the original.)

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer says that the bag (*Ba-thung*) used by the women of Gippsland for carrying their property is sometimes made of grass, and not seldom of the fibre of the stringybark.

A bag—*Bee-lang*—used by the natives of the Yarra is shown in Fig. 157. It

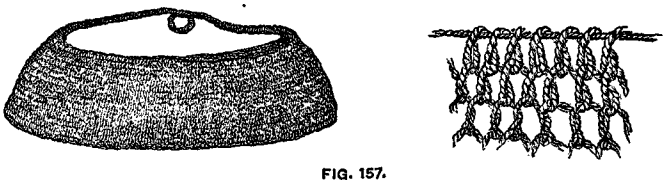


FIG. 157.

is thirteen inches in length, and four inches in depth, when not extended. It is elastic, and would contain a great quantity of goods if necessary. The twine of which it is composed is made of the fibre of the bark of a eucalypt (*Eucalyptus obliqua*). It is strong and well twisted. The mode of construction

from the top downwards, is shown in the figure. The string for carrying it is very strong. The woman has not only twisted the cord well and stoutly, but has wrapped around it very closely a fine fibre, so as to give additional strength and security.

This bag seems to have been designed for carrying small articles, and must have been attached to some belt at the side, or carried in the hand. The string is too short to allow of its being passed over the head.

A flat basket—Fig. 158—formerly in common use amongst the natives of the southern parts of Australia, if not elsewhere, is now rarely seen. It is beautifully woven, very strong, and made in such a form as to be conveniently carried either on the back or on the breast. The size of the basket varies according to the requirements of the maker. Some for young people who have few worldly possessions are small; others in my collection, probably for the use of those who had more wealth in bone-awls and the like, are larger. The flags or grasses of which it is made are variously colored, and advantage is taken of this to give some sort of pattern to the work. Eyre says that in one part of South Australia this basket is called *Pool-la-da-noo-ko.*

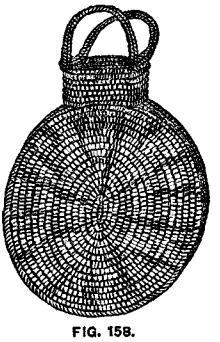


FIG. 158.

The basket *Bin-nuk*, *Been-ăk*, or *Bo-ut*, is of various sizes; and, in selecting the material to make it, due regard is had to the purpose for which it is required. Some are large and strong, in which the women can carry a child; and others quite small, only sufficient to hold their bone-needles, hair, necklaces, and the like. Some are made of a kind of flag—*Kur-ra-wan*—which is split by the nail and made fit for weaving, and others of *Poa Australis* and *Xerotes longifolia.*

The large baskets are provided with handles, sometimes made of grass or the fibre of the stringybark, so as to admit of their being slung over the back; but the small baskets are not made with handles. Fig. 159 shows a basket made of a kind of flag by a woman of a tribe in Gippsland. The manner in which each row of leaves is fastened to the one above and below is shown in Fig. 160, which represents a portion of three rows of the size of the specimen. The connecting ribbon fastening one row to the other forms a series of loops on the upper surface of each row through which the fastenings of the row above are passed. In addition, there are loops each passing round two of the rows in a pattern up and down the basket, which serve to give greater strength. This basket is nine inches in height, and the diameter at the top is seven inches and a half.

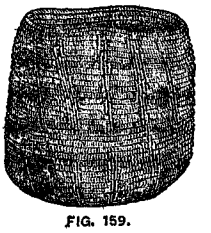


FIG. 159.

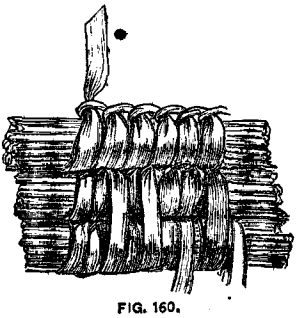


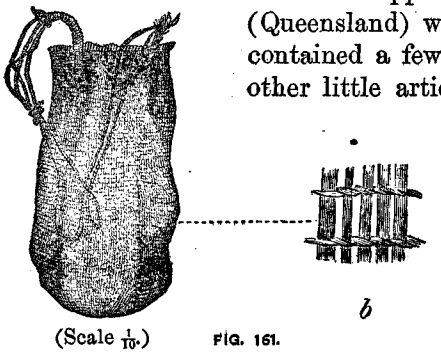
FIG. 160.

The grass baskets used by the natives of Gippsland are called *Minnignal-ak*. The patterns vary little amongst the natives of Victoria, and that shown in the figure is a fair specimen of their art in basket-weaving. The small baskets are usually carried by the woman in the large *Bin-nuk*.

It is not easy now to get baskets of the pattern which prevailed before the introduction of European arts. Those made by the women at Coranderrk are of all shapes and sizes, invariably provided with handles, and made for sale, and with a view to meet the wants of the whites who purchase them.

Dr. Gummow has sent me a beautiful basket (*Mid-jerr*) from the Lower Murray, which is used for carrying the eggs of the *Lowan* (Mallee hen). Accompanying the basket is a specimen of the fibre (*Widging-nee*) of which it is made—a sort of *carex*, Dr. Gummow thinks.

A small basket of excellent workmanship (Fig. 161) was lent to me by the late Mr. Matthew Hervey, in order that it might be figured for this work. It was dropped by a woman of the Burdekin tribe (Queensland) when surprised by a party of whites. It contained a few bone-needles, a necklace, some fur, and other little articles of use. The material of which it is made is a flag split into very thin strips, and the manner in which the strips are put together is shown in the enlarged engraving *b*. It was provided with a loop made of some vegetable fibre sufficiently long to admit of its being slung over the shoulder. I figured this with the utmost care, and the engraving is a faithful copy of the original drawing. This basket is the best piece of Aboriginal work of this kind I have ever seen. It is evidently old, and has been carried for a length of time; but it is firm, elastic, and as fit for use as when first made.



(Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.) FIG. 161.

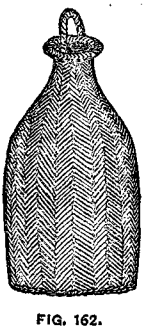


FIG. 162.

Mr. John McDonnell, of Brisbane, in Queensland, has forwarded drawings and descriptions of several weapons and implements from Rockingham Bay. Amongst these is a wicker-work bottle or basket (Fig. 162), finely wrought, and ornamented with perpendicular streaks of red and yellow. It is thirteen inches in height, and twenty-five inches in circumference at the widest part. It has a cord handle.

Water Vessels.

The vessels used for holding and carrying water by the Aborigines of Victoria were commonly made of the gnarls of gum-trees, or of the bark covering the gnarls, or of a portion of the limb of some tree. The large tub—*Tarnuk bullito* or *Tarnuk bullarto*—was either a hollowed log or a large gnarl hollowed by fire and gouging.

The large tub nearly in the centre of the Fig. 163 is the *Tarnuk bullito.* It is a large hollowed gnarl. The marks of the fire which was kindled in it to burn out the interior are still clearly perceptible, though it has been hacked and gouged for the purpose of increasing the capacity. It is a very heavy vessel. This is rather an unusual form of the *Tarnuk.* Such vessels were ordinarily made of the naturally bent limb of a tree, or of an uprooted tree. The limb or tree was placed in a hollow excavated in the ground, and a large cavity was formed in it by burning and gouging. The *Tarnuk bullito* was not carried from camp to camp. It was too heavy for carriage, and one could always be made at each camping ground, if the old one left by the tribe on the last visit was decayed or damaged.

FIG. 163.

The *Tarnuk bullito* was used for pounding and macerating the blossoms of the honeysuckle and box, from which a beverage was obtained—sweet—somewhat like sugar and water, but with a flavor of its own. When it was difficult to get a limb of a tree, or a tree suitable for a *Tarnuk bullito,* the natives cut a thick piece of bark from off the curved limb of a gum-tree, heated it in ashes, and bent it so as nearly to resemble the shape of a canoe, and stopped the ends with clay. This was a temporary expedient most often resorted to on hurried journeys. The bark of the *Eucalyptus viminalis* was preferred for the purpose.

The two buckets—one with a string for carrying it—on the left-hand side of the figure, and the other on the right—are the *Tarnuk* proper. This vessel was used for carrying water from place to place when journeying, and for keeping water in when encamped. The women always carry these buckets, and fill

them with fresh water when they reach a creek or water-hole. They are indispensable to a tribe that is wandering through forests or over plains where water may not be met with at every place of encampment.

The *Tarnuk* in all the specimens I have seen is the hollowed gnarl of a gum-tree. Unlike the *Tarnuk bullito*, however, it is made very thin, and the interior is smooth. It was smoothed, no doubt, by laborious scraping. It is light, and, even when full of water, would not be a very heavy burden. The bark covering the gnarl, but most often the layer of wood next to the bark, was used for these vessels. Those made of such wood are, I believe, the lightest, as they are certainly the best. The twine for carrying the vessel was made of the fibre of the stringybark or some other vegetable fibre, and was passed through holes pierced on each side of the *Tarnuk*.

The shoe-shaped vessel shown in the figure in the foreground was used as a drinking vessel—the water being taken either out of the *Tarnuk* or out of a creek. It is called *No-been-tarno* by the natives of the Yarra.

The specimen in my possession is made of the limb of a tree—the larger part being that which sprang from the parent stem. The pointed part or tongue was evidently used as a handle. It will hold about two pints of water. It is roughly made, and, though very old, is yet serviceable.

The gnarled tree shown in the drawing is not an unfair representation of the mode of growth of some of the eucalypti, and it was from such knobs and gnarls as are there depicted that the natives found materials for the *Tarnuks*.

On the River Powlett, in Gippsland, and elsewhere, the gnarled trees are seen stripped of their bark, and the larger excrescences have been cut off with the stone tomahawk for the purpose of making water vessels.

In some parts of Victoria and in central Australia the natives use the skins of animals for carrying water. The skin of the native cat is preferred. It is taken off with the greatest care, the incision and the skin which covered the feet, &c., are carefully sewn up and made water-tight, and the neck is left open. This vessel is carried with a string, formed into a loop and passed over the head, the skin of water hanging at the back.

These vessels resemble the water-skins used by the ancient Egyptians.*

"Among many of the tribes may be seen a strange sort of ornament or rather utensil—namely, a drinking cup made of a human skull. It is slung on cords and carried by them, and the owner takes it wherever he or she goes. These ghastly utensils are made from the skulls of the nearest and dearest relatives; and when an Australian mother dies, it is thought right that her daughter should form the skull of her mother into a drinking vessel. The preparation is simple enough. The lower-jaw is removed, the brains are extracted, and the whole of the skull thoroughly cleaned. A rope handle, made of bulrush fibre, is then attached to it, and it is considered fit for use. It is filled with water through the vertebral aperture, into which a wisp of grass is always stuffed, so as to prevent the water from being spilled."†

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* *The Ancient Egyptians.* Wilkinson, vol. I., p. 34.

† *The Natural History of Man.* J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 86.

Eyre refers to the use of skulls as drinking cups. The sutures are closed with wax or gum.

The vessel used by the natives of Gippsland for holding water for domestic purposes is made of bark, and the ends are tied exactly in the same way as they tie the ends of a canoe. This vessel is called *Gil-ang*. The Murray blacks use a vessel of wood like the *Tarnuk* proper, and the name they give it is *Karr-a-ki*.

Mr. Nathaniel Munro says that in some parts shells are used for drinking vessels, where they can be procured large enough for the purpose; but vessels for holding water are generally made of green bark. Pieces are cut into various shapes, laid on the fire or in hot ashes until they are soft and the edges begin to contract, and then they are easily wrought into the forms desired by the natives. When the bark is heated, it can be drawn into many shapes without breaking it or causing it to crack.

The Mussel-shell.

The mussel-shell—*U-born*—is much used by the natives for the purpose of scraping and preparing skins for bags, opossum rugs, &c. It is a valuable tool. It is used ordinarily as it is taken from the living animal; but if a favorite and well-shaped shell becomes a little blunted by use, it is sharpened with a stone. When the whites introduced their manufactures, the natives eagerly seized on the worn-out iron spoons, which they found near their huts, and converted the bowls into tools which served them better for scraping skins than the mussel; but some of the old blacks even now use the mussel.

Leange-walert.

The tool with which the natives used to ornament their wooden shields and other weapons is called *Leange-walert*. The lower-jaw of the opossum is firmly attached to a piece of wood (which serves as a handle) by twine made of the fibre of the bark of *Eucalyptus obliqua* and gum. This tool, simple as

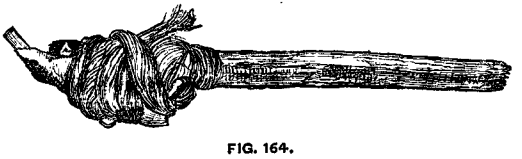


FIG. 164.

it is, enables the black to carve patterns in the hard, tough woods of which his weapons are made with ease and rapidity. The front tooth is like a gouge or chisel, and with it he scoops or cuts out the wood with great facility. The old weapons are easily known by the marks made by the tooth; those fabricated since the introduction of knives and other European tools are altogether different in the surfaces which they present, though the patterns may be the same. The instrument shown in Fig. 164 was made by *Wonga*, the principal man of the Yarra tribe, and was used by him in ornamenting weapons.

Min-der-min, etc.

The awls or nails (Fig. 165) used by the Aborigines for fastening the skins of animals to bark or wood when they are put out to dry in the sun are of various sizes. Those used for pegging down a large skin are long, and those for the skins of the opossum, native cat, &c., much smaller. They are usually made of the leg-bones of animals. Those made of bone are smoothed, polished, and brought to a fine point. They fashion nails or pegs also of hard wood, the points being made still harder by subjecting them to fire. The native name for nail is *Min-der-min* or *Min-dah-min*. The late Mr. Thomas collected a number of the bone-nails. Those used in Victoria are similar to the nails in use in Queensland. The basket lent to me by the late Mr. Matthew Hervey, which was dropped by a woman of the Burdekin tribe, contained amongst other things what appeared to be a hussy. I found in it six bone-awls, one wooden awl or nail, and three pieces of bone shaped like a spatula.—(*See* Fig. 166.) The bone awls or nails were used to pierce holes in the skins of which, when sewn together, they make rugs, and the spatula-like instrument perhaps for flattening and smoothing the seams. The hussy was a piece of opossum skin tied together with twine spun from the fur of the opossum, and again fastened securely with stronger twine made of some fibre. It contained also two relics—tufts of hair, tied with twine of opossum fur.

FIG. 165. (Actual size.)

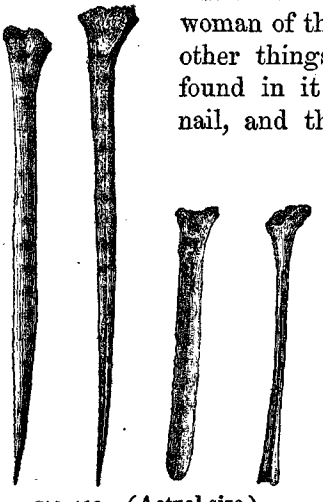


FIG. 166.—(Actual size.)

Fig. 167 shows the lancet used by the natives. It is a spine taken from the hinder part of the porcupine (*Echidna hystrix*). It is strong, tough, and very sharp. I have a number of these spines. They are slightly flexible, and, though many years old, are now quite fit for use. They were used for bleeding and for extracting thorns, pieces of spear-points, and the like. The specimen here figured was at once identified by Professor McCoy, to whom I submitted it for examination.

FIG. 167. (Actual size.)

Kan-nan

The stick used by native women (Fig. 168) is about seven feet in length, from one and a half to two and a half inches in diameter, and seldom less than three or four pounds in weight. It is named *Kan-nan* or *Kon-nung*. Saplings of any suitable tree furnishing a tough wood are used for making these instruments.

The *Kan-nan*, when sharpened at each end, is hardened by placing the points in a mound of smouldering bark ashes. With this stick the women dig up roots, the *Mirr-n'yong* especially. It is the weapon with which they fight also. When their evil passions are roused, they scold, yell, and shake these sticks in defiance. They beat the ground with them, stamp savagely, and at last, throwing off their rugs, approach each other and begin the encounter. The assailant aims blows at the head of her enemy, and the enemy holding the *Kan-nan* over her head horizontally, and with her hands as far apart as possible, receives perhaps six or seven blows. The assailant then lifts her weapon, and holds it horizontally so as to protect her head, and receives just as many blows, and thus the fight goes on until the men separate them. Broken knuckles are the injuries mostly given; but sometimes a clever woman hits her enemy on the head and disables her. They invariably fight fairly, and strike no foul blows.

FIG. 168.

Nerum.

The noose used for strangling an enemy—*Nerum*—(Fig. 169)—consists of a needle about six inches and a half in length, made of the fibula of the kangaroo, and a rope two feet six inches in length. The cord is formed of twine of seven strands, which are five feet in length. The

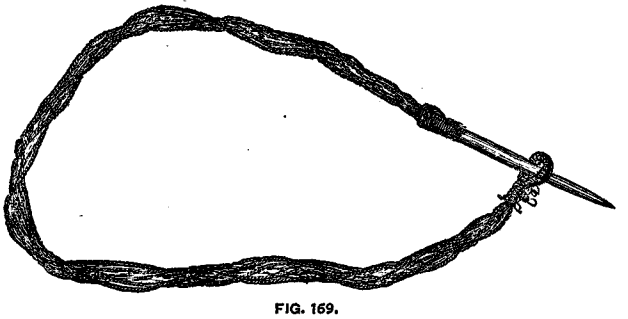


FIG. 169.

strands are doubled and twisted so as to form a loose rope of fourteen strands. One end of the rope is securely fastened to the head of the fibula by sinews (taken from the tail of the kangaroo), and the other end is made into a loop also securely bound by sinews. The loose rope is elastic and very strong. The fibre of which the rope is composed is similar to that obtained by pounding and washing the roots of the bulrush; but a suitable material may be got also from the bark of the *Eucalyptus obliqua*. It is well and thoroughly twisted. The Aboriginal carrying this noose tracks his enemy to his miam; and having marked the spot where he has gone to sleep, he approaches him stealthily, slides the bone under his neck, puts it through the loop, and quickly draws it tight, so as to prevent him from uttering the slightest sound. He then throws the body with a jerk over his shoulder, and carries it to some secluded spot where he can take securely and at his ease the kidney-fat.

WEET-WEET.

The plaything (Fig. 170) called by the natives of the Yarra *Wi-tch-wi-tch*, *We-a-witcht*, *Weet-weet*, or *Wa-voit*, is one of the most extraordinary instruments used by savages, and in some respects is almost as interesting as the boomerang. The head—in shape like two cones placed base to base—is about four inches and a half in length and one inch in diameter; and the stem, not quite two-tenths of an inch in diameter, is about twenty-one inches in length. The whole length of the instrument varies in different specimens from twenty-three inches to twenty-six inches. Those I have seen are from twenty-four to

FIG. 170.

twenty-six inches. The best—and only the best were used in olden times—resemble that shown in the figure. The knob and handle are of one piece; but not infrequently it is found convenient to fix a knob of hard, heavy wood to a suitable handle by splitting one end of the handle, and fastening it with gum and sinews to the knob. They are often broken when the thrower misses his aim; but it is easy to repair one by joining the handle to the knob with sinews and gum; and an instrument so made behaves nearly as well as one carved out of a solid piece of wood. The handle is very flexible. The weight of the toy is less than two ounces.

I had an opportunity of seeing this missile used when I visited the Aboriginal Station at Coranderrk, on the 15th January 1873. I had previously been making enquiries respecting the *Weet-weet*, and had asked one of the Aborigines to make me one; and as soon as the men saw the toy, the game of *Weet-weet* became once more popular, and several of them were provided with the instrument when I visited them. The game began in this manner: The throwers, each holding one or more of these toys in their hands, stood in a group near a small rise or hillock in the grassy ground in front of the school-house. They threw in turn, and carefully noted where each instrument fell. The manner of throwing the toy was very curious and interesting. The native, having carefully looked at the hillock, walked about six or eight yards from it, and then turned his back towards it. In the hollow of the palm of his right hand he placed the thin end of the *Weet-weet*, grasping it lightly with the thumb and first and second fingers, and slightly doubling inwards the third and fourth, and then held it horizontally, nearly level with his forehead, very tenderly holding the tip of the head between the finger and thumb of the left hand. In this attitude he stood a second or two, and suddenly running backwards a few steps, violently wheeled round, and with extraordinry force threw the instrument downwards towards the hillock. The cone, touching the grassy mound, glanced off, and flew to a great distance, hitting the ground and again glancing off until its flight was stopped by some impediment. All the men were greatly excited, and, one after another, threw the *Weet-weet*. It is not easy to describe the mode in which it is thrown, but from Tommy Farmer, who

attempted to teach me the use of the instrument, I learnt that it was by a kind of jerk just at the moment of leaving the hand that the best effect was produced. It is of course thrown underhand. Tommy Farmer was by far the most expert in throwing the *Weet-weet*, and he sent one so great a distance that I determined to ascertain by measurement how far he had thrown it. Mr. John Green assisted me in doing this, and we found that he had thrown it 220 yards. We were of opinion that if its flight had not been checked by some rank fern and underwood which it struck, it would have gone much further. Many of the other men threw it easily 100, 150, and 190 yards. Its flight is so rapid that the eye cannot always follow it. It is a highly exciting and interesting game, but it is one that is not altogether free from danger. On one occasion, as I was informed, a person sitting carelessly too near the line of flight of the toys was struck by one, which pierced his thigh, and inflicted a dangerous wound. If the missile hit the softer parts of the body, it would penetrate deeply, and undoubtedly cause death. As well as I could ascertain, it is never used in battle.

In olden times this game was frequently played. The players stood in a row, and he who could throw the *Weet-weet* the greatest distance was accounted the winner.

It is singular that so simple an instrument is not known and used amongst the young persons of civilized nations. It has been a plaything of the natives of Victoria probably for ages, and they may claim to have discovered the best form of projectile long before any knowledge of the principles involved in its construction dawned upon the minds of scientific men in Europe.

The Rev. J. G. Wood thus describes the peculiarities of this missile:—"The 'Kangaroo-rat' is a piece of hard wood shaped like a double cone, and having a long flexible handle projecting from one of the points. The handle is about a yard in length, and as thick as an artist's drawing pencil, and at a little distance the weapon looks like a huge tadpole with a much elongated tail. In Australia the natives make the tail of a flexible twig, but those who have access to the resources of civilization have found out that whalebone is the best substance for the tail that can be found. When the native throws the kangaroo-rat, he takes it by the end of the tail, and swings it backwards and forwards, so that it bends quite double, and at last he gives a sort of underhand jerk and lets it fly. It darts through the air with a sharp and menacing hiss like the sound of a rifle ball, its greatest height being some seven or eight feet from the ground. As soon as it touches the earth, it springs up and makes a succession of leaps, each less than the preceding, until it finally stops. In fact, it skims over the ground exactly as a flat stone skims over the water when boys are playing at 'ducks and drakes.' The distance to which this instrument can be thrown is really astonishing. I have seen an Australian stand at one side of Kennington Oval, and throw the kangaroo-rat completely across it. Much depends upon the angle at which it first takes the ground. If thrown too high, it makes one or two lofty leaps, but traverses no great distance; and if it be thrown too low, it shoots along the ground, and is soon brought up by the excessive friction. When properly thrown, it looks just like a living animal

leaping along, and those who have been accustomed to traverse the country say that its movements have a wonderful resemblance to the long leaps of a kangaroo-rat, fleeing in alarm, with its long tail trailing as a balance behind it. A somewhat similarly-shaped missile is used in Fiji; but the Fijian instrument has a stiff shaft, and it is propelled by placing the end of the forefinger against the butt, and throwing it underhanded. It is only used in a game in which the competitors try to send it skimming along the ground as far as possible."*

Message-sticks.

Fig. 171 shows four sides of a message-stick, such as is used by the natives of Queensland. It was sent to me by Mr. N. Bartley, who says, in a letter dated 21st June 1870, that it was given to him by the Honorable R. Pring, Q.C., Attorney-General of the colony. An Aboriginal named Jacob was condemned for a serious crime committed by him, and a plot was laid by some members of his tribe to rescue him. The message-stick, which had been conveyed to Jacob by some means of which the gaol authorities could get no knowledge, was found in his possession, and a native trooper, belonging to another part of the country, gave an interpretation of the symbols.

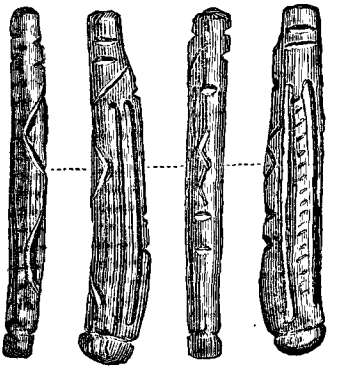


FIG. 171.

"*Charbig*," the native trooper, said that the symbols conveyed the following intelligence:—"Two blackfellows come up in two days; seventeen days ago. One blackfellow come up to where this fellow (Jacob) sit down. The track shown on the stick means that from the place where the blackfellows set out to Brisbane. The message means that the Aboriginals were taking steps to aid Jacob in some attempt at escape."

This is certified by Mr. J. Hooke Rogers as being the translation given by "*Charbig*," but it is vague enough. The message-stick no doubt conveyed intelligence to Jacob of some sort; but even with the help of *Charbig's* translation it is hard to guess what that was. The stick itself is valuable, as showing that the natives can convey intelligence to their friends by symbols. The figure is the full size of the original.

* *The Natural History of Man*, by the Rev. J. G. Wood, vol. II., pp. 41-2.

Long after the receipt of the message-stick from Queensland, the Honorable Fred. P. Barlee, M.P., the Colonial Secretary of West Australia, was good enough to send me two message-sticks.—(Figs. 172 and 173.)

The stick shown in Fig. 172 is ten inches in length, and a little more than three-tenths of an inch in diameter. That shown in Fig. 173 is nearly seven inches and a half in length, and four-tenths of an inch in diameter.

They are formed of a hard yellowish wood, the name of which I am not able to give. The marks are neatly and clearly drawn, and are filled in with a black pigment, so as to be distinctly seen.

Mr. Barlee says, "The accompanying 'native sticks' used by Aboriginals in the vicinity of Shark's Bay are new to me, and will probably be of interest to you. They are used, I am informed, as messages to distant tribes in cases of hostility and other matters connected with tribal customs."

These message-sticks will be regarded by scientific men as of peculiar interest and value; and no doubt some special enquiries will be instituted in order to discover to what extent this system of conveying intelligence amongst savage tribes prevails, in what manner it originated, and how far it has been perfected.*

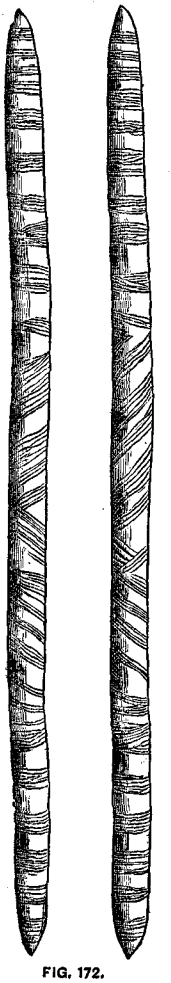


FIG. 172.

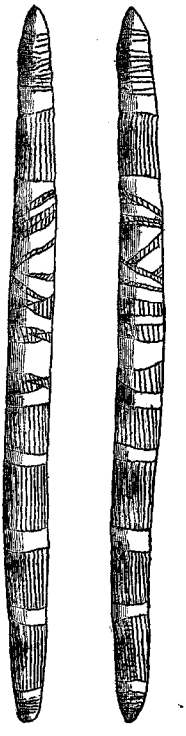


FIG. 173.

* Mr. Bulmer states that he has seen a stick [message-stick ?] carried about from camp to camp as belonging to a particular corrobboree. It was used by the men—never by the women. He has known of such sticks having been carried for hundreds of miles. He mentions (under date 15th January 1874) that fourteen years ago a stick of this kind came down the Murray to the junction of the Darling. It had been carried the whole length of the river; and, to his astonishment, when he went to Gippsland he found it had penetrated even there, so that it must have been conveyed more than a thousand miles. The stick was of the dimensions of a common walking-stick, and was carved after the Aboriginal manner. It was smeared with red-ochre. It was an object of great curiosity to the blacks.

The late Mr. John Moore Davis stated in a letter to me, in 1874, that when on a visit to Benalla he became acquainted with the fact that the Aborigines have the means of communicating with each other at a distance, and that peculiarly-formed notches on a stick convey their ideas in a manner similar to the knots on a cord used in the days of old by the Mexicans.

KOORN-GOON.

The Aborigines when dancing in the corrobboree sometimes use two sticks about eighteen inches in length, formed of some wood which, when dry, is

FIG. 174.

sonorous. These they strike together during the dance. The name of the stick (Fig. 174) is, according to Mr. Bulmer, *Koorn-goon.*

He adds that a friend of his, having decided on forming a new station, started from the Edward River with a lot of cattle, having with him several blacks. When the settler was about to return home, one of the young natives asked him if he would carry a letter to his—the black's—father, and on expressing his willingness to do so, the young man gave him a piece of stick, about one foot in length, which was covered with notches and lines. On reaching home, the settler went to the black's camp, and delivered the letter to the father, who thereon called together all the blacks that were living with him, and, to the settler's great surprise, read off from the stick a diary of the proceedings of the party day by day from their departure from the Edward River till their arrival at the new station, describing accurately the country through which they had travelled and the places where they had camped each night.

Eyre mentions that young men sent with messages of invitation to a distant tribe carry with them, as their credentials, long narrow nets made of string manufactured from the rush. These nets are left with the tribe they are sent to, and brought back again when the invitation is responded to.—Vol. II., pp. 219–20.

Stone Implements.

THE stone implements used by uncivilized races are necessarily regarded by archæologists and geologists with great interest. In many parts of Europe there are no traces of the ancient race that once occupied soil now the sites of luxurious cities but such as can be gathered from the stone axes and flint flakes which explorations from time to time discover.

The archæologist, by comparing these implements with others found in neighbouring lands, where they are associated with remains more perishable, but which happily have not altogether gone to decay, gains hints for his guidance in the endeavour to discern something of the life and habits and character of the men who made and used them. And he gains help too by comparing the celts with the instruments now used by savages.

The geologist finds that he has not embraced all that comes within the scope of his labors if he omits to give a distinct place in his system to those drifts where occur chips and flakes of flint and stones bearing the marks of an art which civilized men cannot practise with success.*

Whether regarded as objects which, if studied with care, may throw light on the condition of the ancient races who once peopled Europe and Asia long prior to the dawn of civilization, or as helping the geologist to a clearer view of the history of the earth's crust during the most recent period—in his eyes, as compared with former periods, but the records of yesterday's changes; in the

* "Indeed," as Professor Steenstrup well says, "these flakes are the result of such a small number of blows, they are so simple in appearance, that the art shown in their manufacture has generally been much underrated. Any one, however, who will try to make some for himself, while he will probably be very unsuccessful, will at least learn a valuable lesson in the appreciation of flint implements."—*Pre-Historic Times* (Lubbock), p. 193.

"Many of the stone weapons and implements made by the Australian Aborigines are far superior in construction to the rude flint implements found in the European drift. The spear-heads in particular of some of the tribes are beautifully-finished articles, and conclusively prove that those who made them must have possessed an almost marvellous manual dexterity. In Captain King's account of his visit to Hanover Bay, he says:—'What chiefly attracted our attention was a small bundle of bark, tied up with more than usual care; and upon opening it we found it contained several spear-heads, most ingeniously and curiously made of stone; they were about six inches in length, and were terminated by a very sharp point. Both sides were serrated in a most surprising way. The serrature was evidently made by a sharp stroke with some instrument; but it was effected without leaving the least mark of the blow. The stone was covered with red pigment, and appeared to be a flinty slate. These spear-heads were ready for fixing; and the careful manner in which they were preserved plainly showed their value; for each was separated by slips of bark, and the sharp edges protected by a covering of fur. Their hatchets were also made of the same stone, the edges of which were so sharp that a few blows served to chop off the branches of a tree.'"—*Australian Discovery and Colonization*, by Samuel Bennett, p. 280.

eyes of the archæologist, a day so far past that the lapse of time can scarcely be measured by years—: in what way soever these implements are looked at, it cannot be denied that they have a higher significance and a greater value than perhaps any other weapons or tools used by savages.

Knowing full well the importance of the questions involved, I have exerted my best energies to gather together stone implements from all parts of Australia. These will be described, and such information respecting them will be given as, it is hoped, may clear up some points now obscure.

The stone implements used by the natives are as follows :—

(*a*) Hatchets.
(*b*) Knives.
(*c*) Adzes.
(*d*) Chips of basalt for jagged spears.
(*e*) Chips of basalt for cutting and scraping skins of animals, &c.
(*f*) Stones for pounding roots, seeds, &c.
(*g*) Stones for sharpening spears and hatchets.
(*h*) Stones for fishing.
(*i*) Stones used by women in making baskets.
(*j*) Stones from which ruddle, &c., are obtained.
(*k*) Sacred stones kept by priests and others.

The hatchets are of various forms, and differ in size and weight; but those of the Victorian natives are nearly all of the same general character. They are provided with wooden handles, as a rule; and the handles are, in Victoria, all of the same shape, and they are fastened to the stone uniformly with cord and gum.*

The rocks used for making tomahawks are granite, porphyry, diorite, basalt, lava, metamorphosed sandstone, hard sandstone, dense quartzite resembling hornstone, and granular quartzite. I have seen but few implements made of vein-quartz. The porphyries and diorites are preferred, and nearly all the best tomahawks in my collection are of diorite.

According to Mr. G. H. F. Ulrich, F.G.S., sixty-four tomahawks in my collection may be classed as follows :—

Greenstone and dense diorite	18
Aphanite	13
Nephritic greenstone	2
Porphyritic rock	4
Dense black anamesite	1
Black basalt	1
Felspathic granite (leptynite)	1
Metamorphic rock	14
Quartzite	8
Hard siliceous sandstone	2

* Mr. A. W. Howitt informs me that the natives of Cooper's Creek do not fasten wooden handles to the stone. They grasp the tomahawk with the fingers and thumb, holding the blunt end in the hollow of the hand, and use it in cutting exactly as the Tasmanians used the chips of chert which served them as hatchets.

Of those composed of metamorphic rock, four specimens are from Gippsland, two from the River Powlett (on the borders of Gippsland), one from Western Port, one from the Goulburn Valley, three from the Yarra, one from Swan Hill, one from Bacchus Marsh, and one from a locality unknown. It would seem, therefore, that the natives of Gippsland either preferred the hard pebbles of metamorphic rock, which are to be found abundantly in the beds of their streams, or had little commerce with the Western tribes, amongst whom the greenstone axes were common. The natives of Gippsland were always regarded by their neighbours as "wild blacks;" and it is possible that the interchange of weapons and implements, which in early times was quite an important business between the natives of the south and those of the north, was not carried on with the Gippsland people. Other facts well known to the early settlers support this view.

In some places in Victoria there are seen the quarries where in former times the natives broke out the trappean rocks for their hatchets. Large areas are covered with the débris resulting from their labors; and it is stated, on good evidence, that natives from far distant parts were deputed to visit these quarries, and carry away stone for implements. When one or two natives were selected by a distant tribe to make a journey for the purpose of procuring diorite or basalt from such quarries, they carried with them credentials, showing exactly their object. If they faithfully pursued that object, and tarried no longer in any place than was necessary, they appear to have been allowed to proceed without molestation, and to have been treated as guests—not always as welcome guests, but with such protection as the host gives to those that, perhaps unwillingly, he entertains. If, however, they interfered in the quarrels of any tribe, violated any custom, or seemed not really anxious to hasten the journey, they were treated as enemies, and sometimes pursued and killed.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the native tribes of Victoria within the boundaries of whose lands there was neither diorite nor basalt were altogether dependent on their neighbours for supplies of stone. Many of them made hatchets of the rocks which they broke out of sandstone quarries, and, though far inferior to those made of trappean rocks, were nevertheless effective on ordinary occasions.

It is certain that the natives often bartered skins, spears, shields, and other things for stone.

Hatchets made of diorite are possessed by tribes occupying the wide Tertiaries which stretch north of the River Murray, where for many miles no rock is to be seen. These, or the material of which they are made, could have been obtained only by favor or by barter, or from enemies captured or slain in battle. Their young men may have been permitted to visit the quarries in the south or east, and to take away stone, but it is at least probable that they paid something for the privilege.*

* In the *Life and Adventures of William Buckley* the tomahawks used by the natives of Victoria and the mode in which the stone was obtained are thus described:—"The heads of these instruments are made from a hard black stone, split into a convenient thickness, without much regard to shape. This they rub with a very rough granite stone until it is brought to a very fine, thin

In the extensive tracts occupied by sands and clays, and in which no stone fit for tools is to be obtained, the natives must have cast wistful eyes towards the more favored localities where all the best materials for stone implements are to be found; and one may conjecture how they would humble themselves and entreat those who could supply them with good materials. Their best feathers, their best woods, their favorite skins, and even their wives and daughters, would be offered in exchange for the basalts and diorites which occur on and in the neighbourhood of the Great Range.

The stone tomahawk is all-important to the native, and in some districts he could scarcely maintain existence without it.

The natives of Victoria, according to the information I have obtained, appear to have used the one-edged tomahawk exclusively.* I have not found a single example of the two-edged tomahawk in Victoria. Their *Merring*, *Karr-geing*, *Kal-baling-elarek*, or *Kul-bul-en-ur-uk*, in this respect, and also in its being ground and sharpened, differs from the tomahawk of the West Australian natives, which is made of granular quartzose granite or of quartz-rock, and fashioned by repeated blows until the desired shape is attained. It will be seen, too, that the wooden handle is different.

The opinion entertained by many archæologists that ground and polished tools belong to the Neolithic period, and those made by successive blows to the Palæolithic period, is reasonable enough, and probably, as regards some extinct races, true; but we have here in Australia, on the east, highly-polished implements, and on the west, in districts where rocks susceptible of polish are not to be obtained, rude stone axes made by a succession of blows. There is no method by which we can distinguish a difference of period if we examine stone implements. In the hands of a native of Australia you see a highly-polished stone axe of diorite and a knife or adze of granular quartzite or porcelainite made by blows, and which could not be easily ground by any contrivance

edge, and so hard and sharp as to enable them to fell a very large tree with it. There is only one place that I ever heard of in that country where this hard and splitting stone is to be had. The natives call it *Kar-keen*, and say that it is at a distance of three hundred miles from the coast inland. The journey to fetch them is therefore one of great danger and difficulty—the tribes who inhabit the immediate localities being very savage and hostile to all others. . . . . They vary in weight from four to fourteen pounds; the handles being thick pieces of wood split and then doubled up, the stone being in the bend and fixed with gum, very carefully prepared for the purpose, so as to make it perfectly secure when bound round with sinews."

This description is sufficiently accurate. The hard black stone was no doubt diorite or basalt, and the rock on which the axe was ground a very rough sandstone. Mr. G. S. Lang says that the natives called St. Kilda *Euro-Yoroke*, which was the name of the sandstone found there, and used by them to fashion and sharpen their stone tomahawks. The statement that the stone was found at a distance of three hundred miles from the coast is valueless; the natives could not convey even approximately a notion of a distance so great. They must have said it was *Wirrate-wirrate bullarto*—a long way off—perhaps thirty miles or more. That the natives of Australia travelled great distances for the purpose of procuring stones is certain, but not in Victoria.

* Lieut. Breton, R.N., in his *Excursions in New South Wales*, &c., 1830–3, gives figures of two-edged stone tomahawks which, he says, were used by the natives of New South Wales. They are like those of the West Australians in some respects; but the edges appear to have been polished, and the wooden handles are double—not single and brought to a sharp point, as they are in West Australia.

available to him. Some of the axes are merely large pebbles, sharpened and polished at one end; others are evidently from a quarry, and made by blows given with skill and precision, so as to knock off flakes one by one until a scalpriform implement was obtained. The end of the stone was ground, the handle fitted to it, and the axe was then ready for use. Some of the axes made of sandstone appear to have been formed by grinding only.

In addition to the ordinary tomahawk, the natives of some parts of Victoria had large stone axes made of basaltic rock, which were used for splitting trees. One in my possession is eight inches in length, five inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness. It weighs four pounds eight and a half ounces. Implements of this size are very rare. One was found in trenching a garden at Ballarat by Mr. Samuel Hutson, on the 16th March 1864. It is described and figured in *Dicker's Mining Record.* Its length was eight inches, its largest diameter a little under four inches, and its weight about five pounds avoirdupois. Like that in my collection, it was of basaltic rock, and grooved for receiving the wooden handle.

It is scarcely possible to disturb any large area of the natural surface in Victoria without lighting on some of these weapons. In ploughing the ground they are often found and cast aside. In a small garden on the banks of the River Powlett in the County of Mornington, on the edge of the dense forest, four tomahawks were discovered; and indeed many of the old implements in my collection were got in digging or ploughing. And all over the country flakes of black basalt used for cleaning skins and for fitting into spear-heads are abundant. I have in some places collected in half an hour, from an old *Mirrn-yong* or midden near the sea-coast, as many small flakes (broken off in making tomahawks) as would fill a pint measure. Mr. Geo. H. F. Ulrich found a great number when engaged in making geological surveys. He says:—

"During the prosecution of the Geological Survey over the Castlemaine, Yandoit, and Mount Tarrangower districts, my attention was frequently attracted by the occurrence on the surface of small angular chips of a dense black rock that very much resembled Lydian stone, but on closer examination proved to be basalt.* The only place where this peculiar dense variety of

* This black, very compact, dense, hard, rather brittle basalt, with a flat conchoidal fracture, resembling Lydian stone, but containing minute grains of olivine porphyritically dispersed, has been analysed by Mr. Cosmo Newbery, with the following results—5 per cent. soluble in hydrochloric acid:—

	Soluble portion.	Insoluble portion.
Silica	34·80	63·39
Alumina	38·58	16·11
Manganese protoxide	trace	1·01
Iron sesquioxide	18·07	10·03
Lime	7·12	5·26
Magnesia	trace	3·41
Potash }	—	2·21
Soda }		
Titanic acid	—	0·63
Water	1·43	—
Oxide of copper	—	trace
	100·00	102·05

basalt has as yet been observed *in situ* is near the Little Coliban River, about seven miles west of Kyneton, and it forms there apparently irregular thin layers and disconnected patches in the common grey vesicular doleritic basalt of the district.*

Concerning the mode of occurrence of the chips—I observed them most abundantly on the slopes of softly-rising hills, in some places several inches beneath the surface, but also on the surface and in crevices of outcropping rocks on the tops of the highest Silurian ranges in the Fryer's Creek, Yandoit, Mount Tarrangower, and other districts—quite into the dense forest. In fact they appear so generally distributed that any one, I believe, whose attention has been directed to them, could not fail to find one or more or several of these chips on any route he might choose through the ranges mentioned. Their mode of transport to such heights and distances, exceeding thirty miles from the Little Coliban River, was an interesting puzzle to me for a long time. The wild idea of considering them as having been carried over the country in consequence of submersion and tilting of the strata beneath the sea first presented itself, and was, of course, soon discarded; and the proposition for some time gained favor that they might have been transported and scattered by emus, whose proclivity for swallowing hard angular bodies to aid digestion is well known. However, the finding near the Muckleford Creek of a pretty large piece of the rock, and near it a number of smaller ones, all with at least one, and some with two sharp knife-like edges, solved the riddle, in proving conclusively that human hands had been at work there.

No doubt these chips have, during past generations, been carried about, and lost or thrown away by the Aboriginals of the country, who used them instead of knives for fashioning their wooden weapons, skinning opossums, and other work requiring cutting and scraping."

Any one who will take the trouble to examine the country as Mr. Ulrich has done will corroborate the statements made by him. Most of the flakes and fragments are such as were struck off by the Aboriginals when shaping their tomahawks; but not a few were made expressly for scraping the skins of beasts taken in the chase, for fitting into the heads of spears, and for knives or adzes.

When Mr. Ulrich was examining the mineral districts of South Australia, he observed that chips and flakes of basalt were to be found in almost every locality. He sent me one—a chip struck off in forming a tomahawk, as suggested by the natives to whom I submitted it for examination—which he picked up on a low rise twelve miles north of Pekina, about three hundred miles north of Adelaide. Broken tomahawks, broken adzes, chips and flakes of basalt, and near the coast old *Mirrn-yong* heaps, which for ages have been covered with drift-sand, are from time to time discovered. All these show that the Aboriginals, living in exactly the same state as they were found when

* Similar patches occur in the Newer Volcanic rock at Malmsbury, associated with small irregular bands of hematite. Good specimens have been collected and sent to me by Mr. Shakespeare.

Australia was first discovered by Europeans, have been for periods incalculable the possessors of the soil.*

Mr. E. J. Dunn made a large and valuable collection of stone implements when engaged in geological researches. He says :—"When connected with the Geological Survey at Maldon, Clunes, and other places, I took great interest in the relics of the blacks, and spent many days in hunting about the low ranges for tomahawks, in which pursuit I was moderately successful. I have between forty and fifty broken and whole ones, several sharpening-stones, and some pounds weight of chips of a great variety of rocks, though black basalt predominates. The tomahawks are nearly all of greenstone; the others are of porphyry or metamorphic sandstone. Nine-tenths of the broken heads have the shape shown in Fig. 175. When no stone was available in the immediate neighbourhood of their haunts, they carried thither pieces of a few pounds weight for many miles."

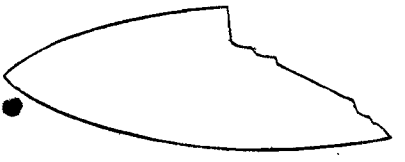


FIG. 175.
(Longitudinal section at right-angles to the cutting edge.)

Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray, a Geological Surveyor employed by the Government, informs me that he has found stones in the *Mirrn-yong* heaps near

* In all other countries where the natural surface has not been interfered with, such remains may be sought for. The following extract from Mr. Blandford's work on Abyssinia is of peculiar interest when considered in connection with the facts above stated :—"In many places small chips of obsidian are found scattered about, frequently far from any locality where the rock is met with *in situ*. From their peculiar form, and the nature of the facets, there can be little or no hesitation in attributing these to human manufacture. They are evidently the chips struck off in the process of manufacturing stone implements, and are perfectly identical in shape with similar chips found extensively in Europe and India. A few were met with near Zulla, some were picked up on the highlands, and two or three in the neighbourhood of Magdala. But a much larger number were found at Rairo, near Af Abed in the Habab, in the centre of a granitoid country, and with no volcanic formation nearer than the hills between Ain and the sea, at least twenty miles distant. The fragments found are of no special beauty; no well-formed implements were obtained; and the occurrence of such chips is simply interesting as adding one more to the numerous countries in which traces of the early use of rude stone implements by mankind have hitherto been found."—*Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia*, by W. T. Blandford, F.G.S., &c.

Earl says :—"The relics of a people who are supposed to have been of an anterior race to the present inhabitants are found in many parts of Java, and a description of several specimens of ancient instruments, accompanied by figures, is given in the *Natuurkundige Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie* for the year 1850. Some of these figures represent the exact form of the spear-heads of slate and 'baked sandstone' which are in common use among the natives of the northern parts of Australia, and are made by the natives of the interior, who understand the art of splitting them from the rough pieces with a few blows of an axe or hammer of greenstone."

Similar ancient implements are found in China, where they are venerated as relics of ancestors; and Darwin states that "in all parts of Europe, as far east as Greece, in Palestine, India, Japan, New Zealand, and Africa, including Egypt, flint tools have been discovered in abundance; and of their use the existing inhabitants retain no tradition. There is also indirect evidence of their former use by the Chinese and ancient Jews."

Many of the stone axes found in Europe, as figured and described by Darwin, Wilson, Lubbock, and others, differ little from the tomahawks used in Victoria. The stone axe of the St. Enoch's Croft canoe, made of highly-polished dark greenstone, figured in Wilson's *Pre-Historic Man*, is certainly an implement more completely finished than those usually found in Australia. The axe was discovered in 1780 in a canoe on the banks of the Clyde, at a depth of twenty-five feet below the surface. From its shape, one would suppose that it had not been fitted with a wooden handle.

Shelford. The stones were basalt, and those in some ovens on Silurian ground had been carried thither by the blacks, who had evidently recognised the superior heat-enduring and heat-retaining properties of that rock. Mr. Etheridge, formerly of the Geological Survey, noticed the same facts in the McIvor district, and stated that he saw there, in ovens, fragments of basalt that must have been carried several miles.

The stone implements used by the natives of Tasmania are described in another place. From information most kindly communicated by Ronald Gunn, Esq., F.R.S., Dr. Agnew, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Tasmania, and the Rev. Mr. Kane, it appears that the natives of that island had no stone implements that can be regarded as tomahawks. They used stones roughly shaped by blows, so as to get a cutting edge, for skinning animals, cleaning skins, shaping clubs, &c.; but they were not fastened to wooden handles, as the Australian axes are.

It will be seen, on referring to the detailed descriptions of the Australian axes, that many of them are very beautiful implements, well-formed, well-balanced, and with cutting edges of equal finely-executed curves. They indeed, in the best examples, greatly resemble, in the form of the cutting edge, the American axe, which is considered by woodmen the best implement of this kind that has yet been invented.

It is remarkable that no stone hatchet, chip of basalt, or stone knife has been found anywhere in Victoria except on the surface of the ground or a few inches beneath the surface. It is true that fragments of tomahawks and bone-needles have been dug out of *Mirrn-yong* heaps on the sea-coast, covered wholly or partially by blown sand; but though some hundreds of square miles of alluvia have been turned over in mining for gold, not a trace of any work of human hands has been discovered. Some of the drifts are not more than three or four feet in thickness (from the surface to the bed-rock), and the fact that no Aboriginal implement, no bone belonging to man, has been met with, is startling and perplexing.

Within quite recent periods—at various times since the colony was occupied by the white race—large rivers, like the Snowy River in Gippsland, have in some places changed their beds; creeks have cut through bends of a horse-shoe shape, and rivulets have made for themselves new channels. Such old beds and channels in many parts have been completely dug over by gold-miners, and the detritus and débris have been washed; but, as far as I know, there has not been recorded any discovery of native implements. In much older gravels, clays, and sands, underlying Recent Volcanic rocks, where occur fossil fruits belonging to genera now found only in the northern parts of Australia, the miner has carried his explorations; but nothing belonging to man has been seen. More recent deposits, in which are imbedded trunks of trees, and where the cones of the *Banksia*, leaves of several species of eucalypts, and remains of marsupials, are of common occurrence, are likewise barren. The tracts where, over a large area, volcanic ash, some thirty or forty feet in thickness, overlies a grass-clad surface once trod by the native dog, and on which his bones are found, retain no trace of the native. Even the caves

which have been explored exhibit no other than very recent evidences of the existence of the race. All this is the more extraordinary, when we take into consideration the fact, already stated, that old tomahawks, chips of basalt, &c., are widely scattered over the surface of every part of Australia that has yet been visited by Europeans.

If only small portions of the alluvia in Victoria had been excavated—if the country had not been occupied for twenty years by many thousands of miners, who have washed the gravels down to the bed-rock in innumerable shallow gullies—the non-discovery of relics might have been easily accounted for; but in this country the spots most likely to conceal them have been laid bare.*

Dr. Day, of Geelong, sent me, through Mr. J. A. Panton, a collection of bone-needles found in the garden of Mr. Currie, near Camperdown. They are evidently very ancient, and it was supposed at first that they had been obtained from some one of the younger Tertiaries; but on making enquiries, Dr. Day ascertained that they had been uncovered by Mr. Currie's gardener when trenching, and that with them were numerous human skulls and other bones—proving that the spot had been an ancient burial-place of one of the Western tribes.

Hatchets.

The tomahawk shown in Fig. 176 (*a* and *b*) is that commonly used by the Aborigines of the Yarra. The stone is a dense quartzite, resembling

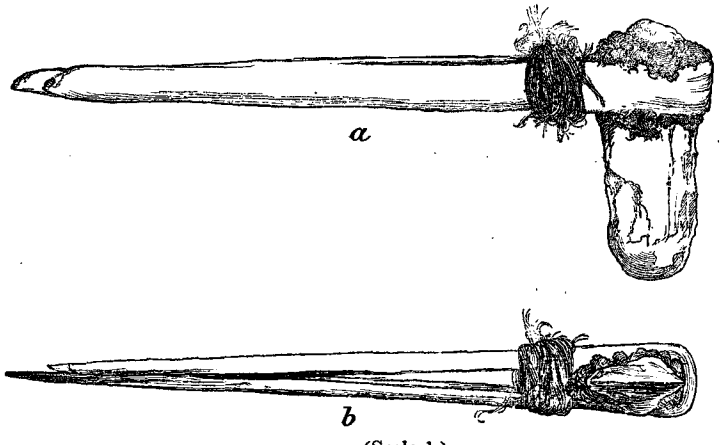


FIG. 176.—(Scale ¼.)

† This is true as regards Victoria—no stone implements have as yet been discovered in the drifts; but in Bennett's admirable *History of Australian Discovery and Colonization* it is stated that, as "a conclusive proof of the vast antiquity of this mode of making and sharpening the axe [*i.e.*, by rubbing or grinding the rudely-formed axe on a flat stone] is afforded by the fact that, in sinking wells and other excavations in the Hunter Valley, flat rocks with these axe-marks on their surfaces have been discovered at the depth of thirty feet or more below the present surface-level, and covered with drift or alluvium, which, in all probability, must have taken thousands of years to accumulate."—*The History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, p. 263.

It is nowhere recorded, however, as far as I can gather, that any stone axe or chip has been found at any depth below the surface-soil in Australia.

hornstone, with a splintery fracture. It appears to have been shaped by well-directed blows. It has a keen, well-polished cutting edge. The stone is five inches in length, two in breadth, and about three-quarters of an inch in thickness. The wooden handle is fifteen inches in length, and is well and firmly fixed to the stone. Though the gum used in fixing the head to the handle is now cracked and crumbling, the union is perfect, the wood having been originally well heated and moistened and made to grasp the stone closely. The handle, near the head, is strongly bound with the fibres of the stringybark. The weight of this implement is thirteen and a half ounces.

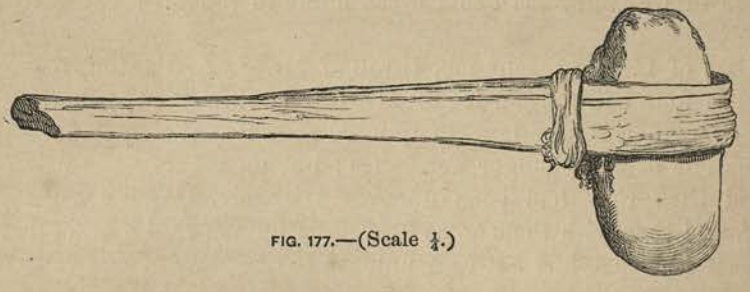


FIG. 177.—(Scale ¼.)

In Fig. 177 is shown a well-made tomahawk from Lake Tyers in Gippsland. The stone is greenstone (dense diorite), of very even texture, and appears to have been taken nearly in the form in which it is seen now from a river-bed. The cutting edge has been ground and polished, but in other respects it has not been altered. It is six inches in length, two and a half inches in breadth, and one inch in thickness. The wooden handle is fifteen inches in length; and the weight of the whole is one pound five and a quarter ounces. As the handle could not be made to embrace the stone so closely as to prevent some movement, pieces of stringybark have been inserted between the wood and the stone, and near the head the handle is bound with the sinews of some animal. No gum was used in effecting a junction.

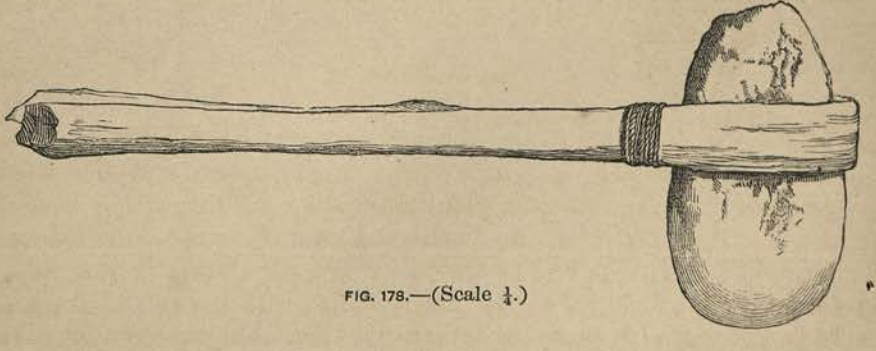


FIG. 178.—(Scale ¼.)

Another tomahawk from Lake Tyers (Fig. 178) is also an excellent implement. The stone is a hard metamorphic schist, very dense and heavy. It is more or less polished all over the surface, and it is now difficult to say whether it was found originally nearly in the shape in which we see it or was wrought into form by hand. It has a good cutting edge, and the curves

are as good as those of the best American axes. It is six and a half inches in length, three and a quarter inches in breadth at the broadest part, and nearly one inch and a quarter in thickness. The wooden handle is firmly fixed to the stone without gum or stringybark wedges. The weight is one pound twelve and a half ounces.

A Victorian tomahawk, exactly like many of those used in the north-western parts of New South Wales and in Queensland, is shown in Fig. 179.

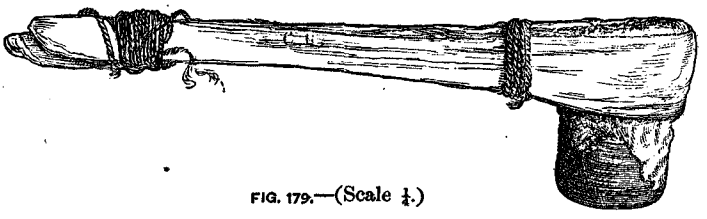


FIG. 179.—(Scale ¼.)

The wooden handle is stout, and is fastened with gum and cord. The part grasped with the hand is also tied for better security.

Fig. 180 represents a stone tomahawk from the Burdekin River, North-Eastern Australia. It was in the possession of the late Mr. Matthew Hervey, and is an excellent, well-made implement, worthy of preservation. The stone is an altered slate. It has been made by striking off flakes; and the cutting edge is beautifully formed and highly polished. The head where the handle grasps it is covered with a gum obtained perhaps from the *xanthorrhœa*, and the junction is perfect. The wooden handle has been split from the strong

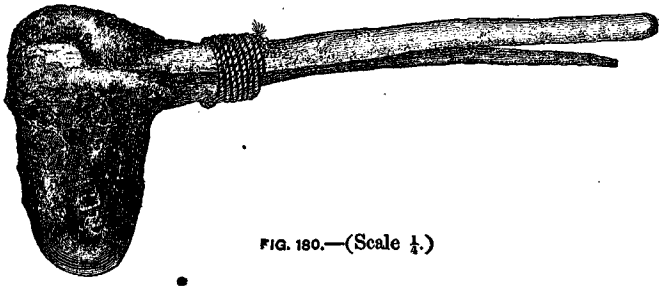


FIG. 180.—(Scale ¼.)

runner of some creeping plant. It is tough, very strong, and somewhat elastic. The cord which binds the two parts of the handle near the head is made of fibres obtained from the root of a plant resembling the lily, and is neatly and well twisted. This implement is, I believe, named *Karra-gain* by the natives of the Burdekin. This is one of the best native tomahawks I have seen. It was obtained from a wild tribe quite unacquainted with the arts of Europeans.

A large and rather remarkakle tomahawk (Fig. 181) was brought from the Munara district by Mr. J. A. Panton. The stone is a hard, very dense, dark-green aphanite (a fine-grained variety of diabase). It is beautifully polished quite up to the handle. The breadth is four inches and three-quarters, the length is five inches, and the thickness about an inch and a half. The handle is apparently of light wood, coarsely fashioned; and the twisted cord

with which it is tied is made of the fibres of some bulbous root. The gum is hard, and resembles that got from the *xanthorrhœa.* It is heavy and clumsy, but the grinding and polishing of the stone must have given much trouble to the artist. The weight of the implement is two pounds four and a

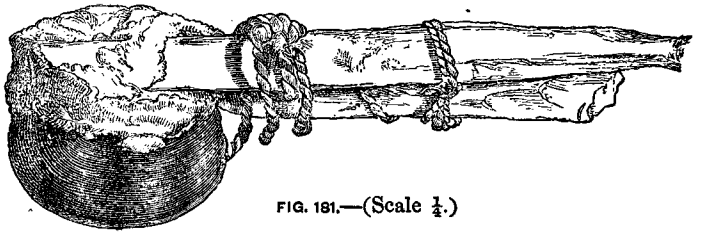


FIG. 181.—(Scale ¼.)

quarter ounces. It is probable that it was used for splitting large trees; and in handling it and proving its strength, one is justified in supposing that it had been made for rough work of this kind, and not for cutting holes in climbing.

A very large stone implement (Fig. 182), in the possession of Mr. W. E. Stanbridge, is one of the most remarkable of all the stone weapons yet found in Victoria. It was discovered in a field at Daylesford. It is supposed to have been used for digging roots, and in sinking holes to get at the wombat. It was made by striking off flakes; but the cutting part is ground and polished. It appears to be a piece of metamorphosed sandstone. It is about fourteen inches in length, five inches in breadth, and rather more than one inch and three-quarters in thickness.

FIG. 182.—(Scale ⅛.)

The tomahawks in my collection which have been found at various times in the soil of gardens, in fields when they have been ploughed, or in *Mirrn-yong* heaps, or on the surface of the ground, or in the beds of streams, are of course without handles. Many of them, as will be seen from the figures and descriptions, are remarkably well made; and the differences in form and mode of manufacture are so great as to make one regard them with much interest. Only those which illustrate most completely the art of this people are figured; others are described in words only.

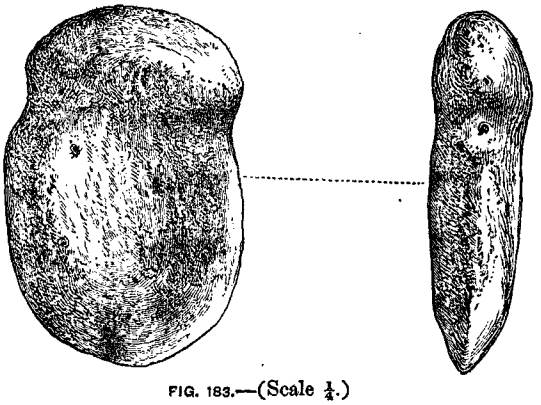


FIG. 183.—(Scale ¼.)

One large axe-head in my collection (Fig. 183) was dug out of a *Mirrn-yong* heap at Lake Condah by Mr. John Green. Its weight is four pounds eight and a half ounces. Its length is eight inches, its breadth five inches, and its thickness rather

more than two inches. It is grooved so as to admit of the wooden handle being firmly attached to it. It is so much decomposed on the surface as to be easily scratched with the nail, and must have lain covered by the charcoal and the soil of the *Mirrn-yong* heap for an immense period of time. The thickness of the decomposed outer layer (clay ironstone) is about one-sixteenth of an inch; and when a small portion of this was removed, the rock proved to be a basalt or greenstone. *Wye-wye-a-nine*, a native of the Murray, informs me that axes of this kind were used for splitting open large trees, so as to get out opossums from the hollows, when it was impossible to reach them in any other way. The name of the implement is *Pur-ut-three*. Fitted with a suitable handle, the weight would not be less than six or seven pounds. This is a rare form of the tomahawk, and the specimen here figured is undoubtedly very ancient.

The stone axe (Fig. 184) from Coranderrk looks like a pebble from a brook. It seems to have been formed, not by striking off flakes, but by notching it. It is a hard, dense, black greenstone (like aphanite), and how it was notched I cannot imagine. Its weight is one pound one and a half ounces. Its length is six inches and a half, its breadth two inches and a quarter, and its thickness one inch and a half. In section it is lenticular. The cutting edge has symmetrical curves, and the lower part is highly polished. There is a hollow on one side of the upper part of the stone, made probably for attaching the handle with security. This is in all respects an implement of a highly-interesting character. It is in excellent preservation, and the edge is very sharp.

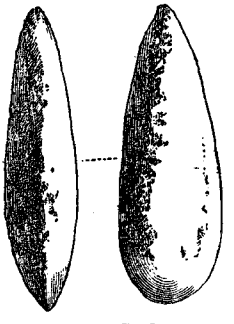


FIG. 184.—(Scale ½.)

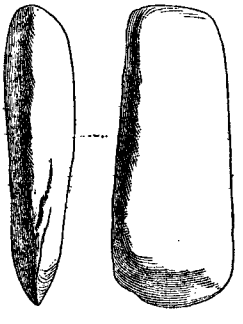


FIG. 185.—(Scale ½.)

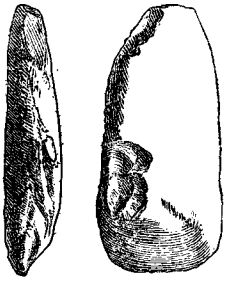


FIG. 186.—(Scale ½.)

The implement from Lake Tyers (Fig. 185) is a piece of hard granular metamorphic sandstone. Its length is six inches and a half, its breadth two inches and a half, and its thickness one inch and a quarter. Its surfaces are flat, but at the cutting edge it has the usual curves. Its weight is one pound two and a quarter ounces. It is evidently a very old implement. When this instrument was shown to *Wye-wye-a-nine*, he said it was *Tal-kook*—very good—and one of the best in the collection.

Another axe from Lake Tyers (Fig. 186) is a hard, nearly black, metamorphic sandstone, from the vicinity, probably, of some mass of granite. It weighs one pound, and is six inches in length, two inches and a half in breadth, and one inch in thickness. It is a clumsy, ill-made weapon. The cutting edge is roughly formed and not symmetrical, though highly polished. It appears to have been a water-worn fragment obtained from a river-bed.

A mutilated tomahawk, with a beautifully-curved cutting edge (Fig. 187), was obtained by Major Couchman when engaged in surveying Pental Island, on the River Murray. It is a fine granular—nearly dense—quartzite.

A small tomahawk obtained from the Yarra tribe (Fig. 188) is rudely fashioned from a block by striking off flakes. The cutting part is well ground and polished, and when fitted with a handle it must have been a handy and useful instrument. The rock is aphanite, and the axe is only three inches and a quarter in length. Its weight is seven and a quarter ounces.

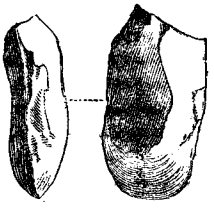


FIG. 187.—(Scale ½.)

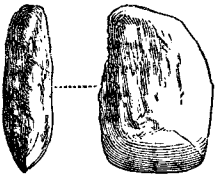


FIG. 188.—(Scale ½.)

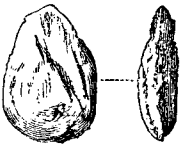


FIG. 189.—(Scale ½.)

A very small greenstone axe, found in the neighbourhood of Kilmore (Fig. 189), has a polished cutting edge; but the edge itself is much chipped and jagged, perhaps because the grinding and polishing were never completed, or because of rough usage after completion. Its weight is three ounces. Its length is only two inches and a half, its breadth in the broadest part less than two inches, and its thickness no more than three quarters of an inch. This is the smallest tomahawk in the collection.

In Fig. 190 is shown a tomahawk of greenstone (resembling serpentine), roughly shaped by chipping, and partly ground in one part. It was found in the neighbourhood of the quarry at Lancefield, where stone suitable for these implements was in former times dug out by the natives. It appears to have been partly formed, and then, being found unsuitable, thrown away by the natives. Its weight is ten and three-quarter ounces. It is interesting as showing the form which these implements presented after chipping, and before being ground and polished, and affords a notion of the immense labor the natives must have bestowed in giving to a roughly-chipped axe the proper shape and polish. To shape this fragment into a good axe would, without mechanical appliances, require the hard labor of many days.

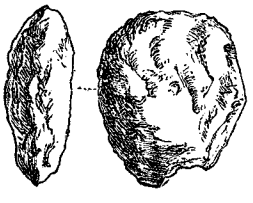


FIG. 190.—(Scale ½.)

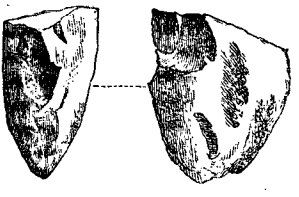
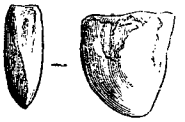


FIG. 191.—(Scale ½.)

Another roughly-shaped axe (Fig. 191) was found in the same locality. No attempt has been made to grind or polish it. The upper part appears to have been accidentally broken off, probably when chipping it. The material is a metamorphic siliceous sandstone (knotted sandstone).

Fragments of highly-polished stone axes, such as are commonly found in the low ranges running down towards creeks and in scrubby lands, are shown in Figs. 192, 193, and 194. These have been struck off when axes have been used with violence, or have accidentally struck a rock when a blow has been aimed at a branch lying on the ground, or at some animal when the native has failed to capture it. Great numbers of such fragments are found in nearly all parts of the colony. The stones are greenstone, of fine, even texture. The largest fragment is not more than two inches in length, and one inch and a half in breadth. These are altogether different from the flakes struck off in forming tomahawks, which are still more numerous.



FIGS. 192,

193,

194.

(Scale ¼.)

A very thin axe, of dense siliceous metamorphic rock, about three inches and a half in length, and two inches and a half in breadth, was presented to me by Mr. John Saunders, of Bacchus Marsh. He states that it was found in a native oven (*Mirrn-yong*), on the banks of the River Werribee, by Mr. C. Mahoney, about twenty-four years ago. There were found also in the same heap some human bones, which were recognised as part of the skull and the lower-jaw of an Aboriginal, and with these remains were bones of the kangaroo, &c. The implement has a sharp cutting edge, and when fitted with a handle must have been a very good instrument, and useful in cutting holes in the bark when climbing trees, and for shaping shields, spears, &c. It is a very ancient instrument, though not nearly so old as some others in my collection.

A beautiful axe, of dense aphanite, made by striking off flakes, was given to me by Mr. Alfred Chenery, of Delatite. It is four inches in length, an inch and a half in breadth, and rather more than an inch in thickness. The curves of the cutting edge are symmetrical and highly polished. There is no implement in my collection which more completely exhibits the skill of the Aborigines than this; but as another equally good and of the same character is figured in this work, it is unnecessary to give a drawing of it. It is a light and very good tomahawk.

A tomahawk of aphanite greenstone, in part slightly fine granular, rudely formed, and with an unsymmetrical cutting edge, was presented by the same gentleman. It was found near the River Delatite, and belonged probably to the men of the same tribe who had fashioned the axe above described.

Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray, one of the Geological Surveyors employed by the Department of Mines, found near Alexandra, in the same district in which Mr. Alfred Chenery's tomahawks were discovered, a small axe of very fine, dense, metamorphic micaceous rock, much resembling a variety of gneiss called cornubianite. It is pitted, owing to the Fahlunitic minerals on the surface having decomposed. The edge is not sharp, but an effort has been made to polish the whole of the surface of it. It is a fragment; but it shows that the natives experimented with different stones, and when necessities were great,

took those that were most easily to be got. Mr. Murray says that the fragment was probably broken off during use, and that it must have been carried many miles, as no stone of a similar character is found in the district.

An axe of an unusual form (Fig. 195) was dug out of a garden at Winchelsea. It is much weathered and decomposed on the surface, and is exactly like a piece of Mesozoic sandstone, but on taking off a small portion of the crust it is seen to be a bluish-grey dioritic rock. It is polished all over, and must at one time have had a very keen cutting edge. It is deeply grooved in the place to be grasped by the wooden handle, and for greater security there is a projecting point or shoulder on that side where the wooden handle would be fastened with sinews. It is four inches in length, three inches and three-quarters in breadth, and one inch and three-quarters in thickness. On one side the groove is highly polished by the friction of the wooden handle. It must have lain in the soil a very long time. The whole surface is decomposed to the depth of one-sixteenth of an inch. Its weight is fourteen ounces.

A tomahawk, in shape somewhat like that shown in Fig. 195, but not grooved for the handle, and of a smaller size, was found near Geelong. It is a hard, dense, nearly black, quartzite, resembling greenstone. The curved surfaces of the cutting edge are good, and highly polished. It is three inches in length, and rather more than two in breadth. It is one inch and a half in thickness, and weighs eight ounces and a half.

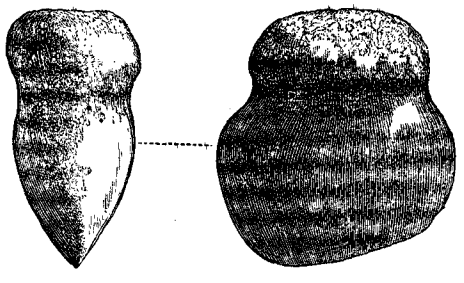


FIG. 195.—(Scale ½.)

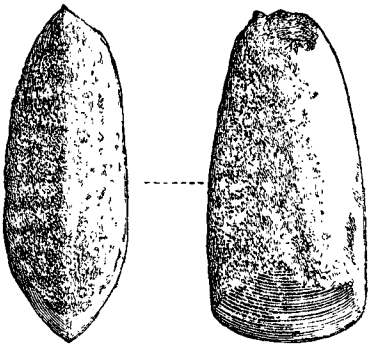


FIG. 196.—(Scale ½.)

Mr. Alfred Howitt sent me a well-formed axe (Fig. 196), which was found in cutting a race on the Dargo River. Mr. Browne, the claimholder, who discovered this and another tomahawk in making excavations for the race, informed Mr. Howitt that they were buried about a foot deep in the soil and fine gravel. The locality is the crest of a steep spur immediately below a capping of volcanic rock, and a dense scrub covers the whole place. It is not possible to form an estimate of the age of the tomahawks, but it is certain that they must be very ancient. The implement is five inches in length, two inches and a half in breadth, and nearly two inches in thickness. The cutting edge, like that of others of the best kind, exhibits beautiful curves, and it is now so sharp as to cut hard wood easily. It looks like a water-worn stone from a river-bed, and has not been altered at all except at the cutting edge.

which is ground and highly polished. The stone resembles hornfels, and is, in all probability, a water-worn fragment of metamorphic rock from the near neighbourhood of granite. This axe was much admired by *Wye-nye-a-nine*, who, when he saw it, said—*Tal-kook*—very good. Its weight is one pound three ounces and a quarter; and, when fitted with a good handle, it must have been a most excellent implement.

A large stone tomahawk, in the possession of Mr. G. C. Darbyshire, which he has permitted me to examine and figure for this work (Fig. 197), is, it is believed, from the Darling district. It has been formed by striking off flakes, and the skill and precision with which this has been done cannot be properly represented by any drawing. It is a beautiful implement, with a highly-polished and very sharp cutting edge. The gum used in fixing the handle still adheres to it, and the stone is not in the least decomposed in any part. The material is a dense dark-green quartzite, resembling hornstone. It is seven inches in length, three inches and a quarter in breadth, and the greatest thickness is one inch and a half. It weighs one pound nine ounces and three-quarters. Though it may be said that this axe is roughly hewn, the blows have been given with so much precision as to excite surprise, having regard to the material of which it is composed. With all the help of good tools, I question whether any European could make a better axe if he had a rough block of quartzite given to him for the experiment.

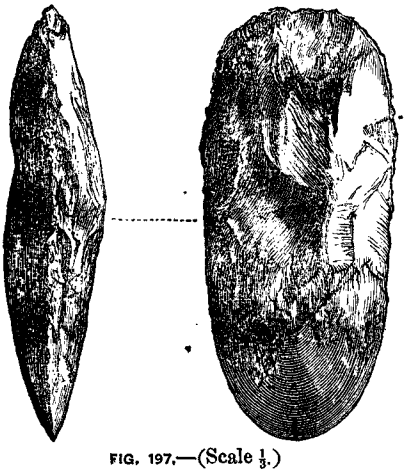


FIG. 197.—(Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.)

When I was at Mr. Fehan's out-station on the River Powlett, I asked the manager, Mr. Bees, whether any stone implements had been found in the district, and on his informing me that some had been turned up in digging the garden (a piece of land about a quarter of an acre in extent, and having a steep slope towards the river), I wrote to Mr. Fehan asking him to procure, if possible, any specimens of this kind. He replied promptly and courteously, and sent me five stone axes, all of which, I understand, had been found in the garden. The area now known as the Wild Cattle Run must have been, in past times, a favorite resort of the natives. It was probably debatable land, and certainly, if the oldest accounts given by the natives are to be trusted, the scene of many battles between the Western Port blacks and the tribes of South-Western Gippsland. In these encounters it is not unlikely that implements were often lost, but still it is remarkable that so many as five stone axes should have been found in digging up the surface of a small area.

One of the axes is evidently very ancient. It has been split in using it, and then thrown away. It has lain so long in the ground that it is now pitted all over, both on the polished side and on that which has been broken. It is a

piece of metamorphic nodular schist, and the Fahlunitic minerals are decomposed and washed out. The siliceous base alone is left on the surface.

Another, of felsite porphyry, is also ancient. It is almost perfect. A small piece is broken off the cutting edge.

A flat, nearly square axe of very fine granular dense diorite greenstone has a good cutting edge, but the grinding extends over a surface no more than half an inch on each side. This implement is altogether different from the hatchets now used.

The fourth—of metamorphic sandstone, like quartzite—has been formed by striking off flakes. It is well ground, has a good edge, and is evidently more recent than any of the others found in the garden.

The fifth—of dense quartzite—is an excellent implement, and from the appearance of the upper part, where the wooden handle was fixed, has probably been disused but for a comparatively short time. Its weight is one pound nine and three-quarter ounces—nearly double the weight of any of the others.

A very small tomahawk, of fine-grained dense siliceous metamorphic sandstone, was found by one of Mr. Robert Anderson's servants in the "Cups," at Cape Schanck. It has a remarkably good edge. It is one of the best axes in my collection.

Three small, neatly made axes, with well-polished cutting edges, sent to me by the Honorable Theodotus J. Sumner, M.L.C., were found near Tyabb, on the western shore of Western Port. One is of aphanite, and two of metamorphic rock.

One sent from Coranderrk is of aphanite—small, ill-shaped, but with a keen edge; and another, of very fine-grained siliceous sandstone, is triangular, and when fitted with a handle must have been a very useful implement.

At Green Hills, near Mooroolbark, Mr. William Turner found two axes—one somewhat flat, and made by striking off flakes, but with the usual well-ground cutting edge; and another nearly round, and with a narrow sharp edge. The latter is a piece of hard, dense, tough metamorphic rock.

The Honorable W. A. C. à'Beckett has sent me a small axe, found near Cranbourne. It is a dense aphanite, with, in places, a porphyritic texture. It has a cutting edge, and one side is flat and beautifully polished. One cannot say why this side was polished. The stone may have been used for grinding and polishing other axes. It is the only specimen of the kind I have seen.

Of the axes found near Melbourne I possess only two specimens. One—a very neatly-formed implement—was found in a paddock near my house. It is composed of fine-grained laminated felspathic granite, resembling leptynite or white stone. The edge is highly polished and very sharp. The other is unfinished. I picked it up many years ago in the bed of the Moonee Ponds (a creek). It is a fragment of metamorphic sandstone, chipped and shaped, but not ground.

I have obtained from Mr. Oct. Lloyd a small axe of very fine-grained hard greenstone, which he found near the Red Bluff at Brighton. It is a moderately good axe.

From the *Mirrn-yong* heaps on the shores of Cape Otway, Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray has sent me, together with other Aboriginal implements, two ancient stone axes. One, a fragment—much discolored, by having lain a great length of time in a mass of charcoal, burnt bones, and the like—is of black basalt. It is broken and disfigured, but one side of the cutting edge is well polished. The other—evidently, from its condition, from a *Mirrn-yong* heap, being blackened with charcoal—was found in a cart-rut. It is a good weapon, and the edge is very sharp. One side is nearly flat and slightly polished; the other side is convex. It is a dense black anamesite—intermediate between dolerite and basalt. Where the material for such axes was obtained one can but conjecture.

Mr. Geo. C. Darbyshire found at Audley, near Hamilton, in the western part of Victoria, a well-shaped, chipped, and partially ground axe of aphanite porphyry (felspar porphyrite). It is an unfinished implement, of a material rarely used.

In Section 3, Yarram Yarram, near the Jack Rivulet, in Gippsland, and on the site of an old native camp, Mr. John Ferres found an axe of aphanite. It is a rude hatchet with a heavy head. It has been made by chipping. The cutting edge is highly polished, but not sharp.

In the excavated gravel, near the site of the dam at Malmsbury, Mr. Davies found an axe of dense greenstone, with a ground cutting edge. The upper part is broken off. It is similar in shape to the axes used by the Loddon tribes. It is evidently an old implement, thrown away when it had become useless. One side is much flatter than the other, and it would appear to have been used in shaping and grinding other axes.

A large hatchet, weighing one pound seven and three-quarter ounces, was sent to me by Mr. John Filson, of Flemington. It was found at Kerang, on the Lower Loddon. It is formed of dense, hard, tough, nephritic greenstone. Its length is five and a half inches, and its breadth two and three-quarter inches. The corners are not rounded. The cutting edge is quite straight and well polished, and as keen as when it was finished. It is not as well shaped, but is as good an implement as any in my collection. The curves on each side of the straight cutting edge are not surpassed by the best American tools.

Mr. Clement Johnstone, Mining Surveyor, sent me what appears to be only a fragment of a stone axe of porphyry from Albury, on the River Murray. It has a well-rounded and exceedingly sharp edge. The polished surface at the edge is nowhere more than two-tenths of an inch in extent, and the greatest thickness of the stone is only three-tenths of an inch. One would suppose, at first sight, that the sides had been split off, but it may be a rare form adapted to some particular purpose.

Another axe—from Chiltern, a little lower down on the River Murray—was found by Mr. R. Arrowsmith, Mining Surveyor. It is, like that just described, a hard, dense, nearly black, siliceous porphyry. It is six inches in length, two inches and a quarter in breadth, and about six inches and a quarter in circumference. It is a very heavy and beautifully-finished implement. The polishing extends more than two inches from the cutting edge on each side, and the curves are symmetrical. Its weight is one pound seven and a quarter ounces.

Mr. Suetonius H. Officer, of Murray Downs, has collected three axes on the Lower Murray. One is of dense greenstone, one of porphyritic rock, and the third a quartzite with felspar enclosed—a kind of felspathic granite. They are all good axes, with excellent cutting edges. The axe of porphyritic rock is six inches in length and two inches in breadth. It has a sharp curved cutting edge, no more than an inch and a quarter in breadth. This is apparently a very old weapon, and somewhat resembles the axe found by Mr. Arrowsmith.

Mr. Reginald A. F. Murray found on the banks of the River Leigh a fragment of an axe, of which little more than the polished cutting edge remains, greatly resembling in form the stone axes used in the western parts of Queensland. It is a piece of greenstone.

Lieut.-Col. Champ has added to my collection a small well-finished axe of black siliceous porphyry, also from the Leigh, which has a very fine edge; and a portion of an ancient tomahawk, showing only the half of the cutting edge, of very hard metamorphic rock.

Mr. John Lynch, the Mining Surveyor at Smythesdale, obtained from a miner at Bottle Hill, near Carngham, a very well-made tomahawk of aphanite, which was found in a puddling machine. It had been lying, as suggested by Mr. Lynch, on or very near the surface of the ground where the *wash-dirt* was deposited, and had been thrown with the *wash-dirt* into the machine. The cutting edge, less than an inch in breadth, is well polished, and very sharp.

Two axes from the River Darling are interesting. One, of very dense, tough, granular greenstone, resembles that obtained by Mr. Panton in the Munara district.—(Fig. 181.) It is five inches and a half in length, four inches in breadth, and in the middle about one inch and a half in thickness. It weighs one pound fifteen ounces. It has a very fine and rather pointed cutting edge. It was found by Mr. William Hoffmann.

The other, brought to Victoria by Mr. Darbyshire, is of prase-like quartzite, very tough and hard, and with a good edge. The edge is highly polished, but otherwise it is rudely formed. It is a small axe, not larger than those commonly used in Victoria.

Mr. Molesworth Greene has allowed me to make a *fac-simile* of an axe of great size, which was lately brought from the Paroo, in Queensland, by Mr. A. Sullivan. It is eight inches in length, six inches in breadth in the broadest part, and two inches in thickness. It is an oval-shaped weapon, highly finished, and, for a great extent around the cutting edge, well polished. The wooden handle is not attached, but the place of attachment is apparent, and on one side there is a mass of gum adhering to it. It is as large and as heavy as the implement (Fig. 183) found at Lake Condah.

Another tomahawk, of dense greenstone, shaped somewhat like the American axes made by Collins and Co., was obtained by Mr. A. Sullivan on the Bulloo Downs, Paroo. From the appearance of the surface, one would suppose that it had been buried in the earth for a long period.

A curious axe, sent to me by Mr. J. McDonnell, of Brisbane, Queensland, is an example of those used in the Moreton Bay district. It is a rude rhom-

boidal block, evidently occurring naturally. It is five inches in length, two and three-quarters in breadth, and an inch and a half in thickness. It is of hard, dense greenstone. It has an irregular, ill-formed cutting edge, and an attempt has been made to polish the whole surface of the stone.

There are four other axes in my collection very similar to those already described. One with the wooden handle attached by sinews and gum is, I believe, from the Far North. It is exactly like the tomahawks used by the men of the Yarra. One, of aphanite, is not finished, being polished only in one or two places, but is instructive as showing at what stage the polishing was begun. It is apparent that the axe was, in the first instance, pretty well formed by chipping; but the labor of reducing the uneven surface to smoothness and polish, with symmetrical curves, must have been very great. Another imperfect axe, of greenstone, shows in like manner the method employed by the Aboriginal artist. The last is a fragment of an axe that probably had been broken in using it.

I have to add to these descriptions an account of what is believed to be a spurious tomahawk, but which is so like in form to many that are figured in this work as to have deceived some who are well acquainted with Aboriginal stone implements. It is an oval-shaped piece of basalt, picked up by me from a cart-rut, where it may have been rubbed by the wheels of passing vehicles. I cannot say whether or not it was formed by hand; but the character of the rock, and the grinding, seem to favor the view that it is a fragment shaped by accident in the manner suggested. There are doubts respecting this stone; and the fact that it is not easy to determine its character should teach caution to those who are inclined too hastily to ascribe to accident that which is really the work of human hands; and to others who, without proper consideration, regard as the work of extinct races stones whose form is due to the operation of unknown forces.

The axe Fig. 198 was in the possession of the late Mr. A. F. A. Greeves; and it is figured because it is in itself a remarkable implement, and contrasts with the axes made by the natives of Australia. This axe, of a mineral resembling jade, well-shaped, with a good cutting edge, but not highly polished, was picked up many years ago in Pitcairn's Island. It is not known whether it is a relic of a colored race that once peopled that island, or whether it was taken to the island by the Tahitians who accompanied the mutineers, or was fashioned by some of the mutineers who reached the island in 1789. It is worthy of preservation. At the present time the history of our species is being eagerly investigated by learned men, and this implement may prove of value: if an ancient axe, it is of surpassing interest; if made by the mutineers, an instance of the recurrence to habits of the uncivilized which teaches an important lesson.

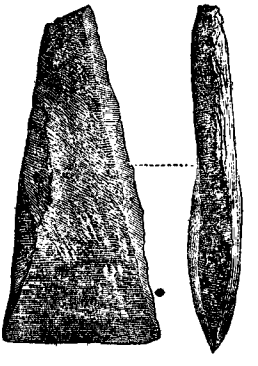


FIG. 198.—(Scale ½.)

Getting Stone for Tomahawks, etc.

Mr. John Green, in reply to my questions on this subject, says that the stones used for making tomahawks were dug out of the quarries with a pole of hard wood. The stones were found in blocks, not much larger than the ordinary tomahawks, and shape was given to the blocks by striking off flakes with an old tomahawk. The cutting edge was formed and polished by grinding and rubbing on a piece of sandstone. Sometimes a stone was found in the bed of a creek or river, or on the sea-shore, of the desired form, and this was ground and sharpened, and used as a tomahawk; but such a stone was considered as very inferior to the tomahawk of greenstone shaped in the manner above described. Pebbles were never used by the men of the Yarra tribe if they could get the greenstone blocks. The greenstone was brought from a quarry near Kilmore, on a range called Mount Hope by the Europeans, and known as *Wil-im-ee Moor-ring* (Tomahawk-house) amongst the natives.

The flakes of basalt, &c., used for skinning animals, were struck off by blows given with an old tomahawk or some other suitable stone.

The wood of the silver wattle (*Acacia dealbata*) was used for making the handles of tomahawks. The native name of this wood is *Ur-root*. The piece of a bough chosen for a handle was pared on one side as far as the pith; it was then heated in the ashes of a fire, and bent with the hands. The gum used for fastening the handle to the stone was obtained from the silver wattle. The handle was tied with sinews (*Berreep*) from the tail of a kangaroo.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer informs me that the natives of Gippsland never, as far as he can learn, got stones from a quarry for their tomahawks. They selected suitable stones amongst those lying on the sea-beach or in the bed of a stream. They shaped the cutting edge either with an old tomahawk or a piece of stone. They did this by striking it near the edge, so as to cause pieces in the form of flakes to fall off. As soon as the edge was thin enough, it was ground and polished on sandstone. The flakes called *Kragan*, used for jagged spears, skinning animals, &c., were made in the same way, namely, by striking the edge of a block of stone with an old tomahawk.

The old tomahawks from Gippsland in my collection seem to have been formed in the manner described by Mr. Bulmer.

He says that the natives often used pieces of reed, sharpened at the end, for skinning animals. Reeds are plentiful in many parts of Gippsland, and being easily obtained and readily fashioned, and quite as effective as the flakes of stone, it may be supposed that they were, as a rule, preferred. Broken spears, and reeds not suitable for spears, are always found at a camping place, and when quite dry and sharpened at the end, would be as good as a sharp flake for skinning the kangaroo, &c. It is not known whether reeds were used in other parts of Victoria for this purpose.

Uses of the Tomahawk.

The tomahawk—(Figs. 176–7–8–9, and 180)—called by the natives of the Yarra *Merring*, or *Kul-bul-en-er-uk*, or *Galbiling n' garrook;* by the men of Lake Condah *Kar-rak-ing;* and on the Lower Murray *Pur-ut-three*—is one of the most useful implements possessed by the Aborigines. A man never leaves his encampment without his hatchet. With its help he ascends trees almost as rapidly as the native bear can climb. He cuts a notch for his toes, and placing the hatchet between his teeth, so as to set free his arms, ascends one step, cuts another notch, and so on until the height he desires to reach is attained. The rapidity with which he climbs and his dexterity would surprise a stranger. With the stone axe he cuts open limbs of trees to get opossums out of the hollows; splits open trunks to take out honey or grubs or the eggs of insects; cuts off sheets of bark for his miam or for canoes; cuts down trees, and shapes the wood into shields or clubs or spears; cuts to pieces the larger animals of the chase, if necessary; and strikes off flakes of stone for inserting in the heads of spears and for skinning beasts and cleaning the skins. With an old tomahawk he will shape from a rough block of stone a new tomahawk. Its uses are so many and so various that one cannot enumerate them. It is sufficient to say that a native could scarcely maintain existence in Australia if deprived of this implement. It is not a weapon of offence; but in battle a man would not scruple to use it either for striking his enemy or in warding off blows. In secret expeditions, and when using the noose (*Nerum*) for strangling a victim, he would of course have his club or tomahawk ready for any emergency; and the tomahawk would be the easiest to carry, and the more certain to do execution.

FIG. 199.—(Scale ¼.)

Knives and Adzes.

The stone chisel or gouge (Fig. 199), of which there is more than one example in my collection, is formed of a fragment of quartzite, firmly set into the end of a rough handle of wood, and secured in its place by gum. The instrument is seventeen inches in length, and altogether is a good strong piece of work. Those I possess could be used effectively in hollowing a tarnuk or shaping a shield.

Mr. J. A. Panton says that this instrument is commonly used by the natives inhabiting the country north-east of the Grey Ranges (lat. 29° 30′ S., long. 141° 30′ E.).

I have not found it in Victoria; and I am indebted to Mr. Panton for the specimens I possess.

The stone knife (Fig. 200) is also from the north. Mr. Panton says it is used by the Aborigines of Booloo and Cooper's Creek. The stone is a hard, dense, rather granular quartzite. It has not been ground or polished—that is impracticable with such a stone—but it has been so skilfully fractured as to present a fine serrated cutting edge. The implement is altogether nearly eight inches in length. The stone is firmly fixed to the wooden handle by gum. With it one can easily cut wood, and in the hands of the natives it must have been a useful tool.

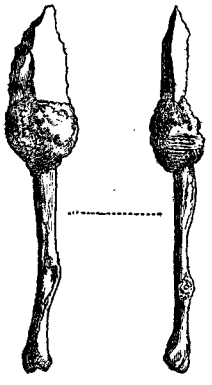


FIG. 200.—(Scale ½.)

The stone knife (Fig. 201) is also formed of quartzite and by percussion. It would be almost impossible to grind or polish it. It is used by the natives of the Paroo. It is not provided with a wooden handle, but one end is encased in opossum skin (the fur outwards), so as to admit of its being grasped firmly and used easily.

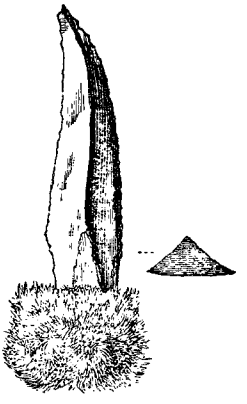


FIG. 201.—(Scale ½.)

This implement is in the possession of Capt. Rothwell, R.A., formerly Private Secretary to the late Lord Canterbury.

The people of New Zealand have axes and adzes not differing very much from those of the Australians ; but in general the stone-head is nephrite. The head of one in my collection—a specimen which formerly belonged to Mr. A. Tighe—is exactly like the Australian stone axe. It has been formed by striking off flakes, and the cutting part has been ground. The wooden handle, however, is different. A notch has been cut in it, and the stone is inserted in the notch and tied with strong twine. It is a beautiful implement.

The stone-head is four inches in length, and rather more thau two and a half inches in breadth, and it has a sharp edge. The wooden handle is nineteen inches in length.

Chips for Spears.

Figs. 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, and 207 represent fragments of black basalt exactly similar, mineralogically, to the basalt which occurs at Malmsbury,

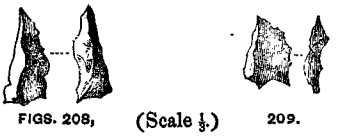
FIGS. 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207. (Scale ½.)

and identified by *Wye-nye-a-nine* as chips that the Australians used in making jagged spears. The name of the chip amongst his people is *Ped-th*—(pronounced with a lisp).

These fragments were picked up in parts of the colony formerly frequented by the natives, but at great distances apart, and are undoubtedly pieces lost accidentally when the spears were in use, or dropped from bags when the Aborigines were travelling. They are to be found on the low schistose ranges which are almost bare of soil, in all parts; but where the deeper soils occur, they are, of course, concealed.

Chips for Cutting Scars, etc.

The chips Figs. 208 and 209 were shown to *Wye-nye-a-nine* with a great number of other fragments. When he had attentively examined them, he said that they had been used for cutting the flesh when the natives wished to raise scars. The name is the same as that given to the chips used in making jagged spears—*Ped-th.*



FIGS. 208, (Scale ½.) 209.

They are pieces of hard, dense basalt, and might be used, one would suppose, for inserting in spears; but *Wye-nye-a-nine* insisted that they were cutting instruments and nothing else.

In all cases where I had the opportunity of testing his statements by other evidence (and I had opportunities of doing this very often), I found him to be strictly accurate, and the discrimination displayed in selecting these as cutting instruments, from amongst a great number of other chips, which to the eye appear to be alike, is a proof that this native is possessed of faculties of a high order.

Chips for Skinning Opossums, etc.

This stone (Fig. 210) is used for skinning the opossum and other animals. It was at once identified by *Wye-nye-a-nine.* The name is simply *Lah*—a stone.

FIG. 210.—(Scale ½.)

Fragments of Tomahawks, etc.

The stone shown in Fig. 211 is a piece of greenstone. A part of one side is highly polished, and the other is the rough surface of a fracture. This *Wye-*

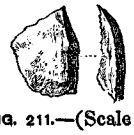


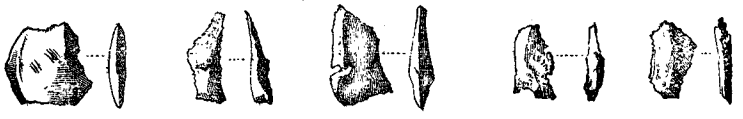
FIG. 211.—(Scale ½.)

nye-a-nine recognised as a fragment of a tomahawk. It was found on the ranges; and its character was not known until *Wye-nye-a-nine* examined it.

The chips shown in Figs. 212–16 were collected by Mr. Ulrich, and are thus described by *Wye-nye-a-nine:—*

Fig. 212 represents a fragment of a tomahawk (*Pur-ut-ithree*). It is a piece of hard, dense, black basalt.

Fig. 213 is also a piece of a tomahawk; it is, like Fig. 212, composed of black basalt, and certainly more resembles a chip which would be used for a jagged spear than anything else.



FIGS. 212, 213, 214, 215, 216.
(Scale ½.)

Fig. 214 is a chip for a chisel (*Wot-thun*).

Fig. 215 is a chip used in scraping spears. With this instrument the natives remove the bark and cut away excrescences. The name is *Wallen-jah.*

Fig. 216 is a chip for a jagged spear.

Chips for Skinning, Cutting Open, and Dressing Animals Killed in the Chase.

This chip (Fig. 217) was dug out of a *Mirrn-yong* heap by Mr. John Green, and he and others believed it had been used for skinning animals. It has a tolerably sharp cutting edge, and appears to be a fragment of chert. It has not been ground or polished, and the fracture is semi-conchoidal. I was

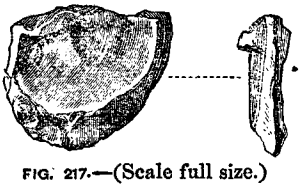


FIG. 217.—(Scale full size.)

quite sure it was an ancient chip that had been used in cutting open and skinning animals taken in the chase; but when *Wye-nye-a-nine* saw it he appeared to recognise it at once as a fragment struck off in making a tomahawk.

Stones for Pounding and Grinding Seeds, etc.

The grinding-stones (Fig. 218) used by the natives of the Darling are of the following description:—The slab, generally of sandstone, is about twenty-two inches in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and about one inch in thickness. The hand-stones (*Wallong*) are round, or of an oval form, and vary in size. One is four inches and a half in length, three inches and a half in breadth, and one inch and three-quarters in thickness; and another is six inches in length, four inches and a half in breadth, and three inches in thickness. The *Wallong* have hollows cut in them, so as to be more easily held by the hand.

Mr. Howitt says the stones here figured are like those usually seen at Cooper's Creek. In the flat stone there is a depression which leads out to the edge by a channel. In grinding grass or portulac seed a little water is sprinkled in by the left hand, and the seeds being ground with the stone in the right hand form a kind of porridge, which runs out of the channel into a wooden bowl (*Peechee*), or a piece of bark. It may then be baked in the ashes, or eaten as it is, by using the crooked forefinger as a spoon. The term used for grinding seeds is *Bowar dakoneh*.

Nardoo seeds are pounded by the above, placing a few in at a time with the left hand. The "tap-tap" of the process may be heard in the camp far into the night at times.

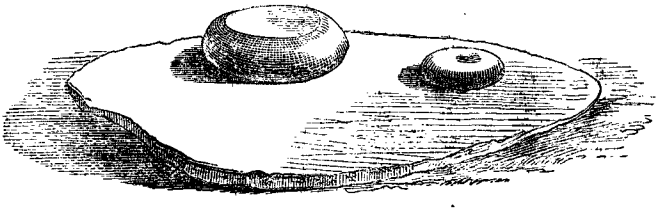


FIG. 218.

The slabs of sandstone used are, he was told, brought by the Cooper's Creek blacks from somewhere below the parallel of Mount Perll, out on the edge of the western plains (Flinders Range, South Australia).

In the Museum in Melbourne there are two stones—a slab and a stone—in shape like two cones placed base to base, which I am assured are used in some parts of the Darling for grinding nardoo. They are different altogether from the stones ordinarily employed for this purpose, and resemble those made by the Kaffirs. The round grinding-stone is very soft, and, owing to its shape, could be used in no other way than as the Kaffir women use it for reducing boiled corn to paste.

I have made careful enquiries, and I cannot learn that these stones are used anywhere in Australia.

Several sorts of stones are used for pounding roots and seeds. I have seen on the banks of creeks in Victoria hollows in isolated outcropping rocks which may have been used for the reception of seeds or roots. Certainly the stones I observed were hollowed by man, and probably have been employed for some such purpose.

SHARPENING-STONES.

Mr. E. J. Dunn collected a large number of stone implements in Victoria,

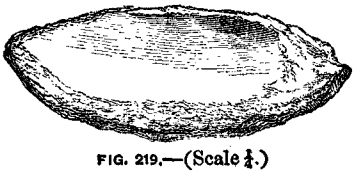


FIG. 219.—(Scale ½.)

and amongst them several sharpening-stones. These sharpening-stones are nearly all of the same shape.—(Fig. 219.) They are from four to six inches

in length, two and a half to three inches and a half in breadth, and about one inch in thickness. They are dish-shaped, and the part used for polishing is smooth, and in some specimens much hollowed. In one case both sides of the stone have been used for sharpening. Some are of dense sandstone—nearly all quartz—and others of micaceous schists and sandstones of various degrees of hardness.

These stones were used for polishing the edges of tomahawks, and for finishing clubs, shields, &c. They are found occasionally on or a little beneath the surface of the ground all over the colony. When much worn, they are liable to break in the middle, and the half of a sharpening-stone of this kind is often seen.

Mr. Turner, of Mooroolbark, says that when polishing a tomahawk with a stone of this kind the native holds the stone between the toes of one foot, and slowly sharpens his axe, which he has in his right hand, by gently rubbing the edges in the hollow.

Wye-nye-a-nine says that amongst his people the men were accustomed to grind and polish their axes on any suitable stone that they could find, and that this was done day by day, as opportunity served. The same native saw an oval-shaped piece of rough gritty sandstone in my collection, which was sent to me by Mr. John Green as a specimen of the stone (*Yourri-urrok*) used for sharpening the heads of spears. He recognised it at once, and told me that the name of it in his tribe was *Mirg-ma-rook*, and that it was commonly employed for the purpose stated.

Another piece of stone—(Fig. 220)—a weather-worn fragment of micaceous sandstone, hard and gritty—was used for rasping the sapling and shaping it into the form of a spear. The name of this stone is *Wallen-jah;* and though bearing the same name as the fragment shown in Fig. 215, has not exactly the same use. The latter is used for scraping the sapling, the former for rasping and shaping it; the one is a cutting instrument, the other a sharpening-stone. This specimen was found by one of the Geological Surveyors in the basin of the River Loddon.

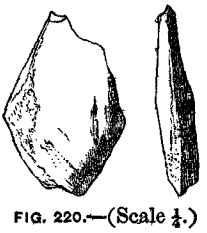


FIG. 220.—(Scale ¼.)

FIG. 221.—(Scale ½.)

This fragment (Fig. 221) was used for sharpening the points of the wooden spears. It also is named *Wallen-jah* in the Lower Murray district. It would appear that the natives had several stone implements all called *Wallen-jah*, which were employed in making spears at different stages of the operation.

The stone shown in Fig. 215—a chip of basalt with a cutting edge—was used for scraping off the bark and removing excrescences from the sapling; that shown in Fig. 220—a piece of rough sandstone of irregular form—as a

rasp for giving a round form to it, and for smoothing it; and the fragment here figured (Fig. 221)—a chip of basalt—for polishing the points and in finishing it.

I have met with great difficulties in the endeavour to ascertain the uses of the several fragments which are in my collection. At one moment the statements of the natives seemed to be altogether irreconcilable with facts gathered from them respecting stone implements that to the eye of a European did not differ in character; but patience, and a careful attention to the explanations given by Aboriginals and others well acquainted with their tools and implements, have enabled me to place each in its proper position, and to discover how it was employed and for what purposes.

Stones used in Fishing.

This stone (Fig. 222) is said to be used by the natives of the River Murray when engaged in fishing with nets. When the nets are placed in the right position, the diver goes into the water at some point below the nets, and holding in each hand a stone of this kind, he makes a noise, by striking them together, which frightens the fish, and they rush up stream and are caught. *Wye-wye-a-nine* tells me that the stone has no name indicating the use to which it is put. It is simply *Lah*—a stone. The specimen in my collection

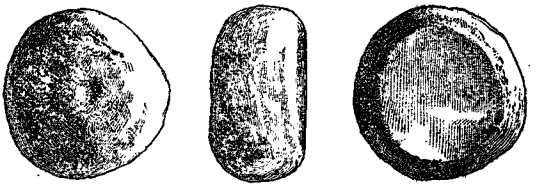


FIG. 222.—(Scale ½.)

is a hard, dense greenstone, with one face highly polished. The small indentation in the back for the reception of the point of the middle finger enables the diver to hold it securely in his hand. *Wye-wye-a-nine* grasped the stone as soon as he saw it, and showed me how it was used by the divers. Stones of a similar form are used for pounding roots, &c., and the stone here figured may have been used for such purposes when not required by the fishermen.

Stones used in making Baskets.

In making baskets the women commence by plaiting that part which is to form the centre of the bottom, and having completed this, they work around it, adding plait after plait until the full size of the bottom is attained. To steady and fix the work thus done, so that their hands may be free for weaving the sides of the basket, they use an implement named *Weenamong*. This most often is merely a flat smooth pebble picked out of the bed of a brook. It is usually about four inches in diameter, but for large baskets heavier stones are used. Whether large or small, the stone must be dense, and diorites and fine quartzites are accordingly employed.

I have often watched the women when engaged in this work. They use the stone adroitly, turning it from time to time in such a manner as to fix the bottom of the basket in the desired position while they weave a part of the side. To signify the beginning of the basket, they use the word *Moom-newk*, which is literally *Moom*, the bottom, and *newk*, the basket begun.

For Ruddle.

A piece of trap rock, named *Boo-boorrn* by the natives of the Murray, is put in the fire and kept there until it becomes red-hot. When taken out, the native scrapes from the surface a red powder, with which he makes a paint to color his shields and other weapons, to dye his rug, and, if necessary, to ornament his person. The native name of the stone is, on the Lower Murray, *Noor-in-yoo-rook*, and the name of the ruddle obtained from it is the same.

Pigments of various kinds were used by the natives, the character and composition of which are described in another place.

Bulk.

A stone—believed by the natives to possess extraordinary powers, and held in great estimation by the sorcerers—was presented to me by Mr. A. W. Howitt, who obtained it from an old man in Gippsland. It is egg-shaped, about four inches in length, and two and a half inches in breadth. It is thickly covered with oxyd of iron, and it is impossible to say, without breaking it, what its mineral composition is; but on clearing one small part of the thick coating of red oxyd, it presented an appearance like that of a trap rock. It must have had given to it the form which it now shows many, many years ago, and may indeed have been a treasure in the tribe to which the old man belonged before Australia was known to Europeans. The name of the stone is *Bulk*, and with it and other stones the priests work enchantment. It weighs twenty-seven and a half ounces.

Stones of this character are described by Grey. He says:—

"The natives of South-Western Australia likewise pay a respect, almost amounting to veneration, to shining stones or pieces of crystal, which they call *Teyl*. None but the sorcerers or priests are allowed to touch these, and no bribe can induce an unqualified native to lay his hand on them. The accordance of this word in sound and signification with the Baetyli mentioned in the following extract from Burder's *Oriental Customs* (vol. I., p. 16) is remarkable:—

"'And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and he called the name of that place Be-thel.—Genesis XXVIII., 18. From this conduct of Jacob and this Hebrew appellation, the learned Bochart, with great ingenuity and reason, insists that the name and veneration of the sacred stones called Baetyli, so celebrated in all Pagan antiquity,

were derived. These Baetyli were stones of a round form; they were supposed to be animated by means of magical incantations with a portion of the Deity, they were consulted on occasions of great and pressing emergency as a kind of divine oracle, and were suspended either round the neck or some other part of the body.'

"That this veneration for certain pieces of quartz or crystal is common over a very great portion of the continent is evident from the following extracts from Threlkeld's *Vocabulary*, p. 88:—

"'*Mur-ra-mai*, the name of a round ball, about the size of a cricket-ball, which the Aborigines carry in a small net suspended from their girdles of opossum yarn. The women are not allowed to see the internal part of the ball. It is used as a talisman against sickness, and it is sent from tribe to tribe for hundreds of miles on the sea-coast, and in the interior. One is now here from Moreton Bay, the interior of which a black showed me privately in my study, betraying considerable anxiety lest any female should see its contents. After unrolling many yards of woollen cord, made from the fur of the opossum, the contents proved to be a quartz-like substance of the size of a pigeon's egg. He allowed me to break it and retain a part. It is transparent, like white sugar-candy. They swallow the small crystalline particles which crumble off as a preventive of sickness. It scratches glass, and does not effervesce with acids. From another specimen, the stone appears to be agate of a milky hue, semi-pellucid, and strikes fire. The vein from which it appears broken off is one inch and a quarter thick. A third specimen contains a portion of cornelian, partially crystallized, a fragment of chalcedony, and a fragment of a crystal of white quartz.'

"And again, in Mitchell's *Expeditions into Australia*, vol. II., p. 338:—

"'In these girdles the men, and especially their coradjes or priests, frequently carry crystals of quartz or other shining stones, which they hold in high estimation, and very unwillingly show to any one, invariably taking care, when they do unfold them, that no woman shall see them.'"*

* *Two Expeditions of Discovery.* Grey, vol. II., pp. 340–2.

Nets and Fish-hooks.

The natives used hooks and nets as well as the spear in catching fish. William Buckley makes the following statement in his *Life and Adventures:*—"They used to take me out on calm evenings to teach me how to spear salmon, bream, &c. Their manner is to get some very dry sticks, cut them into lengths of ten or twelve feet, tie several of them together into a kind of faggot, and then light the thickest end; with this torch blazing in one hand and a spear in the other they go into the water, and the fish, seeing the flame, crowd round and are easily taken."*

The Jardines saw, at Maramie Creek, "two parties of blacks fishing on the river. . . . . They used reed-spears, pointed with four jagged prongs, and also hooks and lines. Their hooks are made of wood, barbed with bone, and the lines of twisted *Currejong* bark." The same writers say that "considerable nicety is shown in the making of fishing lines and hooks. The former are made from the fibres of a species of climber, very neatly twisted. The fish-hooks are made of tortoise-shell, or nails procured from wreck-timber. They are without barbs, and our fish-hooks are eagerly sought for in place of them."†

In catching eels, Buckley observed that though they spear them frequently, "they generally use lines—the bait being a large earth-worm. Having these worms ready, they get a piece of elastic bark and some long grass, on which they string them; this is tied to a rod, and as the eel, after biting, holds on tenaciously, he is thrown or rather jerked upon the bank."

At the mouths of some of the creeks in the western parts of Victoria, and in the channels through which the lakes overflow, the natives take eels in large quantities. They are so numerous as to embarrass them, and vast quantities are thrown aside and left to decay.

Whether using the spear, the net, or the hook, the native is almost always a more successful sportsman than the European. He knows the habits of the fish, the places where they are to be found, and the food which they prefer; and patient in waiting, quick in seizing an advantage, and with a perfect command of the implement he is using—spear, net, or hook—he is never, or very rarely, disappointed with the results of his labors.

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* *Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, p. 40.

† *Narrative of the Overland Expedition of the Messrs. Jardine from Rockhampton to Cape York, Northern Queensland.* Camp 33. Lat. 16° 27′ 30″ S.; p. 26.

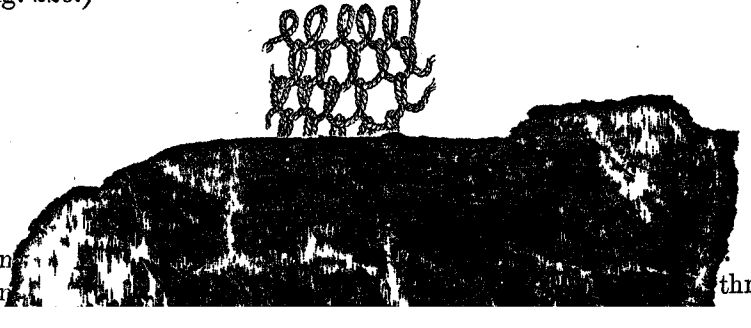
The Murray cod, the black-fish, and the herring were the food of the natives during certain seasons; and before the whites invaded the solitudes of the forests, through which flow in deep shade, even in the height of summer, strong streams, bubbling in sharp bends, rippling where the rocks come to the surface, and gliding smoothly where deep water occurs in long reaches, small parties put up rough sheelings (*Miams*) for protection against the winds of the night, and fished with net and line whenever the weather was propitious. Even now—enervated, and with no love for the sport, but with a desire merely to get money—the poor natives haunt the streams that once were their own, and bring away fish in well-filled baskets from places where many a sportsman would fail to induce the fish to bite.

How it happens that their fish-hooks are so well made, that their lines, if not always as neatly twisted, are as good as ours, and that their nets are not much different in form or texture from those used by fishermen in Europe, may induce new speculations in the minds of those who believe that the Australian is poor in invention—lower than the lowest amongst mankind, and scarcely fit to be classed with the Bosjesman of Africa or the Mincopie of the Bay of Bengal.

The nets, hooks, and lines used by the natives are of the following description:—

Fishing-net, Lake Tyers.—The Rev. Mr. Bulmer has sent me a fishing-net made by the blacks of kangaroo-grass (*Anthistiria ciliata*), called by the natives *Karn*, which is really excellent as a work of art. The knot is the same as that of nets of European manufacture. The size of the mesh is two inches from knot to knot. The natives do not use the ordinary mesh in netting, but regulate the size of the interstices with their fingers; and instead of a needle they use a piece of stick with the twine wound around it. For sinkers they use stones, and for floats the bark of the tea-tree. The name of the net is *Ba-arang*, and the floats are called *Pliart*. They do not set the net with stakes, as, being made of grass, it is too fragile for that; but two persons, each in a canoe, take hold of the ends, and draw it through the water, whilst others beat the water and frighten the fish into the net. The net which Mr. Bulmer has forwarded is remarkable for the evenness of the twine and the uniformity in the size of the meshes.

Hand-net.—The hand-net which the Rev. Mr. Bulmer has sent to me is closely woven, and is made also of the kangaroo-grass. The mesh is formed thus.—(Fig. 223.)



The han[illegible]. It is stretched o[illegible] through

the water by the women. This net is called *Lowrn* by the natives of Gippsland. Similar nets were used formerly in all parts of Victoria.

Wye-wye-a-nine informs me that the fishing-net provided with floats and sinkers is called by the natives of the Lower Murray *Kul-kul-ook*, and the landing-net *Moom-gnil*. A small square net—somewhat like *Moom-gnil*, as regards the meshes—is used to catch fish in small streams. It is named *Mook-kurra*.*

Mr. John Green has obtained from the natives of the Yarra a specimen of their fishing-nets. It is made of the fibre of the stringybark, and is a coarse strong net. It is named *Karrt-keerrt*. The mesh is shown in Fig. 224.

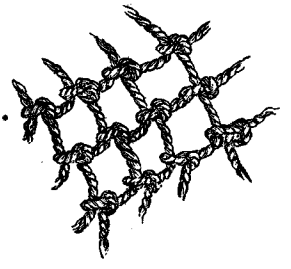


FIG. 224.

The mesh of a fishing-net from the River Burdekin, in North-Eastern Australia, is shown in Fig. 225. The net is round, and about seven feet in diameter. The size of the mesh is one inch. The twine is strong, but not very even. This net was in the possession of the Honorable Matthew Hervey, now deceased, to whom I was indebted for some rare and valuable specimens of native implements.

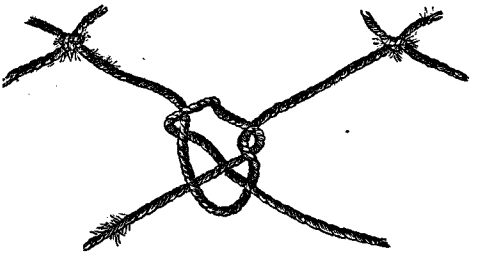


FIG. 225.

Mr. John McDonnell, of Brisbane, has sent me a portion of a net used by the natives of Northern Queensland. The mesh is seven-tenths of an inch, and is even thro[illegible]out. The twine is formed—as well as I can judge—of a fibre of some [illegible]ree I know not. It is an excellent net. The knot is exactly

* Th[illegible] the *Ba-arang* above des[illegible] tralian *Lowrn*. —See *A P*[illegible] VOL. II.

The Rev. Mr. Bulmer has been able to obtain an ancient fish-hook, formerly used by the natives of Gippsland. It is made of bone, and is thus shaped.—(Fig. 226.)

FIG. 226.

As soon as the natives were able to get hooks of European manufacture, they ceased to make hooks of bone or wood, and the ancient fish-hooks are now very scarce in Victoria. The cord which is attached to the hook is made of the bark of the lightwood, called by the natives *Yowan*. The fibre is strong and flexible.

The women are expert anglers. They will sometimes secure as much as 60 lbs. weight of fish with the modern hook; but what was the measure of their success when they used the bone, wooden, or shell fish-hook is not known to me.

Mr. J. A. Panton says that the natives of the Geelong district used in former times, for catching bream, a piece of hard wood or bone sharpened at both ends and attached to the line by a hitch-knot.—(Fig. 227.)

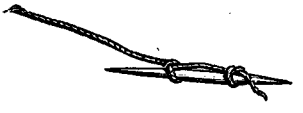


FIG. 227.

This cannot be called a hook. It was baited, however, and when seized by the fish and the line strained, the bone stuck in the jaws, and the prey was secured. This is a very simple but a very ingenious contrivance for taking fish.

A curious implement is found in Queensland, which it is believed is used for catching fish. It is formed of a piece of hard wood, sharpened at each end and barbed.—(Fig. 228.) The barbs are fastened to the wood with some vegetable fibre.

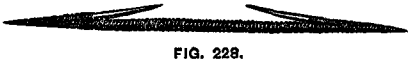


FIG. 228.

A fish-hook used by the natives of Rockingham Bay in Queensland, and presented to me by the late Mr. Matthew Hervey, is shown in Fig. 229. It is somewhat similar in form to the ancient fish-hook of the Gippsland people; but instead of being made of bone, the material used is a section of the shell of a species of haliotis. It is beautiful in shape, highly polished, and has a very sharp point. It is securely and neatly attached to the cord with twine made of the fibre of some plant. This is in all respects a most excellent hook; it is in good preservation, and might be used now, I have no doubt, with success, in taking large fish.

FIG. 229.

Another kind of fish-hook—made of tortoise-shell—is also in use at Rockingham Bay. In form it is exactly that figured above. It is four inches in length, and about a quarter of an inch in width at the widest part. It is a very beautiful hook.

Fig. 230 shows the form of fish-hook used by the natives of New Zealand. It was presented to the late Mr. A. F. A. Greeves by the late Dr. Alexander Stewart (Assistant-Surgeon 19th Regt.), who received it from *Ne Penuta*, chief of the tribe of Wairau natives, in token of gratitude for relief from a dangerous illness which necessitated the performance of a delicate and difficult operation. It was used for catching a fish called *Kaiwai*, which appears to have some resemblance to the salmon. It was employed very much in the manner the sportsman uses the fly—the shell, when revolving, by its brightness attracting the fish and causing them to rise. The barbed point made of bone is firmly attached by twine (of vegetable fibre) to the shank. The front part of the shank—that part next the barb—is of shell (Dr. Stewart in his description calls the shell a species of mussel, but it is a section of a haliotis), and the back part is of *Totara* or ironwood. It is well and firmly fixed to the line; and the shell and wood are very carefully carved so as to make the work smooth and almost of one piece.

FIG. 230.

This hook is figured, in order that the reader may compare the work of the Australian with that of the New Zealander. Excellent as it is, it is not superior to the hook of the Rockingham Bay natives.

This kind of hook—formed of shell and wood—is common in the islands of the South Seas.

Methods of Producing Fire.

THE Aborigines of the southern parts of Victoria obtain fire in the manner shown in Fig. 231. A flat piece of wood, ten inches in length, and one inch and a half in width, is placed on the ground and held firmly in a horizontal position by the toes of each foot of the operator. In his hands the man holds upright, and with one end of it fixed in a slight depression previously made in the flat piece of wood, a stick about half an inch in diameter and two feet in length, which he twirls by a rapid motion of his hands. The stick

FIG. 231.

held between the palms of the hands is rubbed rapidly to and fro, and some pressure is exerted downwards. When the hands nearly touch the flat piece of wood, they are suddenly raised almost to the top of the vertical stick, but so skilfully as to keep the stick in its place (and this is a movement not easy to Europeans), and then again the twirl and downward pressure follow, and the movements are repeated until the charcoal-dust ignites. Fig. 232 shows the

FIG. 232.

form of the sticks employed. When the sticks are dry, smoke and fire soon arise in the hole in the flat piece of wood. The native, having previously reduced to powder some dry leaves of the eucalyptus, which easily ignite, turns or tilts the flat piece of wood towards the powdered leaves at the moment when

ignition occurs, and soon gets a fire. The operation, under favorable circumstances, occupies only a few minutes in the hands of a skilful Aboriginal; but, if the weather is damp and the man is clumsy, it is hard work for many minutes, and success does not always follow the first attempt. A European unaccustomed to the business might twirl the stick for a long time and scarcely raise a smoke by this method. *

The Aborigines of the Yarra name the process of getting fire *Werrgarrk;* the name of the upright stick is *Boo-bo-bo;* the flat piece in which the upright stick revolves, *Bab-a-noo;* the dust which collects in the hole in which the vertical stick turns, *Kan-an-doorr;* the first fire, *Man-noo-en;* and the word for flame is *Kool-kool-boo-noo-en.*

The woods commonly used for making fire-sticks (*Weenth-kalk-kalk*) are the *Djelwuk* (*Hedycarya Cunninghamii*) and the *Prostanthera lasianthos* (Lab.).†

The inhabitants of the Lower Murray, near Swan Hill, procure fire by a different method. Out of a suitable piece of wood the Aboriginal cuts a knife—in shape almost like a butcher's knife—and in another piece he cuts a long thin slit. In the slit he places finely-powdered dry gum leaves, or powdered dry grass, or some other inflammable substance. Placing the stick with the longitudinal slit in it in a secure position, he rubs the wooden knife across or at right-angles to the slit very rapidly, holding the knife generally with the right hand, and, for the purpose of giving greater energy and steadiness to his movements, keeping the right wrist firmly in the left hand. Instead of preparing a second stick with the longitudinal slit in it, he not seldom takes advantage of the cracks in the trunk of a dry fallen tree. Some dry substance carefully reduced to powder by the hand is put into the cracks, and the wooden knife, used in the same manner as above described, soon produces smoke and fire. The latter is the mode I saw successfully employed at Coranderrk by a native of the Murray. When the Yarra men had got fire by twirling the upright stick, *Gulpie* said that he knew of a quicker and better method of getting fire. This annoyed some of the old men of the Yarra

* Even with such instructions as the Australians have given me, I cannot get fire by either of the methods they have taught me, though with some exertion I can cause smoke to rise by twirling the stick or using the wooden knife. Procuring fire by means of fire-sticks is a laborious and difficult operation to the unskilful. A European wandering in the bush would be incapable of getting fire by rubbing two sticks together. Even if provided with fire-sticks, he would accomplish nothing more than the blistering of his hands. In the city we may despise the Aboriginal and contemn his habits, but in the forest he is our superior; and when we seek his help, he is invariably an intelligent and skilful teacher.

† The manner in which the Aborigines procured fire before the Europeans came amongst them was thus:—They cut a piece of wood about eight or nine inches in length, and one inch or more in thickness, and made it oblong, about one inch and a half or two inches in breadth. Two or three holes were made on one side of its flat surface, and a thin round stick was worked by the hands upwards and downwards—as a mechanic would work a drill-bow—in one of these holes until the friction ignited the pith, which, dropping on some dried stringybark or other fine vehicle, caused the latter to smoulder. At a puff, the smouldering bark burst into flame. One minute or less was required for the operation. The upright stick was made of the young plant of a tree called by them *Tale-wurk* (*Djelwuk*).—*William Thomas, MS.*

tribe, who denied that any other means could be employed by an Aboriginal. Knowing well what he proposed to do, I encouraged *Gulpie* to make an experiment. He cut a wooden knife in a few moments, sat down beside a dry log, and having filled the longitudinal cracks with dry grass, which he had previously well rubbed in his hands, he commenced operations, and in a few seconds sent up a smoke. This method is shown in Fig. 233.

FIG. 233.

In the north-eastern parts of Australia a very similar method, it is said, is adopted. In Fig. 234 the man is represented in a sitting posture. Having planted in the ground a strong stick, in which a longitudinal slit has been made, or in which there is a natural slit, and having filled the slit with dry powdered gum leaves or the like, he draws the stick towards him, and keeps it firmly in its place by pressing his chest against it. In his hand he holds the wooden knife, which he rubs rapidly across the stick until he gets fire.*

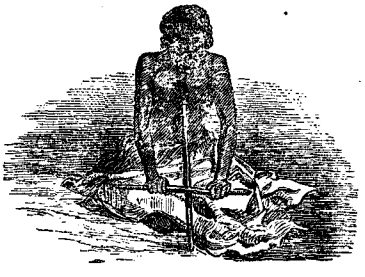


FIG. 234.

* Mr. Robert Hughan says that the Aborigines of the Burnett, in New South Wales, get fire in the following manner:—They cut with the hatchet a hole in a dry fallen tree. They fill this hole with part of the dry ripe head of the flower-stalk of the *xanthorrhœa*, well powdered between the hands, and then turn the stem head downwards into the hole and twirl it. In a few seconds they get fire.

Mr. H. E. A. Meyer, writing of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay tribe, in South Australia, says that they obtain fire by using the grass-tree. A split piece of the flower-stem of the grass-tree is placed upon the ground, the flat side uppermost, and the lower end of a thinner piece pressed upon it, while the upper part is held between the palms of the hands, and an alternate revolving motion is given to it by rubbing the hands backwards and forwards until it ignites.

Mr. Alfred Howitt states, in a letter to me, that the Aborigines of Gippsland used to get fire by twirling the peduncle of the grass-tree; and the Rev. Mr. Taplin, in his paper on the Narrinyeri tribe of Aborigines, says that the people of the Lower Murray get fire in the same way.

Travellers have informed me that they have seen the wooden knife or wedge employed by some men in the interior exactly in the same way as the Maories use it—that is to say, rubbed rapidly along a groove until the fine charcoal-dust at the extremity is ignited. The Aborigines of the Yarra, and others in Victoria, assert that they have never heard of this plan.

There are probably many other ways of using the fire-sticks known to the tribes in the interior; but all the evidence yet obtained shows that friction only—and no easier or better method—is resorted to by the Australians on the somewhat rare occasions when they have to practise the art of getting fire. Their habits, in the ordinary life of a tribe, would prevent the necessity of having recourse to the fire-sticks. Whether encamped or travelling, a tribe is always well provided with fire. It is the duty of the women to carry fire. A stick, a piece of decayed wood, or more often the beautiful seed-stem of the Banksia, is lighted at the fire the woman is leaving; and from her bag, which, in damp weather, she would keep filled with dry cones, or from materials collected in the forest, she would easily, during her journey, preserve the fire got at the last encampment.

Messengers, warriors on an expedition, and hunters, would sometimes have to use the fire-sticks, but in ordinary camp life rarely.*

It happens, consequently, that white men who have lived with the Aborigines, and who have become acquainted with many of their practices, are unable to say how fire is procured; and when asked to describe the process, state vaguely that two sticks are rubbed together, and that, after some exertion, one of them bursts into a flame. In all the processes the knack consists in keeping the charcoal-powder exactly in the place where there is the most friction, and it is needless to say the stick does not burst into a flame.

The art of making fire is, without doubt, known to all races of men.† The legends and stories and some curious practices of the highly-civilized peoples of Europe, show that their remote ancestors procured fire exactly in the same way as the Australian gets it, *i.e.*, by friction.

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* The statements made in the *Life and Adventures of William Buckley* lead one to suppose that getting fire by twirling the upright stick was rare. Men and women, when they left a camp, always carried a lighted piece of bark or a brand. In one part of his narrative he says that "in the winter months they are often much distressed for fire, and suffer greatly from hunger and cold." It is probable that experts only used the sticks for getting fire; and that small parties wandering from the main camp, and unaccompanied by fighting-men, may have had often to endure cold, when by carelessness or accident the fire they carried was extinguished.

† It is believed by some that the natives of Tasmania did not know how to obtain fire. It is considered proper in Europe to describe these and the natives of Australia as the most degraded amongst all the races of mankind. Speaking of the Tasmanians, Lubbock says:—"They have no means of expressing abstract ideas; they have not even a word for a 'tree.' Although fire was well known to them, some tribes at least appear to have been ignorant whence it was originally obtained, or how, if extinguished, it could be re-lighted. 'In all their wanderings,' says Mr. Dove, 'they were particularly careful to bear in their hands the materials for kindling a fire. Their memory supplies them with no instances of a period in which they were obliged to draw on their inventive powers for the means of resuscitating an element so essential to their health and comfort as flame. How it came originally into their possession is unknown. Whether it may be viewed as the gift of nature, or the product of art and sagacity, they cannot recollect a period when it was a desideratum. . . . . It was the part of the females especially to carry

In considering and determining the position of the Australian in the great families of mankind, it is interesting to compare his practices with those of other men whose lives are spent in the forest, and who know nothing of cities, and whose discoveries go not so far as to change the mode of life, but simply to render the life that is natural to them safer and more pleasurable.

In procuring fire it is probable that the only method known to the earliest races was that of rubbing two sticks together, an art suggested possibly, as my friend the Rev. Richard Taylor observes, by some man having noticed the accidental production of fire due to the friction of dry branches of trees in a gale. Getting fire by friction is known to many uncivilized peoples.

"The Kaffir blacksmith never need trouble himself about the means of obtaining a fire. Should he set up his forge in the vicinity of a kraal, the simplest plan is to send his assistant for a fire-brand from one of the huts. But if he should prefer, as is often the case, to work at some distance from the huts, he can procure fire with perfect certainty, though not without some labor. He first procures two sticks, one of them taken from a soft-wood tree, and the

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a fire-brand in their hands, which was studiously refreshed from time to time as it became dull and evanescent.'"—*Pre-Historic Times*, p. 355.

Mr. Dove's statement is so important that it is to be regretted he did not give the facts on which he based the inference that the Tasmanians did not know how to procure fire. The skill displayed by the natives in the fabrication of weapons and utensils, their habits, and certain words in their language, would lead one to suppose that the art of making fire was known to them as to other savage peoples in a similar condition, but that, as amongst the Australians, it was not, probably, very often practised. Mr. Dove was possibly not very careful in making observations, or perhaps rash in drawing inferences.

Mr. James Scott, M.H.A., of Launceston, who is well acquainted with the habits of the Tasmanians, states, in a letter read at a meeting of the Royal Society of Tasmania on the 8th July 1873, "that the Aborigines, in moving from camp to camp, if possible, carried a fire with them, to save the labor of getting it by friction of two pieces of wood, the use of which was known to them."

The word for "fire" at Oyster Bay was, according to Dr. Milligan's vocabulary, *Tonna;* in South Tasmania, *'Ngune;* and in the western and north-western parts, *Winnaleah.* The word for "tree" was *Loatta;* and for touch-wood (rotten wood), *Weitree ouriatta* and *Weeawanghratta.*

"In his history of the Ladrone Islands, Father Gobien asserts that fire, 'an element of such universal use, was utterly unknown to them, till Magellan, provoked by their repeated thefts, burned one of their villages. When they saw their wooden houses blazing, they first thought the fire a beast which fed upon wood, and some of them who came too near, being burnt, the rest stood afar off, lest they should be devoured, or poisoned, by the violent breathings of this terrible animal.' This fact is not mentioned in the original account of Magellan's voyage. Freycinet believes that the assertion of Father Gobien is entirely without foundation. The language, he says, of the inhabitants contains words for fire, burning charcoal, oven, grilling, boiling, &c.; and even before the advent of the Europeans pottery was well known. It is difficult, however, to get over the distinct assertion made by Gobien, which, moreover, derives some support from similar statements made by other travellers. Thus Alvaro de Saavedra states that the inhabitants of certain small islands in the Pacific, which he called 'Los Jardines,' but which cannot now be satisfactorily determined, stood in terror of fire because they had never seen it (*Hackluyt Society*, 1862, p. 178). Again, Wilkes tells us (*United States Expl. Exped.*, vol. v., p. 18) that on the island of Fakaafo, which he calls 'Bowditch,' 'there was no sign of places for cooking nor any appearance of fire.' The natives also were very much alarmed when they saw sparks struck from flint and steel. Here, at least, we might have thought was a case beyond question or suspicion; the presence of fire could hardly have escaped observation—the marks it leaves are very conspicuous. If we cannot depend on such a statement as this, made by an officer in the United States Navy, in the official report of an expedition sent out especially for scientific purposes, we may well be disheartened and lose confidence in ethnological investigations. Yet the assertions of Wilkes *are* questioned, and with

other from an acacia, or some other tree that furnishes a hard wood. Of course both the sticks must be thoroughly dry, a condition about which there is little difficulty in so hot a climate. His next care is to shape one end of the hard stick into a point, and to bore a small hole in the middle of the soft stick. He now squats down . . . . . places the pointed tip of the hard stick in the hole of the soft stick, and, taking the former between his hands, twirls it backwards and forwards with extreme rapidity. As he goes on, the hole becomes enlarged, and a small quantity of very fine dust falls into it, being rubbed away by the friction. Presently the dust is seen to darken in color, then to become nearly black, and presently a very slight smoke is seen to rise. The Kaffir now redoubles his efforts, he aids the effect of the revolving stick by his breath, and in a few more seconds the dust bursts into a flame. The exertion required in this operation is very severe, and by the time that the fire manifests itself the producer is bathed in perspiration.

"Usually two men, at least, take part in fire-making, and, by dividing the labor, very much shorten the process. It is evident that, if the perpendicular

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much appearance of justice, by Mr. Tylor (*Early History of Mankind*, p. 230). In the '*Ethnography of the United States Exploring Expedition*,' Hale gives a list of Fakaafo words, in which we find *Afi* for 'fire.' This is evidently the same word as the New Zealand *Ahi*; but as it denotes light and heat, as well as fire, we might suppose that it thus found its way into the Fakaafo vocabulary. I should not, therefore, attribute to this argument quite so much force as does Mr. Tylor. It is, however, evident that Captain Wilkes did not perceive the importance of the observation, or he would certainly have taken steps to determine the question; and as Hale, in his special work on the ethnology of the expedition, does not say a word on the subject, it is clear he had no idea that the inhabitants of Fakaafo exhibited such an interesting phenomenon. The fact, if established, would be most important; but it cannot be said to be satisfactorily proved that there is at present, or has been within historical times, any race of men entirely ignorant of fire. It is at least certain that as far back as the earliest Swiss lake-villages and Danish shell-mounds the use of fire was well known in Europe."—*Pre-Historic Times*, pp. 453–4.

Mr. George French Angas repeats this statement, and says that the inhabitants of Bowditch Island knew nothing of fire until the arrival of foreigners amongst them.—*Polynesia*, p. 402.

Probably the statements in the cases cited amount to no more than this: That the observers were not able to ascertain—had not, in fact, the means of discovering—in what way the natives procured fire. Hunters and warriors, whose necessities compel them to range through the forests, separated for many days from their tribe, could not well secure game, or pursue their enemies, without having at hand the means of kindling a fire. Under pressing necessity, a warrior or a hunter might remain for days without seeing fire; but warfare, hunting, and other well-known practices of savages, could not be successfully followed constantly unless they had some method of getting fire.

With habits different from those of now existing savage peoples, life might be maintained and prolonged without any knowledge of the art of procuring fire. Without tribal laws compelling warriors to follow enemies; living in a state of degradation, far below that of the Tasmanians; and guided to the places where there was food, by intelligence scarcely surpassing that of the kangaroo, or the wombat—it is conceivable that life might be passed in ignorance of the element which is so highly prized by man.

If it be true that any races having the use of fire are yet ignorant of the mode of producing it, it should not lead us to regard them as inferior to other races that resort to friction or percussion. The habit of carrying fire-sticks continually, or the practice of getting fire from some near source, as a volcano, might result in the disuse of the fire-sticks and forgetfulness of the art; but that would not necessarily prove inferiority.

If procuring fire is in any tribe among the *artes perditæ*, it would be well for the observer to be more careful than Mr. Dove and Captain Wilkes, who seem not to have appreciated the importance of the question on which they have written so decidedly.

stick be thus worked, the hands must gradually slide down it until they reach the point. The solitary Kaffir would then be obliged to stop the stick, shift his hands to the top, and begin again, thus losing much valuable time. But when two Kaffirs unite in fire-making, one sits opposite the other, and as soon as he sees that his comrade's hands have nearly worked themselves down to the bottom of the stick, he places his own hands on the top, continues the movement, and relieves his friend. Thus the movement of the stick is never checked for a moment, and the operation is consequently hastened. Moreover, considerable assistance is given by the second Kaffir keeping the dust properly arranged round the point of the stick, and by taking the part of the bellows, so as to allow his comrade to expend all his strength in twirling the stick. . . . . Some of my readers may, perhaps, remember that English blacksmiths are equally independent of lucifer matches, flint and steel, and other recognised modes of fire-raising. They place a small piece of soft iron on the anvil, together with some charcoal-dust, and hammer it furiously. The result is that enough heat is evolved to light the charcoal, and so to enable the blacksmith to set to work."*

In many other parts of Africa the method of obtaining fire by twirling the upright stick is known and practised.

The Maori gets fire by using the wooden knife. He pushes the knife backward and forward along a groove previously made in a flat piece of wood, and the fine charcoal-dust which collects at the extremity of the groove, when ignited, is placed in a lump of soft flax, and waved to and fro until it bursts into a flame.

The names for fire in New Zealand are *Kora*, *Kapura*, *Ahi*, *Mapura*, *Maute*, *Ngiha*, *Pahunu*, *Mura*, and *Kanaka*. The sticks used in rubbing are named *Kauati* and *Kaureureu*, and the name for both sticks *Rororu*. The dust caused by rubbing is named *Para*, the process of rubbing *Kauoti*, and the flame *Pukuroa*.†

The Tahitian procures fire by rubbing the fire-sticks exactly after the manner of the Maori.‡

The Dyak of Borneo twirls the upright stick. "There is, however, one improvement on the ordinary mode. Instead of merely causing a pointed stick to revolve upon another, the Dyaks use instead of the lower stick a thick slab of very dry wood, with a deep groove cut on one side of it, and a small hole on the other bored down to the groove. . . . . He places the wooden slab on the ground with the groove undermost, and inserts his pointed stick in the little hole, and twirls it rapidly between his hands. The revolution of the stick soon causes a current of air to pass through the groove, and, in consequence, the fire is rapidly blown up as soon as the wood is heated to the proper extent. . . . . Some tribes merely cut two cross grooves on the lower piece of wood, and insert the point of the fire-stick at their intersection."§

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* *The Natural History of Man.* J. G. Wood, vol. I., p. 101.

† *Te Ika A Maui*, by the Rev. Richard Taylor, M.A., F.G.S., p. 370.

‡ *Polynesia*, by G. F. Angas, p. 286.

§ *The Natural History of Man*, by J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 502.

Other methods of procuring fire are used by the Dyaks. The *besiapi*, as described by Mr. Wood, "consists of a metal tube about three inches in length, with a piston working nearly air-tight

In Java, fire is sometimes procured by friction. D'Almeida says:—"Before starting on our return I felt desirous to smoke a cigar, in order to 'keep the cold out;' but finding I had forgotten my fusees, I asked one of the men if he could give me a light. He immediately picked up a dried piece of wood, and holding it fixed on the ground, asked one of his companions to rub another across it. This being quickly done, in less than five minutes the friction caused the upright piece to burn. The man soon blew it into a flame, and handed it to me."*

This very nearly resembles the mode of getting "fire" as practised by some of the Aborigines of New South Wales.

The Japanese, it is said, followed the system employed by the Australians.†

The Lepcha get fire after the manner of the Yarra tribe of Victoria.‡ This method of obtaining sacred fire, somewhat modified, is practised daily in the Hindu temples.§

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in it. A piece of dry stuff, by way of tinder, is introduced into the tube, the piston-rod is slapped smartly down and withdrawn with a jerk, when the tinder is seen to be on fire." Sometimes a case of bamboo and a leaden piston, with a hole at the end for the reception of the tinder, are employed. They light tinder also by percussion, after a method not yet explained.

In the *Mechanics' Magazine* of the 18th August 1832 a description is given of an instrument exactly resembling the *besiapi* by a correspondent. The editor remarks that it is well known on the continent by the name of the "Instantaneous Light-giving Syringe." This method is mentioned also in the *Intellectual Observer* (September 1865) by A. S. Herschel, B.A.

The Rev. Mr. Taylor says the Dyaks are acquainted with the methods of the Red Indians, namely, the bow and string and the upright stick and cord. The Dyaks, who can smelt iron, construct good bridges, and forge useful tools, can scarcely be regarded as an uncivilized people.

Fire is thus obtained by the people of Sarарak:—"One of the men strikes fire by means of a small branch of soft wood placed on the ground. Squatting opposite it, he holds it in its place by one of his toes, whilst some one places a foot on the opposite end for the same purpose. This piece of stick having been previously cut flat on the upper side, a pointed piece of harder wood, when it can be procured, is held in the right hand obliquely against the lower piece, somewhat as we hold a pen, with the left hand pressing on the fingers of the right to add force to it. It is at first gently moved along the line, the motion being gradually quickened, till some brown dust is scraped up at one end of the incision thus made, and the friction being then increased in velocity, the wood finally smokes and takes fire. A dry piece of poro or husk, brought from the house, where it is kept for the purpose, readily ignites when the burning dust is deposited in it, and being waved backwards and forwards, is soon in a blaze."—*Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders.* E. H. Lamont, p. 156.

* *Life in Java*, by Wm. Barrington D'Almeida, vol. II., p. 277.

† Taylor, p. 368.

‡ *Descriptive Ethnology.* Latham, vol. I., p. 89.

§ Stevenson. *Sâma Veda*, pref. VII. Quoted by Kelly.

"I know not if the Hindus ever possessed the art of concentrating the sun's rays by a lens, so as to obtain fire by that process: that used by Brahmans for cooking, and for religious ceremonies, is produced by the friction of two pieces of hard wood; one about five inches diameter, with a small conical hole, or socket, in the upper part, into which the other, shaped like a pin, is introduced, and whirled about backward and forward by a bow; the pin and socket fitting, the great attrition soon produces fire. This machine, which every Brahman ought to possess, is called *Arani*, and should be made of the *Sami* tree (*Adenanthera aculeata* or *Prosopis aculeata*), it being sacred to DÊVI in the character of SAMA DÊVI; or if that be not procurable, of the *Pipala*, resembling in appearance and name some species of our poplar."—*The Hindu Pantheon.* Moor, p. 214.

The Tongusy, inhabiting country eastward of the Lena, and who are the representatives of the ancient inhabitants of Siberia, rub two pieces of wood against each other to get fire when the tinder-box is not at hand.*

The Dacotah or Sioux Indians, Philander Prescott says, use the Australian method, and twirl the upright stick. A piece of *punk* is kept ready to apply to the charcoal-dust when ignited.†

Fire is procured by friction—when either their necessities or their superstitious observances require it—by all the tribes of America.

The usual mode of obtaining fire as practised by the Red Indians is shown in Fig. 235. A piece of wood placed perpendicularly to two other pieces of wood is made to revolve rapidly by moving a bow. Fire is soon got by this method. There is, however, a modification of this apparatus.

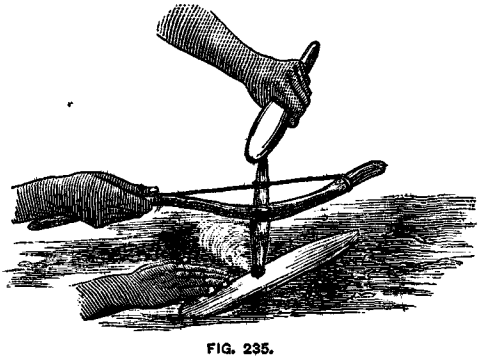

FIG. 235.

"At the sacrifice of the white dog, which was the New Year's festival and great jubilee of the Iroquois, the proceedings extended over six days. . . . The fire was kindled by swiftly revolving, by means of a bow and cord, an upright shaft of wood with a perforated stone attached to it as a fly-wheel. The lower point rested on a block of dry wood, surrounded by tinder, which was speedily ignited. This is the ordinary process still in use among many of the Indian tribes."‡

Mr. Paul Kane gives the following account of the process employed by the Chinooks:—"The fire is obtained by means of a flat piece of dry cedar, in which a small hollow is cut with a channel for the ignited charcoal to run over; this piece the Indian sits on, to hold it steady, while he rapidly twirls a round stick of the same wood between the palms of his hands, with the point pressed into the hollow of the flat piece. In a very short time sparks begin to fall through the channel upon finely-frayed cedar bark placed underneath, which they soon ignite. There is a great deal of knack in doing this; but those who are used to it will light a fire in a very short time. The men usually carry these sticks about with them, as after they have been once used they produce the fire more quickly."§

The Aztecs and Peruvians used the fire-sticks very much in the same way as the natives of Australia use them. Great as these peoples were in arts, in arms, and in all that makes the difference between the savage who lives in the forest—scarcely as well sheltered as the birds—and the inhabitant of palaces—these peoples, in the height and fulness of their glory, cast back to the times when they too were wandering tribes; and they elevated into a religious festival the practice of an art which first raised them from a

* Latham, vol. i., p. 283. † *Pre-Historic Man.* Wilson, vol. i., p. 132. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 128.

§ Mr. Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, in his *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, says that the Ahts use fire-sticks of cedar nearly in the manner described by Mr. Kane.

condition, in some respects, little superior to that of the animals on which they fed.*

To complete this brief sketch, it is necessary to describe the mode of procuring fire as practised by the Esquimaux,† and the natives of Tierra del Fuego‡—peoples separated from each other by the whole extent of the globe. And it is in the similarity and not in the difference of their methods that the chief interest exists. It is true that both these families of mankind occasionally resort to friction, but the practice common to both of getting fire by the use of pyrites and quartz—striking fire as the Europeans do, by flint and steel—is more startling than anything I have related of other races.

Both races, inhabiting very cold and very damp tracts, could not, as a rule, depend in all seasons on fire-sticks for obtaining fire. Their necessities apparently have driven them to have recourse to quartz and pyrites. Just as the heavy pressure of a dense population leads to the invention of new methods of preparing clothing, new methods of preserving and preparing food, new methods of travelling, new methods of transmitting messages, so—amongst savage peoples—a damp climate causes the savages to resort to surer means than those common to their progenitors in another clime of getting fire when they need it.

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* "Among the Aztecs and Peruvians a peculiar sanctity was associated with the familiar service of fire. At the close of the great cycle of the Aztecs, when the calendar was corrected to true solar time, at the end of the fifty-second year, a high religious festival was held, on the eve of which they broke in pieces their household gods, destroyed their furniture, and extinguished every fire. In the reconstruction of the ritual calendar which then took place, the intercalated days were regarded as belonging to no month or year. They were held as though non-existent, and were dedicated to no gods, on which account they were reputed unfortunate. It was a period of fasting and penitence, during which no fire smoked, and no warm food could be eaten throughout the whole land. At the close of that dreary interval, during which they dreaded the final extinction of the Sun, the ceremony of the new fire was celebrated. After sunset the priests of the great temple went forth to a neighbouring mountain, and there, at midnight, the sacred flame was re-kindled which was to light up the national fires for another great cycle. The process by which the fire was procured, by revolving one piece of dry wood in the hollow of another, is repeatedly illustrated in the Mexican paintings of Lord Kingsborough's great work."—*Pre-Historic Man.* Wilson, vol. I., p. 125.

Women were not allowed to witness the ceremony. If by accident one should have chanced to see it, she, it was believed, would have been transformed into some beast.

The Peruvian Sun-worshippers got fire by means of a spherical mirror of bright metal, the sun's rays being made to inflame a heap of cotton. If the sun's rays were obscured, they resorted to friction. The Inca, surrounded by his nobles, joined in the solemn celebration in the great square of the capital.

† "For obtaining fire, the Esquimaux generally use lumps of iron pyrites and quartz, from which they strike sparks on to moss which has been well dried and rubbed between the hands. They are also acquainted with the method of obtaining it by friction, which is a slower and more laborious process."—*Pre-Historic Times.* Lubbock, p. 400.

‡ In Tierra del Fuego, Weddell says that the Fuegians procure fire by means of iron pyrites and a flinty stone. They catch the sparks in a dry substance resembling moss. It is fashionable to speak of the Australians as the most degraded amongst all the races of mankind: consider the condition of the Fuegians, and decide. "Dr. Hooker informs us that at the extreme south of Tierra del Fuego, and in mid-winter, he has often seen the men lying asleep in their wigwams, without a scrap of clothing; and the women standing naked, and some with children at their breasts, in the water up to their middles, gathering limpets and other shell-fish, while the snow fell thickly on them and on their equally naked babies. In fact, fire does not appear to be a necessary with them, nor do they use it to warm the air of their huts as we do, though sometimes as a luxury they take advantage of it to toast their hands or feet."—*Pre-Historic Times.* Lubbock, p. 438.

Twirling the stick or using the wooden knife or file to procure fire is regarded by many as a sign of the inferiority of the Australian tribes; that they have no better or readier method of getting it is commonly cited as a proof that they are not ingenious. I have shown, however, that this method, variously modified, is practised in many parts of Polynesia, is used by some tribes in Asia, is known in Japan, is to this day practised by Brahmans in India, is the only mode known to tribes in America, and that in Africa the Kaffir has exactly the same sticks, and uses them in precisely the same manner as the Aborigines of the Yarra. They are not then, as regards this art, in any degree inferior to savage, barbarous, or even partially-civilized peoples. Even the pseudo-civilization of Peru and Mexico knew of this art, and it was resorted to when the necessity arose. It borrowed its splendour from the religious rites associated with the practice of the art; and had these peoples been permitted to prosper, and had they advanced to a higher state of civilization, the simple art would never have been forgotten.

The practice of the art is common to all uncivilized peoples; and more than that, any evidence of its having existed at any time amongst any people—however high they may have been or are now amongst the races of the world, and however far removed from barbarism—must be regarded as a proof that that people had at one time the same habits, if not the same instincts and the same origin, as those amongst whom the art is still practised.

When, and how, and where the first improvement on the commonly practised method of twirling the upright stick by the hand was made known to men of our own race is not in any record, because it preceded that epoch in which records became possible.

Any method better than that known to the Australian must have been welcomed by the people amongst whom there were probably some other signs of civilization, and in their minds that craving for a better condition which is only satisfied by new discoveries and the promulgation of new truths.

The discovery of a new fire-generator was perhaps the beginning of civilization amongst the peoples of the Aryan race—or if not that, at least an indication that they had emerged from barbarism.*

* "The invention of the chark," says Kelly, "was an event of immeasurable importance in the history of Aryan civilization. Scattered through the traditions of the race there are glimpses of a time when the progenitors of those who were 'to carry to their fullest growth all the elements of active life with which our nature is endowed' had not yet acquired the art of kindling fire at will. From that most abject condition of savage life they were partially raised by the discovery that two dry sticks could be set on fire by long rubbing together. But the work of kindling two sticks by parallel friction effected by the hand alone was slow and laborious, and at best of but uncertain efficacy. A little mechanical contrivance of the simplest and rudest kind completely changed the character of the operation. The chark was invented, and from that moment the destiny of the Aryan race was secured. Never again could the extinction of a solitary fire become an appalling calamity under which a whole tribe might have to sit down helpless, naked, and famishing until relief was brought them by the eruption of a volcano, or the spontaneous combustion of a forest. The most terrible of elements, and yet the kindliest and most genial, had become the submissive servant of man, punctual at his call, and ready to do whatever work he required of it. Abroad, it helped him to subdue the earth and have dominion over it; at home, it was the

The Greeks and Romans followed the practice of their remote ancestors when they made their sacred fire;* and the English and the Germans have preserved in their religious and superstitious observances a record of the period when they were wanderers in wild forests, depending on the unassisted soil for sustenance.

Kelly † tells us that the holy fires of the Germanic races are of two classes. In the first are included those which the church, finding herself powerless to suppress, appropriated and made part of her ceremonial rites. The new or sacred fire was generally got by flint and steel, but sometimes by friction.

The second class embraces those which are used as preservatives against epidemics, cures for witchcraft and the like—all pagan in their origin and character.

"The need-fire, nydfyr, new German noth feuer, was called, from the mode of its production, *confrictione de lignis*, and, though probably common to the Kelts as well as Teutons, was long and well known to all the German races at a certain period. All the fires in the village were to be re-lighted from the virgin flame produced by the rubbing together of wood, and in the highlands of Scotland and Ireland it was usual to drive the cattle through it by way of lustration, and as a preservative against disease." ‡

To this is added the following interesting note:—"In the *Mirror* of 24th June 1826 is an account of this having been done in Perthshire on occasion of a cattle epidemic. 'A wealthy old farmer having lost several of his cattle by some disease very prevalent at present, and being able to account for it in no way so rationally as by witchcraft, had recourse to the following remedy, recommended to him by a weird sister in his neighbourhood, as an effectual protection from the attacks of the foul fiend. A few stones were piled together in the barn-yard, and wood-coals having been laid thereon, the fuel was ignited by *will-fire*—that is, fire obtained by friction; the neighbours having been called in to witness the solemnity, the cattle were made to pass through the flames in the order of their dignity and age, commencing with the horses, and ending

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minister to his household wants, the centre and the guardian genius of his domestic affections."—*Indo-European Tradition and Folk-lore.* Kelly, p. 40.

Eloquent as these words are, and true as they are—if we note the time and the circumstances to which they have reference—it is but just to observe that the chark could only do more easily what the palms of the hands can do as effectively. Time and labor perhaps were saved, and that was all. But any invention which saves time and labor leads to culture and refinement, and affords the opportunity and prepares the way for other labor and time saving inventions.

* "The Aryan method of kindling sacred fire was practised by the Greeks and Romans down to a late period of their respective histories. The Greeks called the instrument used for the purpose *pyreia*, and the drilling stick *trupanon*. The kinds of wood which were fittest to form one or other of the two parts of which the instrument consisted are specified by Theophrastus and Pliny; both of whom agree that the laurel (daphne) made the best trupanon, and next to it thorn and some other kinds of hard wood; whilst ivy, athragene, and vitis sylvestris were to be preferred for the lower part of the pyreia. Festus states that when the vestal fire at Rome happened to go out, it was to be re-kindled with fire obtained by drilling a flat piece of auspicious wood (*tabulam felicis materiæ*)."—*Kelly*, p. 44-5.

The scholar need not be reminded of the many references to this practice in classics, and how largely language has profited by appropriating various modifications of the two words—Πῦρεῖον and Τρύπανον.

† *Folk-lore.* p. 46. ‡ *The Saxons in England.* Kemble. vol. i., p. 360.

with the swine. The ceremony having been duly and decorously gone through, a neighbouring farmer observed to the enlightened owner of the herd that he, along with his family, ought to have followed the example of the cattle, and the sacrifice to Baal would have been complete.'"

Grimm mentions the making of *will-fire* by means of the wheel as having been practised by the people of the island of Mull, in 1767, for the purpose of curing their cattle of some disease then prevalent.

In the Scottish highlands, according to Logan, the need-fire is still made for the same purpose; and old superstitions connected with fire yet linger in Ireland.*

I have been thus particular in describing these practices, because it is too commonly supposed, when we find any practice curious or not, simple or not, amongst savage peoples, that these peoples have derived the practice from some civilized race. Surely it is but reasonable to believe that the universal practice of getting fire by friction amongst all the civilized nations has its origin in the customs of the past, when the men of these nations were uncivilized. It is indeed a proof that it was once their usual, if not their only method of getting fire. High civilization, culture, and the possession of much knowledge, in Athens or in Rome, could consist with the existence, in the near neighbourhood, of men who were little above the savage state, and who would have had to resort to fire-sticks whenever they needed fire. Perhaps not one man in ten thousand in London knows how to get fire by friction, but less than five hundred miles from the capital there are men living who practise the art.

How did the Aborigines of Australia first get fire? Probably they were never without it. Far back in geological times there were active volcanoes in Victoria; and in the Miocene and Pliocene periods the southern and western parts formed an archipelago; the Pliocene sea was dotted with islands, and many active points sent upwards tall columns of smoke. Immense rivers of molten lava flowed towards the ocean with which they were at war. Yet we know from the fossils found in the Pliocene and post-Pliocene drifts that there were many spots covered with a rich vegetation—with trees bearing probably edible fruits—and that the climate was more like that of Queensland than that now prevailing in those parts of Australia lying to the south of the River Murray. Whether or not these islands were peopled, we shall, in all likelihood, never know. Coming to the Recent period, we find, in the places where the volcanic fires lingered until the land took the shape we now see, thin beds of volcanic ash overlying the natural grass-grown surface; and it is not impossible

* "Until lately, fires of straw were kindled on the 1st of May, in the milking yards, throughout many parts of Ireland. Men, women, and children passed through, or leaped over their flames, while cattle were driven through them. . . . . .

"In the south-western parts of Ireland, many persons yet living remember to have seen fire asked from a priest's house when any disease or epidemic broke out in the country. With this fire, other fires, first quenched, were afterwards re-kindled in the peasants' houses. Such practice was thought to avert the pestilence. But if the priest refused the fire—as he usually did, to discountenance an old superstition—the people then sought it from the 'happiest man'—supposed to be the best-living person in the parish. This curious custom is worthy of being recorded, for it seems to have come down from a very remote period."—*Irish Folk-lore.*

—it is even probable—that in such spots there may be discovered relics of the ancient inhabitants of the soil.

The Aborigines point to some of the recently extinct volcanoes, and say that fire came from them once. Whether they have learnt anything of the nature of these hills from the whites, or whether their forefathers had, and transmitted to their descendants, any knowledge of a period when they were active points, is not determinable.

Some amongst those who came first to the colony assure me that the Aborigines designated hills known to have been once active points as *Willum-a-weenth*—the place of fire—and described them as in former times giving forth smoke and steam.

In the most of cases—in nearly all—the geological evidence is certainly against the supposition that the Aborigines could ever have had knowledge of these points as once active volcanoes.

Assuming, however, that Australia was not peopled until long after the extinction of the volcanic fires, it is not probable that the Aborigines were unacquainted with fire. The rubbing together of two branches in a gale of wind—as suggested by the Rev. Mr. Taylor—might have caused a destructive conflagration in a climate as dry as this of Victoria. The fall of a heavy bough on a mass of pyritous quartz rock might have lighted the grass; a flash of lightning might have kindled the dry bark of a gum-tree; or the slipping of a mass of rock in summer might have ignited the withered ferns. On some days in summer the air at Melbourne is very dry and very hot.*

Solar radiation, as measured by a black-bulb thermometer, is sometimes on a clear day in summer as much as 160·2°; the temperature in the shade has been as high as 114°; and on one day, when a fierce hot-wind blew (23rd December 1857), the highest temperature in shade was 109·2°; and the wind-gauge registered a force of 12½ lbs. per square foot. It is conceivable that over a vast tract covered with dry grass, dry ferns, and withered and powdered gum leaves (which, owing to the oil they contain, are highly inflammable); the long rubbing together of dry boughs, agitated by the wind; or the tread of a heavy animal, such as the kangaroo or the native bear, on masses of hard pyritous quartz rocks, causing them to strike and grind against one another—might cause a conflagration.

Whether these things happened or not, in the winter there would be no fires. Necessity must have compelled the Aborigines to strain their faculties in invention during that season. How they came to invent a means so simple and efficacious as the fire-sticks we can only conjecture.

The Aboriginal tells us in his own words how fire was first obtained; and in the proper place the reader will find the story.

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* Fires due to meteoric agencies are not rare in Australia. In the *Age* of the 8th December 1874 it is stated that during a thunderstorm two large cocks of hay on the farm of Mr. W. Anketell, at Coburg, were struck by lightning and took fire; and that at Bolingbroke a farmer had a cock of hay set on fire in like manner during the same storm. In the *Geelong Advertiser* of the 2nd February 1875 mention is made of a severe thunderstorm, when a tree was struck and shattered by lightning and a log fence set on fire.

Canoes.

THE canoes used by the natives of Victoria are usually made of the bark of some species of gum-tree. The bark of the red gum-tree (*Eucalyptus rostrata*) is generally preferred; but in many districts the bark of other trees is taken, not because it is the best, but because it is easily obtainable of the sizes required. The *Koor-ron* or canoe is not made unless there be immediate occasion for its use. When it is necessary to cross a stream, a lake, or an arm of the sea, the natives assemble near the point of departure, and earnestly discuss questions relating to the means of transport. Some may be able to swim well and swiftly, and these would take to the water at once, if it were not for the goods they must carry—their shields, their weapons, and their cloaks.

FIG. 236.

When it is finally settled that the water must be crossed, the oldest and wisest of the tribe have devolved on them the duty of making a suitable canoe. If the numbers be large, the canoe must be large—so as to carry as many as possible at one time; and all the trees in the neighbourhood are examined until one is found whose bark is suitable. It must be a large tree; and it must lean and be curved, so as to admit of a piece of bark being taken off in such a form as not to need much manipulation. Labor is disliked by the Aborigines; and unnecessary labor is to them simply impossible. A gum-tree growing somewhat in the manner shown in Fig. 236 is selected; and the bark is cut at the points *x x*, and along the line shown by dots; and by pressing the wooden handle of the tomahawk and a pole between the bark and the wood,

According to the kind of bark used, the sheet is either put over the fire and turned inside out, or employed as cut, the ends being tied; or if the bark be thick—so that the ends cannot be tied—the stem and stern are stopped with clay or mud. Mr. J. A. Panton says that the natives of the south coast invariably construct their canoes of thick bark, which does not admit of the ends being tied together. The water is kept out by walls of clay at each end.—(Fig. 237.)

FIG. 237.

Mr. Bulmer has sent me a bark canoe from Lake Tyers, which is of the following figure—(Fig. 238) :—

FIG. 238.

Mr. Bulmer says that the canoe—*Gri*—is propelled by a stick named *Jendook*. The person propelling the vessel holds the stick by the middle and plies it on either side. In crossing deep water the natives lay aside the *jen-dook*, and sit down, and the vessel is then propelled by two scoop-shaped pieces of bark (*Wrail*), about six inches in length. They are more convenient than the *jendook*, more easily used, and serve for baling the boat as well as for propelling.

It will be observed that the Gippsland canoe is of a different pattern to that first figured. The ends are fastened together with a stout rope made of a vegetable fibre; and there are stretchers to prevent the collapse of the sides. In such a canoe the use of clay is not necessary if the seams or cracks have been previously caulked with gum.

Mr. Alfred Howitt, who has been under the necessity of making and using bark canoes, has supplied the following information. He says :—

"I am acquainted with two kinds of bark canoe. One kind which is folded together, and tied up at the ends to form the stem and stern, and another kind, which is not tied at the ends, but is usually completed by a lump of mud at one or other end, as may be required by the shape of the canoe. The first kind of canoe is used, I think, alone by the Gippsland blacks. At least I do not remember having seen any other; nor can I at this time recall seeing any tree from which the curved sheet of bark required for the second kind had been stripped. As illustrative of the first kind of canoe, I may describe one which the blackfellow '*Toolabar*' and I made a few years ago to cross the Snowy River during a flood. A stringybark-tree was chosen, having a straight bole, free from branches or knots, and about [four] feet in diameter at the butt. It was ascertained by taking a chip of bark out with the tomahawk that it would strip freely. Two straight saplings about ten feet in length were cut, trimmed

of their branches, and one end of each flattened on each side for some distance, so as to have a bladed form and to be pliable. *Toolabar* now cut through the bark round the tree about two to three feet from the ground; cut the bark in a straight line upwards for about ten feet—ascending by notches cut into the divided line—and then cut the bark round the tree as he had already cut it down below. Descending from the tree, he carefully inserted the blade of his tomahawk under the cut edge of the bark, thus separating it for some distance up from the tree. Then, inserting the thin blade of one sapling, he ran it upwards between the bark and the tree, leaving it thus partially spreading open the bark. The second sapling was inserted in the same way on the other side, and by working first one, and then the other, cautiously upwards and backwards, the whole sheet of bark was finally separated, all but a small portion on the upper rim. It then presented something of this aspect—(Fig. 239). We both of

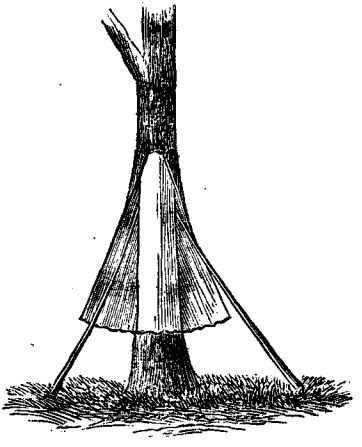
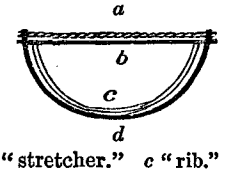


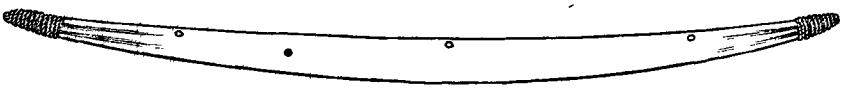
FIG. 239.

us now carefully detached it by taking hold of it from behind by the lower edge, and 'easing' it down to the ground. The next process was, as it lay smooth side downwards—nearly flat on the ground—to strip off the old outer rough fuzzy bark until we had the sheet cleaned; there being then only remaining the brown under bark, and the light-colored inner fibrous layer. The next process was to chip off the brown inner bark from about two feet at each end, leaving there only the thin tough inner layer. We now threw together the chipped-off bark with such dead leaves and rubbish as lay at hand into a heap, and, setting fire to it, placed our sheet of bark over the flames, so as to form a kind of horizontal flue, from each end of which issued volumes of smoke and heated vapour. Thus in a very short time we had our bark well steamed and pliable. Taking it now off the fire, we rapidly, but with care, turned it inside out, doubled up the sides, and secured them together at the distance we required for the canoe, by passing cords through holes previously made near each edge—the cords being twisted strands of the inner fibrous bark pulled from the edge of the sheet. I think three of these ligatures were made. One end of the canoe was now again warmed, and *Toolabar* folded it together, much as a sheet of paper is folded to make a fan, squeezing the folds together, *biting* them together

with his vice-like jaws, and lashing the folded end securely with more stringy-bark cord. The lashing extended about a foot back from the point. The other end was sewed in the same way. A stick, pointed at each end, and of the exact length of the width of the canoe, was now jammed alongside each 'tie,' the stick points holding fast in the string holes. Thus the strings held the canoe from spreading, and the sticks prevented it from coming together. In addition, pliable branches were forced in under the 'ties' as ribs, and the canoe was complete. A section taken at a tie would be thus (Fig. 240) :—



a "tie." *b* "stretcher." *c* "rib." *d* "canoe."



Side view of Canoe.

FIG. 240.

"Speaking from memory, this canoe was about ten feet long, and carried *Toolabar*, myself, and our saddles and effects over the 'Snowy;' but there was not much to spare between the edge of the canoe and the water. At the other side *Toolabar* pulled it up on the bank, and said, half seriously, 'Leave him here, I b'lieve *mraat* (dead blackfellow—ghost) might want him.'

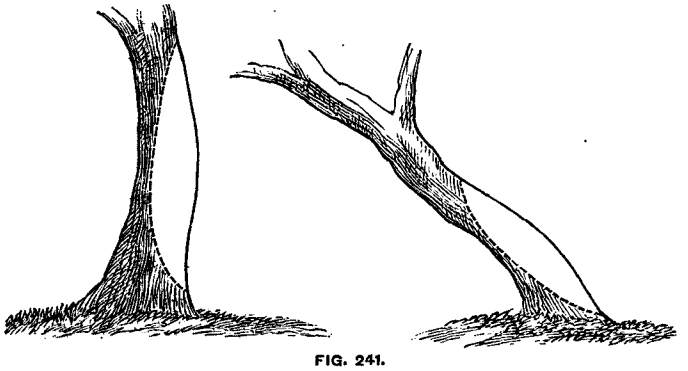


FIG. 241.

"The second kind of canoe I have seen used on the Darling and elsewhere in Riverina. It is usually cut from an inclined tree—a red-gum, according to my recollection. At Pammumaroo, near Menindie, having to cross some things, the blackfellow I had there made a canoe. A bent red gum-tree was chosen, and a sheet taken off from the bend; as the two ends were not enough out of the water, a big lump of the tenacious mud of the Darling River was kneaded into each end and smeared over a crack or two in the bottom. This kept out the water, and I crossed myself and a bag of flour (200 lbs.). If my memory serves me, there was only just room for the flour and myself—the canoe was probably not much over eight feet in length; but somewhat wider than the one I have last described. Such a tree I rudely figure above (Fig. 241).

"Although red-gums of very large size grow at Cooper's Creek, I never observed that a sheet of bark had been removed for a canoe; nor did I ever observe a canoe with the blacks, or the remains of one. I conclude that they do not use one; and this applies equally to the blacks north of Sturt's Desert (Diamantina River)—in fact, so far as I know, to all Central Australia and South Australia, excepting at the Murray River. This seems a mere truism in respect to a country having no flowing rivers; but when floods such as those of Cooper's Creek and the Diamantina occur, one might have expected to find the blacks using bark canoes on such occasions. The only other remark which suggests itself to me as regards canoes, is the observation I have made, that when navigating a large sheet of water during rough weather—such as parts of the Gippsland Lakes, Lake Tyers, Sydenham Inlet—the canoe-man, in propelling his canoe—standing upright—by means of a long light pole for a paddle, does not bring his craft 'end' on to a sea, but 'bow' on, so as to 'sidle' over the waves, the canoe riding over sideways like a duck. End on, it would probably break its back across the wave."

Toolabar, the Gippsland native, who is mentioned in Mr. Howitt's statement, has informed him that the best canoes are obtained from the bark of the following trees, here arranged in order of merit:—

1. Mountain ash, a variety of ironbark, not turned inside out, but tied.
2. Stringybark, turned inside out and tied.
3. Red-gum, generally from a bent tree; may be tied, but not turned inside out.
4. A variety of blue-gum (*Ballook*), turned and tied.
5. White-gum of river valleys, turned and tied; likewise the Snowy River mahogany (*Binnack*).
6. Peppermint; "no good," according to *Toolabar;* as also a thin yellow-barked stringybark (*Yert-chuck*), the good kind being *Yan-goura.*

Toolabar measured on the ground canoes for two, three, and four people; and the first was in length about seven feet six inches, the second eight feet, and the third from ten feet to twelve feet.

Mr. Howitt adds that in travelling from Grant towards Bairnsdale he found a stringybark-tree from which a sheet of bark for a canoe had been stripped, the bend evidently having been used. The ends, he has no doubt, had been tied, but he thinks it could not have been turned. He made a sketch on the spot, and furnished me also with diagrams.—(*See* Fig. 242.) The sheet of bark taken off was twelve feet in length, and four feet four inches measured round the convex side of the bend.

Mr. Nathaniel Munro gives me the following account of the canoes which he has seen used in Victoria. In fashioning a canoe, the natives take a large piece of bark, free from knots, and with their tomahawks cut it into the shape of an ellipse, having its ends pointed, and with its transverse and conjugate diameters as three to one. When this is laid on the fire, it contracts, and doubles over into a cigar-shaped canoe. The ends, which are subsequently tied together, curve up in such a manner as to be above the water-line when it is set afloat. The sides, which have a tendency to come together, are kept

apart by stays. Should a leak occur, the hole is stopped with clay. In making large canoes, the bow is constructed as above described, but, in order to give greater strength and security, a semicircular piece of bark is fitted into one end. That end, when the piece is so fitted, is of course the stern.

According to the information I have received, the largest canoes made by the natives of Victoria are about eighteen feet in length; and a vessel of that size will carry five or six men, or more. The late Mr. Thomas saw the natives crossing the strait between the mainland and French Island in a canoe in which there were four persons.

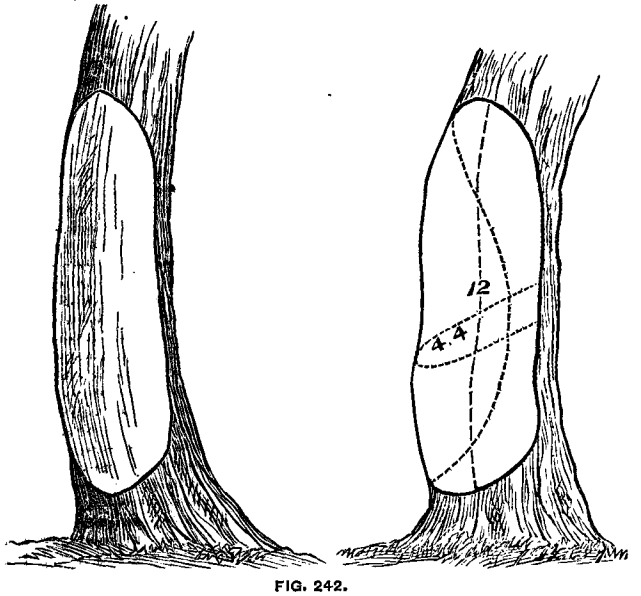


FIG. 242.

Mr. Peter Beveridge says that the natives of the Lower Murray (in Victoria) make canoes from the bark of the red-gum. They generally select a tree with a bend in it, as that saves them a great many hours' work in the manufacture of their tiny craft; because, if they use the bark of a straight stem, they have to give it the necessary curve at each end, by means of fire.

On leaving one district for another, the Aborigines conceal their canoes in the scrub on the borders of the lake or swamp on which they have been used, and, as it is seldom that they remain more than six weeks at one camping place, shifting, as they must, from place to place in search of game, it happens that most of the lakes and swamps have hidden near the water's edge bark canoes, and so carefully concealed in the rushes and scrub as not to be discovered easily by even their own people.

In the forests near the sources of the River Powlett, and elsewhere in Victoria, there still remain many trees from which bark has been taken to make canoes and water vessels.*

* Some of these trees were shown to me by Mr. Bee, the superintendent of Mr. Feehan's station, which occupies an area that was once debatable land, held alternately by the tribes of Gippsland and those who had their head-quarters at and near Western Port.

Mr. Samuel Bennett, in his exceedingly valuable and interesting *History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, makes the following remarks respecting the canoes of the Aborigines :—" The canoes used by the Aborigines on the eastern coast are the best to be found in the whole continent, and they scarcely deserve the name. The Australian canoe represents one of the most primitive appliances ever used by mankind for the purpose of navigation. In some districts it consists of a mere sheet of bark, slightly raised at the edges, serving even in still water to float but a single person, and requiring the greatest care to prevent its overturning. In others a nearer approach is made to the boat form by bending the sheet of bark somewhat in the form of the sides of a boat, sewing or tying up its ends with some fibrous material, and making it water-tight by means of gum or clay. At best, however, it was but

Canoes, Lake Tyers, from a Photograph by Walters.
FIG. 243.

a sorry substitute for a boat, and it is probable, from the fact that it was not even known to some of the coast tribes, and that it had in its most rudimentary state never reached Tasmania, that its introduction was not of very ancient date even on the mainland. To the tribes of unmixed Aboriginal blood, like the Tasmanians were, and some on the north-west coast still are, the canoe was wholly unknown. It was, therefore, in all probability a thing of foreign invention, and of modern introduction. The comparative ignorance of the Australian Aborigines, the Andaman Islanders, and other people of Negrito or Indian Negro race, of the use of the canoe, supplies a strong link to connect them with each other. . . . ." *

I cannot agree with Mr. Bennett. There is no evidence which would suggest that the bark canoe is of foreign invention. Indeed it is almost beyond doubt that the Australians of Victoria, before the arrival of the whites, had learnt

* *The History of Australian Discovery and Colonization*, by Samuel Bennett, p. 266.

nothing from foreigners. On the authority of Mr. Knight, I can state that the natives of the north-west coast of Australia use rough log canoes, though they are, as he remarks, "of the most primitive description." *

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* *Western Australia: its History, Progress, Condition, and Prospects*, by W. H. Knight, p. 106.

The natives of Tasmania had canoes, and they were described more than seventy years ago. They are referred to in another part of this work.

Mr. Taplin says that the natives around Lake Alexandrina make canoes exactly like those used in Victoria.

Oxley, in 1817, saw a bark canoe on a lake near Port Macquarie sufficiently large to hold nine men, and in form it resembled a boat.

Mitchell (1838) found that the natives could strip a tree of its bark, and form a canoe, and propel it through the water with astonishing ease and swiftness.

Abel Tasman states that the proas of the natives of the north-west coast, which he saw, were made of the "bark of trees;" and Capt. Stokes gives an account of the rafts formed of poles of the palm-tree, and propelled by a very rude double-bladed paddle, which, he supposes, may have misled Tasman. The raft of unbarked timber, he thinks, may have been mistaken by Tasman for a bark canoe.

Mr. Martin gives the following account of the crafts used at Roebuck Bay:—"As this race of people have no rivers or deep-sea inlets to cross, the craft commonly used by the natives of the Glenelg district is of rare occurrence here. These consist of three or four mangrove sticks, about six or seven feet in length, pegged together with pine. The ends of all the sticks are carefully sharpened, and only such sticks as are naturally bent to a suitable shape appear to be chosen. About the middle of the canoe there is a pine pin projecting six or seven inches on either side, probably affording a similar support to the native mariner as a stirrup does to a horseman. Of course there is no attempt to make a bottom to the canoe, nor do the specimens seen show the least sign of ornamentation. There is a red-ochreous stain to be detected upon them here and there, but we account for them as having been communicated from the persons of the natives colored with *wilgi* (red-ochre)."

The Messrs. Jardine, in the narrative of their overland expedition from Rockhampton to Cape York, give a description of the canoes of the natives of the northern part of Australia. They say:—"The greatest ingenuity which the natives display is in the construction and balancing of their canoes. These are formed from the trunk of the cotton-tree (*cochlospermum*), hollowed out. The wood is soft and spongy, and becomes very light when dry. The canoes are sometimes more than fifty feet in length, and are each capable of containing twelve or fifteen natives. The hull is balanced and steadied in the water by two outrigger poles, laid athwart, having a float of light wood fastened across them at each end, so that it is impossible for them to upset. A stage is formed on the canoe where the outriggers cross, on which is carried the fishing gear, and invariably, also, fire. The canoes are propelled by short paddles, or a sail of palm-leaf matting when the wind is fair."

Mr. J. A. Panton states, from information furnished by Mr. Halpin, of the Leigh Road, near Geelong, that the canoes of the Cape York natives are of superior build to any others in Australia. Some are forty-five feet in length and three feet in beam. They are cut from a solid log, and fitted with a sort of deck or framework, about twelve feet in length, and fixed amidships, overhanging the sides about three feet. This upper deck has an outer railing, and within it and the deck are kept the fishing-lines, spears, &c.

All the natives of Australia, and the natives of Tasmania, have been acquainted with rude modes of transport by water for a long period, and the time when the first bark canoe was made will never be known. The woods in Australia are hard, but eminently fitted for the construction of canoes; and they no doubt would have been used by the natives if the bark had not offered a substitute, at once easy to obtain and easy of manipulation. I have in my possession (fashioned by the natives) a large wooden *tarnuk* (water vessel), formed of the wood of the eucalyptus. It is fifteen inches in length, twelve inches in breadth, and six inches in depth. It is from three to four inches in thickness, and is very heavy; but it is buoyant on water. Any large sound gum-tree, if shaped and hollowed, would make an excellent canoe.

The Andaman Islanders have single-tree canoes, and they are acquainted with the use of outriggers,* and I have always understood that in the management of their vessels they are expert.

On the north-eastern coasts the natives sometimes use canoes formed of a single trunk of a tree, fourteen feet in length, very narrow, and fitted with an outrigger. †

Undoubtedly, the larger and better vessels have been constructed on models copied from foreigners; but the natives of Gippsland and the Murray, who make canoes of bark, and tie the ends, or stop them with clay, could not have learnt from foreigners these methods of constructing such vessels. It was, perhaps, from the accidental floating of the wooden or bark *tarnuk* that the invention was derived. ‡

Some very interesting letters relating to the canoes of the Australians are found in the *Athenæum*. It is impossible, in order to do justice to the writers, to summarize the statements made in the letters; and I shall therefore quote them nearly as they appear in that journal.

Mr. O. W. Brierly says:—"The *Times* of Wednesday the 29th January 1862, in a review of the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, refers to the various opinions of ethnologists with respect to the original unity of the human species, and the probability or otherwise of the different portions of the globe having been peopled by the migrations of a single race, and mentions that Mr. Crawfurd holds 'the supposition of a single race peopling all countries to be monstrous, and contradictory to the fact that some of them to this day do not know how to use or construct a canoe.' At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Crawfurd stated that the Australians have no canoes, so that perhaps these may be the people alluded to as not knowing how to construct or use them. I will not presume now to offer any theory upon the question as to the source from whence Australia was peopled, but perhaps you will kindly allow me space in your columns to say that at Rockingham Bay, on the north-eastern coast of Australia, the natives have very neatly-made canoes; and further on, at a river opening in the mainland opposite the

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* "In nothing do the Andamaners show their skill more than in canoe-making. . . . . In the making and management of canoes they are simply unapproachable, even though their tools are of the rudest possible description."—*Natural History of Man*, by J. G. Wood, vol. II., p. 213.

Capt. Mouatt's description of the canoes of the Andamaners, quoted in the Rev. Mr. Wood's work, gives one a high idea of the skill of these islanders.

† *Voyage autour du Monde.* Freycinet.

‡ From the descriptions I have given, it may appear to the reader that it is very easy to make a bark canoe. The natives indeed make such vessels without much labor, but a European would find it difficult to imitate them. Mr. Hamilton Hume, in the account of his expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip, says, that being determined to cross the River Murrumbidgee, when flooded, he set out in search of a sheet of bark suitable for a canoe, such as the natives use; after a good deal of trouble, he got the bark, and succeeded in forming a canoe, but unfortunately, and to his great disappointment, it cracked and became useless for his purpose. He attributed this to the fact that it was late in the season, that the sap was down, and that the bark had set to the wood. His skill and enterprise were, however, exerted in a different manner; and he safely crossed the river in his cart, under which he had fastened a tarpaulin.—*Overland Expedition to Port Phillip.* Hamilton Hume, 1824.

Frankland Islands (long. 146° E., lat. 17° 12′ S.), were not only catamarans or rafts, but canoes made out of the solid tree, and having an outrigger on one side; and it is somewhat remarkable that both the canoes and catamarans at this place resembled others we afterwards met with at the south-eastern part of New Guinea. At Cape York (North Australia) we found the natives had large canoes, with double outriggers and mat sails, with which they stood boldly out in a strong breeze with as much sail as our own boats would carry under the same circumstances: indeed the Australians generally, upon all parts of the coast that I have visited, show little fear of the water, and under the direction of white men make very good whalers. In June 1848, the natives near Cape Grafton (lat. 16° 51′ S.) came off in their canoes and boarded the *Will-o'-the-Wisp*, a small sandal-wood trader, which they nearly captured. There are at least six varieties of canoes and rafts along the north-eastern shore of Australia alone; and these are different from others found on the coast to the southward and in other parts." *

The late Mr. Beete Jukes, in reply to Mr. Brierly's letter, wrote as follows:—

"Will you allow me to refer to the paragraph headed 'Canoes in Australia,' in your last number, for the purpose of stating exactly how the case stands? In Western Australia, although some large islands front the coast near the mouth of Swan River, at a distance of not more than three or four miles, no natives had ever landed on them till the arrival of the settlers. They had not the remotest notion of a canoe nor any kind of water conveyance whatever. This is true also, as far as my enquiries sixteen or eighteen years ago enabled me to ascertain, for all the west and for all the south coast of Australia. On the north-west coast they used bundles of rushes tied together to assist them in swimming from one island to another. In Botany Bay, Cook found them using strips of bark tied together at the ends, making a sort of dish, in which a man could stand. In Rockingham Bay, when I visited it in H.M.S. *Fly*, we first saw bark canoes sewn together, and having thwarts, something like the canoes of the North American Indians. North of this the canoes improved till we came to the large ones belonging to the Papuan Islanders of Torres Straits, with sails and outriggers. West of the Gulf of Carpentaria, however, these disappear at once, and the natives had nothing at Port Essington that could be called a canoe until they got some of the Malay sampans. I believe therefore that the Australians derived their canoes from the Papuan Islanders, and that Mr. Crawfurd is right as to their original destitution; although Mr. Brierly is also right as to existing facts.

"*P.S.*—Does any wood grow in Australia large enough and light enough to make a canoe if merely hollowed out? I doubt it. Neither is there any of which a bow could be made." †

In reference to the above, Sir Daniel Cooper thus writes:—"Mr. J. B. Jukes, in his letter on canoes in Australia, is wrong in his statement with respect to New South Wales. In the Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of New South Wales for the Exhibition of 1862 is the following

* *Athenæum*, p. 304, 1st March 1862. † *Ibid*, p. 331, 8th March 1862.

extract from a lecture on the Aborigines of New South Wales by Edward J. Hill, Esq.:—'The canoes of the natives are of two kinds. Those intended for a mere temporary purpose—to cross a river or lagoon—are formed from the bark of a gum-tree, simply tied together at the ends, with a piece of stick to keep the sides from coming together. When intended for fishing or permanent use, much more trouble is taken. A large sheet of bark is taken from the stringy-bark-tree; the outer side of the bark, which is very rough and stringy, is carefully removed; it is then slowly, and with very great attention, passed over a blazing fire until it has become thoroughly hot through, which makes it very pliable; the ends of the bark are then brought together and laced with a cord made from the same description of bark; the gunwale is strengthened by a band of rushes laced along the edge; and two or three stretchers are placed, according to its length, to keep the canoe in shape. A canoe of this kind is usually occupied by two men—one at the stern, who propels it with a short paddle in either hand, and the other at the bow, armed with spears, with which to strike the fish. When crossing a river or lake, four or five persons may be conveyed in one of them with safety. When employed in fishing, a flat stone is placed in the centre, on which a small fire is always kept burning, on which they can cook their fish when they catch them.'

"Mr. Hill speaks the language and knows the customs and habits of the Aborigines thoroughly, and may, therefore, be considered an authority. In 1834 I saw the natives using the large canoes outside both Jervis Bay and Twofold Bay, and the large fish which were brought in by them clearly proved to me that their canoes must have been very buoyant and strong. Any one acquainted with the strength and tenacity of stringybark would not wonder that a primitive people without metal tools should use it for boats in preference to wood, which could only be hollowed out in a rude manner and with immense labor. On the Murray, Murrumbidgee, and other interior rivers, the bark canoe was used; and all who have seen much of the natives, especially on the coast, will admit that they are skilful men in a boat.

"What Mr. Brierly states about the canoes on the north-east coast I believe to be correct, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy from personal observation. The north coast of Australia is regularly visited, I believe, by the Malays for the purpose of trepang-fishing. If Mr. Jukes will be good enough to examine the Australian timbers, and the description of them in the Catalogues of the Great Exhibition, he will find the doubts expressed in the *P.S.* of his letter fully answered." *

Mr. Brierly, in another letter, makes the following statements:—

"I cannot but feel flattered by the testimony of so eminent an authority as Mr. Jukes to the truth of my observations about the canoes of Australia, and well remember the interest with which (on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*) we used to consult his valuable work upon that part of the world during our surveying cruises over much of the ground which he had visited in H.M.S. *Fly* before us; but I think in the observations which he makes for the purpose of stating

* *Athenæum*, p. 364, 15th March 1862.

'exactly how the case stands' in the present instance, there are one or two points in which he does not define this quite clearly, and with your kind permission I will endeavour to show which these are. After alluding to the canoes they saw at Rockingham Bay, Mr. Jukes observes, that 'north of this the canoes improved till we came to the large ones belonging to the Papuan Islanders of Torres Straits.' The improvement in the canoes here spoken of conveys correctly the state of the case so far; but at Cape York we arrive—in the first instance on the mainland—at important canoes, with double outriggers and sails, belonging to the Australians; while next to these, increasing in size and importance, are the canoes of the Kowraregas, or natives of the Prince of Wales's Islands, who are friendly with the Gudang tribe at Cape York, and in constant communication with them. The Kowraregas are a true island tribe, more Australian than Papuan, though in many respects superior to the Australians; and it is the large canoes of these people, and not of Papuans, which we have on the Australian side of the straits. The Kowraregas intermarry both with the Australians and with the more Papuan tribes of the islands nearer New Guinea, as the Kulcalagas, Badulegas, Italegas, and others; indeed the islanders of the straits generally appear to be more or less a mixed race, with a greater or less proportion of Australian or Papuan character as their islands approach either side of the straits. The Prince of Wales's Islanders have no direct communication with New Guinea, but get ornaments, feathers, and weapons through the Badus and other tribes, who obtain them either from New Guinea or from islands immediately upon its coast, and take back in return from the Kowraregas the shell of a large flat oyster they call Marri, which is much valued by the people to the north for making breast ornaments. After speaking of the canoes of Torres Straits, with sails and outriggers, Mr. Jukes remarks, that 'west of the Gulf of Carpentaria these disappear at once; and the natives at Port Essington had nothing that could be called a canoe until they got some of the Malay sampans.' I think Mr. Jukes is right as to the disappearance of the sailing canoes west of the Gulf of Carpentaria; but the sketches of canoes taken by Mr. Banes, the artist of Mr. Gregory's expedition, and now to be seen in the chart-room of the Royal Geographical Society, show that the natives of the Goulburn Islands, upwards of two hundred miles to the westward of Cape Arnhem, on the western side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, have well-made paddle canoes, capable of carrying, at least, three men in a rough sea. At Port Essington we saw two kinds of wooden canoes—one brought over by the Malays, and another and smaller kind, which appeared to me to be native; but of this I am not sure, as I do not find any note about it upon my sketches of them. Macgillivray says (*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, vol. I., p. 146) that before they obtained canoes from the Malays, bark canoes were in general use among the natives here.* Speaking

* In Macgillivray's work it is stated that at Rockingham Bay the canoes are constructed of a single sheet of bark of the gum-tree, brought together at the ends and secured by stitching. The sitter squats down with his legs doubled under him, and uses a small square piece of bark in each hand as paddles, with one of which he also bales the water out by dexterously scooping it up from behind him. At Port Essington the natives at one period used bark canoes, but at the time of his

with reference not only to the west, but also to all the southern coast of Australia, Mr. Jukes says that the result of his enquiries, sixteen or eighteen years ago, enabled him to ascertain that the natives of these parts of Australia 'had

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visit (1846) such vessels were completely superseded by others, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, which they procure, ready-made, from the Malays, in exchange for tortoise-shell, and in return for assistance in collecting trepang.

He gives the following description of the canoes seen by him at Coral Haven, in the Louisiade Archipelago:—"The usual length is about twenty-five feet, and one of this size carries from seven to ten people. The body is formed by the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, tapering and rising at each end, short and rounded behind, but in front run out into a long beak. A stout plank on each side raises the canoe a foot, forming a gunwale secured by knees, the seam at the junction being payed over with a black pitch-like substance. This gunwale is open at the stern, the ends not being connected, but the bow is closed by a raised end-board, fancifully carved and painted, in front of which a crest-like wooden ornament fits into a groove running along the beak. This figure-head, called *tabúra*, is elaborately cut into various devices, painted red and white, and decorated with white egg-shells and feathers of the cassowary and bird of paradise. The bow and stern also are more or less profusely ornamented with these shells, which besides are strung about other parts of the canoe, usually in pairs. An outrigger extends along nearly the whole length of the left or port side of the canoe. In its construction there are employed from six to eight poles, two inches in diameter, which rest against one side of the body of the canoe, and are secured there; then passing out through the opposite side about five feet, inclining slightly upwards at the same time, are connected at the ends by lashing to a long stout pole completing the strong framework required for the support of the float. This last is a long and narrow log of a soft and very light wood (probably a cotton-tree), rising a little and pointed at each end, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the water. Four sticks passing diagonally downwards from each of the transverse poles are sunk into the float, and firmly secure it. A strip of the inner portion of the outrigger frame is converted into a flat form by long sticks laid lengthways close to each other;—here the sails, masts, poles, spears, and other articles are laid when not in use. The paddles vary slightly in form, but are usually about four feet in length, with a slender handle and a pointed lance-shaped blade. The number of men able to use the paddles is regulated in each canoe by that of supporting outrigger poles, the end of each of which, in conjunction with one of the knees supporting the gunwale, serves as a seat. One sitter at each end, being clear of the outrigger, is able to use his paddle on either side as requisite in steering, but the others paddle on the right or starboard side only. The man seated at the stern closes with his body the opening between the ends of the raised gunwale, and thus keeps out the spray or wash of the sea. Still they require to bale frequently, using for this purpose the large shell of *Melo Ethiopica*. . . . . The sails are from twelve to fifteen feet in length and a yard wide—made of coarse matting of the leaf of the cocoa-nut tree stretched between two slender poles. The mast is stepped with an outward inclination into one of three or four holes in a narrow shifting board in the bottom of the canoe, and is secured near the top to a slender stick of similar length made fast to the outside part of the outrigger; a second pole is then erected, stretching diagonally outwards and secured to the outer one near its centre. Against the framework thus formed the sails are stuck up on end, side by side, to the number of three or four, occasionally even five, and kept in their places by long sticks placed transversely, their ends as well as those of the mast being sharpened to serve as skewers which in the first instance secure the sails."—*Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, vol. I., pp. 202–4.

Another canoe, of a somewhat different construction, but also formed of the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, was seen near Rossel Island.

The natives of Brumer Island use catamarans. One nine feet long, consisted, according to Macgillivray, of three thick planks lashed together, forming a sort of raft, which one man sitting a little behind the middle, with his legs doubled under him, managed very dexterously with his paddle. Others were seen of a larger size, capable of carrying a dozen people with their effects. The canoe of this part of New Guinea is about twenty-five feet in length, is made of the trunk of a tree, and carries seven or eight people. It is carved, as is also the catamaran. Small temporary sails are used for the canoes.

Near Redscar, canoes were observed similar to those in use at Brumer and Dufaure Islands, but there were slight differences noticed in the arrangement of the outriggers and outrigger floats.

not the remotest idea of a canoe nor any kind of water conveyance whatever.' When I visited Twofold Bay, in the yacht *Wanderer*, soon after our arrival in Australia in that vessel, twenty years ago, we found the natives of that part had their canoes—of bark, certainly, but still canoes in which they went out into the bay to catch fish by lines and spearing. Twofold Bay is upon the southern point of the continent, in lat. 37° 6′ 40″ S. The concluding remark, in which Mr. Jukes expresses his doubt as to whether any wood grows in Australia 'large enough and light enough to make a canoe if merely hollowed out,' will surprise many, besides myself, who have visited Australia. I have before me a list of upwards of three hundred Australian trees, many of which, from their great size and other properties, must be adapted for making the largest canoes. A considerable proportion of the large Australian trees, as the black butt (*Eucalyptus media?*), become very hollow when they attain their greatest size. One of the most useful trees in Australia, the cedar (*Cedrela Australis*), is very large and light, and is cut annually in great quantities at the Bellengen, Clarence, and other rivers, and floated down to the coast for shipment to Sydney. Nearly all the Australian wooden canoes that I have seen had outriggers with floats of light wood attached; and these not only give great stability, but are calculated to support upon the surface of the water canoes made from wood which otherwise, from their weight, might not be adapted for the purpose. A friend of mine in Sydney had a canoe made from one of the Australian trees (the red-gum, I believe), and this carried upwards of fifteen people easily, without any assistance from floats or outriggers. When we were at Cape York, the natives pointed out to me the trees of which they said they made their canoes; and Macgillivray (*Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, vol. II., p. 16) gives the following account of their construction at that place:—'A tree of sufficient size, free from limbs—usually a species of bombax (silk-cotton tree) or erythrina—is selected in the scrub, cut down, hollowed out where it falls, and dragged to the beach by means of long climbers used as ropes. The remaining requisites are now added; two stout poles, fourteen to twenty feet in length, are laid across the gunwale, and secured there from six to ten feet apart; and the projecting ends are secured by lashing and wooden pegs to a long float of light wood on each side, pointed, and slightly turned up at the ends. A platform or stage of small sticks laid across occupies the centre of the canoe, extending on each side several feet beyond the gunwale, and having on the outside a sort of double fence of upright sticks, used for stowing away weapons and other gear. The cable is made of twisted climbers, often the *Flagellaria Indica*, and a large stone serves for an anchor.' When I wrote the letter on this subject, which you did me the honor to insert in your number of the 1st inst., I had not seen Mr. Crawfurd's paper '*On Classification of the Races of Men*,' published in the last volume of the '*Transactions of the Ethnological Society*,' and my observations then were in consequence of the statement which I heard Mr. Crawfurd make at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, and the views attributed to him in a notice of his paper in the *Times* of the 29th of January last. Upon reading Mr. Jukes's letter, however, I thought that perhaps the paper itself might contain

some reference to an 'original destitution' of the Australian natives with respect to canoes, in which Mr. Jukes believes Mr. Crawfurd to be right; but, upon looking through it, I can only find the most positive assertions (pp. 355, 361) that the Australians 'have no canoes to this day,' and that 'even now' they cross their own rivers only on rude rafts."*

Mr. Beete Jukes replied thus:—"Will you allow me to state my opinion a little more deliberately than in my hastily-written note which appeared in your number of the 8th inst.? The statements as to existing facts made by Sir D. Cooper and Mr. Brierly are, of course, beyond all question. I looked at the subject from an ethnological point of view—whether the Australians had anything of their own invention worthy of being called a canoe. Before writing the ethnological chapter in the '*Voyage of H.M.S. Fly*,' published in 1847, I searched most, if not all, of the early voyages and travels for information on this matter among others. From this search, and from my own observations and enquiries made during our voyage, I came to the conclusion that, before they were visited by Europeans, the Australians had no canoes anywhere along the south, west, and north-west coasts, from Cape Howe to Cape Leuwin, and thence to Melville Island, or thereabouts. On the east coast, at Twofold Bay, Botany Bay, and the other places visited by Cook, Flinders, King, and others, as far north as Sandy Cape, the only canoes mentioned are, as I believe, the strips of bark tied together at the ends, with rough sticks to keep them open, which have been already described. I was much struck with the bark canoes about Rockingham Bay, as they resembled those I had previously seen among the Mic-Mac Indians of Newfoundland, although greatly inferior to them. The detailed description of those canoes which I find in my own notes agrees precisely with that quoted by Sir D. Cooper from Mr. Hill. The fact mentioned by Sir D. Cooper, however, that he had seen similar canoes outside Jervis and Twofold Bays, in the year 1834, is new to me, and would, had I been aware of it, have, *pro tanto*, modified my statements as to canoes of New South Wales. I still believe that the canoes made of hollowed trees found among the Australians of the north-east coast are either procured from the Papuan Islanders, or that, at all events, it was from these islanders that the Australian learnt how to make them. Macgillivray says, in the passage quoted by Mr. Brierly from the '*Voyage of the Rattlesnake*,' that they now use iron axes, which they must of course procure from 'white men.' The larger canoes among the Torres Straits Islanders themselves must, I think, have been procured from New Guinea, whence so many of their implements are derived, ornamented with cassowary and not with emu feathers. The doubt expressed in the *P.S.* of my note, as to the possibility of getting trees in Australia large enough and light enough to make canoes, if hollowed out, is certainly of too sweeping a character; for I had hardly posted the note before I recollected the beautiful pine-trees which grow in such profusion about Whitsunday Passage and the neighbourhood—a part of the Australian coast much superior in aspect, and, I believe, in value, to any

* *Athenæum*, p. 397, 22nd March 1862.

other portion of any side of it. The statements of Macgillivray and Mr. Brierly show clearly that I was wrong in this. Still the generality of Australian trees are ill adapted for such a purpose. It was always said in the Australian Colonies that none of the native woods would float in water. Whether that be true or not, almost all the large trees of the greater part of Australia are at the same time heavy, hard, and brittle, readily splitting into slabs or splinters, but not easily cut across the grain. It is probably in great measure the nature of their woods which has prevented the Australians from becoming as advanced in the arts of life as the Papuans, who have in New Guinea not only large canoes of solid timber, but powerful bows, and large, well-constructed houses, built on the stumps of stout trees, all cut down to one uniform level by stone hatchets not very much superior to those used by the Australians. I am not speaking of what might be done by Europeans with Australian woods, but solely endeavouring to learn the condition of the Australians before they came into contact with either Papuans, Malays, or Europeans. My own impression was that their intercourse with the former had not been of very much earlier date than that with either of the latter, and that it was from the Papuan Islanders of Torres Straits that the art of canoe-making was making its way among the Australians when they were first visited by Europeans. It appeared to me that this art had spread from Torres Straits, as from a centre, down the east coast to Twofold Bay and Cape Howe, and along the north coast not nearly so far, in consequence of the great indentation of the Gulf of Carpentaria, with its barren and therefore uninviting shores. I feel sure that we were told at Port Essington that the natives had no wooden canoes before that coast was visited by the Malays. Can any one now give any certain information as to Port Phillip before it was colonized? Had the natives any canoes there? And what kind of canoes were they?" *

It is not necessary to add anything to the statements already made respecting the use of canoes by the natives of Australia, nor to reply to the questions put by the late Mr. Beete Jukes. The letters which appeared in the *Athenæum* show how things the most obvious may be overlooked altogether, or, if seen, misunderstood, by trained observers of the highest ability. And travellers, who have to depend on hastily-made observations, or on the apparently accurate accounts of settlers less informed than themselves, should refrain from too hastily drawing conclusions.

* *Athenæum*, p. 431, 29th March 1862.

Myths.

Pund-jel.

Pund-jel or Bun-jil created all things, but he made no women. Pund-jel has a wife named *Boi-boi*, whose face he has never seen. Yet he has a son whose name is *Bin-beal*, and a brother named *Pal-ly-yan*. Though Pund-jel was the creator of all things, he had help from *Bin-beal* and *Pal-ly-yan*. Pund-jel always carries a large knife or sword (*Bul-li-to kul-pen-kul-pen gye-up*),* and when he made the earth (*Beek*) he went all over it, cutting it in many places, and thereby formed creeks and rivers, and mountains and valleys. All these things are believed by the *Boo-noo-rong* or Coast tribe.

The Aborigines of the Yarra (the *Wa-woo-rong* tribe) say that Bun-jil made the earth (*Beek-warreen*) and all things besides. He had two wives, and he gave one of them to his brother *Boo-err-go-en*. He had two sons, *Ta-jerr* and *Tarrn-nin*, and these he sent very frequently to destroy bad men and bad women—wicked men and women who had killed and eaten blacks.

Boo-err-go-en, the brother of Bun-jil, was very wild, and though he had had given to him one wife, he was not satisfied. Bun-jil had a sword or knife (*Warra-goop*), and also an instrument named *Ber-rang*, with which he could open any place or any thing, and in such a way as to make it impossible for any one to know how or whether or not it had been opened. No one could see the opening he made.

The Aborigines of the northern parts of Victoria say that the world was created by beings whom they call *Nooralie*—beings that existed a very long time ago. They name a man who is very old *Noorālpily*.† They believe that the beings who created all things had severally the form of the Crow and the Eagle. There was continual war between these two beings, but peace was made at length. They agreed that the Murray blacks should be divided into

* The word for knife is the same in Bunce's *Vocabulary*, but the spelling is different.

† *Nooran-an-ya* means "far off."

"The Murray natives believe in a Being with supreme attributes, whom they call *Nourelle*; that he lives in the sky, and is surrounded by children born without the intervention of a mother; that *Nourelle* never dies, and that blackfellows go to him, and never die again. They also believe that *Nourelle* created a great serpent, and gave him power over all created things."—*Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales.* Pamphlet by a Colonial Magistrate, 1846.

two classes—the *Mak-quarra* or Eaglehawk, and the *Kil-parra* or Crow. The conflict that was waged between the rival powers is thus preserved in song:—

Thinj-ami balkee mako;
Knee strike Crow;
Nato-panda Kambe-ar tona;
Spear father of him.

The meaning of which is: "Strike the Crow on the knee; I will spear his father."

The war was maintained with great vigor for a length of time. The Crow took every possible advantage of his nobler foe, the Eagle; but the latter generally had ample revenge for injuries and insults. Out of their enmities and final agreement arose the two classes, and thence a law governing marriages amongst these classes.

The First Men.

The Melbourne blacks say that Pund-jel made of clay two males. This was in long, long ages past; and the two first breathed in a country towards the north-west (*Oodi-yul-yul wootunno per-reen N'gervein*). Pund-jel made of clay two male blacks, in the following manner:—With his big knife he cut three large sheets of bark. On one of these he placed a quantity of clay, and worked it into a proper consistence with his knife. When the clay was soft, he carried a portion to one of the other pieces of bark, and he commenced to form the clay into a man, beginning at the feet; then he made the legs, then he formed the trunk and the arms and the head.* He made a man on each of the two pieces of bark. He was well pleased with his work, and he looked at the men a long time, and he danced round about them. He next took stringybark from a tree (*Eucalyptus obliqua*), made hair of it, and placed it on their heads—on one straight hair and on the other curled hair. Pund-jel again looked at his work, much pleased (*Bul-li-to monomeeth*), and once more he danced round about them. To each he gave a name: the man with the straight hair he called *Ber-rook-boorn;* the man with the curled hair, *Koo-kin Ber-rook.* After again smoothing with his hands their bodies, from the feet upwards to their heads, he lay upon each of them, and blew his breath into their mouths, into their noses, and into their navels; and breathing very hard, they stirred. He danced round about them a third time. He then made them speak, and caused them to get up, and they rose up, and appeared as full-grown young men—not like children.†

* "In company with some blacks, I was looking at a brickmaker at work, near the new bridge over the Yarra (Prince's bridge), when a Western Port black, named 'Billy Lonsdale,' seeing the brickmaker smoothing the clay in the mould, said 'Marminarta, like 'em that Pund-jel make 'em Koolin.'"—*The late William Thomas's MS.*

† Some say that the first man was made at Koorra-boort, a place near Ballarat; others that he was made at *Boo-err-go-en* [this is the name of Pund-jel's brother], situate on the River Goulburn, about twelve miles above the town of Yea. He was formed, they say, of the gum of

The story is thus told by another man of the *Wa-woo-rong* or Yarra tribe :—BUND-JEL was the first man. He made everything, and the second man (*Kar-ween*) he made also, as well as two wives for *Kar-ween*. But BUND-JEL made no wife for himself, and after the lapse of time he came to want *Kar-ween's* wives. *Kar-ween* watched his wives very jealously, and was careful that BUND-JEL should not get near them. BUND-JEL, however, was clever enough to steal both of the wives in the night, and he took them away. *Kar-ween*, taking some spears with him, pursued BUND-JEL, but he could not find him, nor could he find his wives. But in a short time BUND-JEL came back, bringing with him the two women. He asked *Kar-ween* to fight on the following day; and he proposed that if *Kar-ween* conquered he should have the women, and if BUND-JEL conquered that they should be his. To this *Kar-ween* agreed. But *Kar-ween* had in his mind a different plan. And this was his plan: to make *Ingargiull* or

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the wattle (*Acacia mollissima*), and he came out of the knot of a wattle-tree, and entered into the body of a young woman, when afterwards he appeared as a male child.

The following is an account of the creation of Kainj-ani :—The stars were formerly men, and they leave their huts in the evening to go through the same employments which they did while on earth. Some are remarkable amongst them, as *Pungngane*, *Waijungngari*, and their *Ningarope*. The first was born naturally, and the others were made as follows :—Ningarope lætitiæ plena in latrina lutum amœne erubescens cernebat; hoc in hominis figuram formabat, quæ tactu divæ motum vitalem sumebat et tunc ridebat. He was thus a Kainj-ani at once from his color [red], and his mother took him into the bush and remained with him. *Pungngane*, his brother, had two wives, and lived near the sea. Once when he remained out a long time, his two wives left the hut and went and found *Waijungngari*. As they approached, he was asleep, and the two women, placing themselves on each side of the hut, began making the noise of an emu. The noise awoke him, and he took his spear to kill them; but as soon as he ran out, the two women embraced him, and requested him to be their husband. His mother, enraged at the conduct of the women, went to *Pungngane*, and told him what had happened. Very much enraged, he left his hut to seek that of his brother, which he soon found; but there was no one there, as his wives and brother were out seeking for food. Very much vexed, he put some fire upon the hut, saying "*Kundajan*," meaning, let it remain, but not burn immediately. *Waijungngari* and the two women arrived in the evening, and lying down to sleep, the fire began to burn, and frequently to fall upon the skins with which they were covered. Awaking with fright, they threw away the skins and ran to the sea. Out of danger, and recovered a little from his fright, *Waijungngari* began to think how he could escape the wrath of his brother, and threw a spear up to the sky, which touched it and came down again. He then took a barbed spear, and throwing it upwards with all his force, it remained sticking in the sky. By this he climbed up and the two women after him. *Pungngane* seeing his brother and wives in the sky, followed with his mother, where they have remained ever since. To *Pungngane* and *Waijungngari* the natives attribute the abundance of kangaroo and the fish called *Ponde*. *Pungngane* caught a *Ponde*, and dividing it into small pieces, and throwing them into the sea, each became a *Ponde*. *Waijungngari* multiplied kangaroos in the same manner. They have many similar histories of the stars. The milky way, they say, is a row of huts, amongst which they point out the heaps of ashes and the smoke ascending.—*Aborigines of Encounter Bay Tribe, South Australia.* H. E. A. Meyer, 1846.

"In the beginning," say the Dieyerie, "the *Moora-moora* (good spirit) made a number of small black lizards (these are still to be met with under dry bark), and being pleased with them, he promised they should have power over all other creeping things. The *Moora-moora* then divided their feet into toes and fingers, and placing his forefinger on the centre of the face, created a nose, and so in like manner afterwards eyes, mouth, and ears. The spirit then placed one of them in a standing position, which it could not, however, retain, whereupon the Deity cut off the tail, and the lizard walked erect. They were then made male and female, so as to perpetuate the

corrobboree. *Kar-ween* spoke to *Waung* (the Crow), and asked him to make a corrobboree. And many crows came, and they made a great light in the air, and they sang—

Mene-Nar-in-gee,
Targo Barra Targo,
Burra mene long-go,
Wah!

Whilst they were thus singing, BUND-JEL danced. *Kar-ween* took a spear and threw it at him, and wounded him a little in the leg, but not in such a manner as to hurt BUND-JEL much. BUND-JEL, however, was very angry, and he seized a spear and threw it at *Kar-ween*. It was so well thrown that it went through the joint of *Kar-ween's* thigh. And *Kar-ween* could walk about no more. *Kar-ween* became sick. He became as lean as a skeleton, and thereupon BUND-JEL made *Kar-ween* a Crane, and that bird was thereafter called *Kar-ween*.

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race. . . . Men, women, and children do not vary in the slightest degree in this account of their creation."

There are many superstitions of the Dieyerie tribe and of the neighbouring tribes near Cooper's Creek (lat. 27° S.) which are interesting. Mr. Gason describes the ceremonies performed when the blacks desire the wild-fowl to lay eggs; and refers to those practised when they wish for a plentiful supply of wild dogs, an abundance of snakes, for more strength to their young men, and the like. These ceremonies are, however, not over-cleanly in their character. "When it is a bad season for iguanas (*Koppirries*), one of the principal articles of their food, some of the natives proceed to make them. This ceremony is not observed by the Dieyerie; but as they are invariably invited and attend, I think it proper to describe it. On a day appointed, they sit in a circle, when the old men take a few bones of the leg of the emu, about nine inches long, and sharpened at both ends. Each old man then sings a song, while doing so piercing his ears, first one and then the other, several times, regardless of the pain, if not insensible to it. I add the song, which is not in the Dieyerie dialect, and a translation of it:—

Pa-pa-pa. Kirra-a. Lulpara-na.
Mooloo Kurla parcha-ra. Willyoo lana
Mathapootana murara Thidua-ra Mindieindie
Kurtaworie-woriethiea-a.

Translation—'With a boomerang we gather all the iguanas from the flats and plains, and drive them to the sandhills; then surround them, that all the male and female iguanas may come together and increase.' Should there be a few more iguanas after the ceremony than before, the natives boast of having produced them; but if they are as scarce as previously, they have their customary excuse, that some other tribe took away their power. The iguana is supposed to be a conductor of lightning, and during a thunderstorm all these reptiles are buried in the sand. And should any natives become grey, or have much hair on the breast when young, it is supposed to be caused by eating the iguanas when children.

"There are places covered by trees which are held very sacred—the larger ones being supposed to be the remains of their fathers metamorphosed. The natives never hew them, and should the settlers require to cut them down, they earnestly protest against it, asserting they would have no luck and themselves might be punished for not protecting their ancestors."—*The Dieyerie Tribe*, by Samuel Gason, 1874.

The Maories give this account of the making of man:—"Of Tiki little is preserved; his great work was that of making man, which he is said to have done after his own image. One account states that he took red clay and kneaded it with his own blood, and so formed the eyes and limbs, and then gave the image breath. Another, that man was made of clay and the red-ochreous water of swamps, and that Tiki bestowed both his own form and name upon him, calling him *Tiki-ahua*, or Tiki's likeness. . . . . Some traditions say that Tiki is a woman; but the general idea is the contrary."—*Te Ika A Maui*, by the Rev. Richard Taylor, M.A., 1870, pp. 117–18.

BUND-JEL was the conqueror. The two women became his wives, and he had many children.

After this, *Ballen-ballen* (the Jay), who at that time was a man, had a great many bags full of wind, and being angry, he one day opened the bags, and made such a great wind that BUND-JEL and nearly all his family were carried up into the heavens.

THE FIRST WOMEN.

Pal-ly-yan, who is described sometimes as a brother of PUND-JEL, and sometimes as a son, has the control of the waters, great and small. He is supreme over rivers, creeks, and lagoons; and the sea obeys him likewise. All creatures that live in the deeps or shallows he can control. There is nothing in the deep waters of the rivers that can perplex him; and his chief pleasure is to paddle in the shallow waters, and to dive to great depths in the deep waters. One day he was playing in a deep, deep water-hole. He thumped and threshed the waters with his hands, in the same manner as the women beat the skins when men dance the corrobboree. The water became thick; it became very thick; it became as mud; and *Pal-ly-yan* could no longer see through it as before. But something he saw at length. And dividing the thick waters with a bough, so as to get a glimpse of things underneath, he beheld what appeared to be hands, such as PUND-JEL had given to the men he had created. *Pal-ly-yan* took a strong twig, bent it into the form of a hook, and again divided the waters, and there appeared two heads (such as PUND-JEL had given to the men), then bodies (similar to those made by PUND-JEL), and finally two creatures like *Mon-mon-deek* (young women). *Pal-ly-yan* named one *Kunner-warra*, and the other *Ku-ur-rook*, and he brought them to PUND-JEL, his brother, to show them to him. PUND-JEL gave to each man whom he had created a woman. PUND-JEL put into the hands of the men spears. To each man he gave a spear; and *Pal-ly-yan* gave to each woman and put into her hands a *Kan-nan* (digging-stick). *Pal-ly-yan* spake to the men and women, and told them to live together. He ordered that the men should use their spears for killing the kangaroo, and he told the women to use the *Kan-nan* to dig roots.

PUND-JEL and *Pal-ly-yan* remained with the blacks for three days. They showed the men how they should spear the kangaroo and the emu, and they told the women where they could find roots.

On the third day, PUND-JEL, *Pal-ly-yan*, and the four blacks sat down. A whirlwind (*Pit-ker-ring* or *Wee-oong-koork*) came, on the third day, when they had all sat down. On the third day, when they had all sat down, there came a storm (*Koor-reen*), a great storm (*Borrn-geen-borrn-geen*), and the whirlwind and the storm and the great storm carried PUND-JEL and *Pal-ly-yan* upwards—far away—and the blacks saw PUND-JEL and *Pal-ly-yan* no more.

THE DISPERSION OF MANKIND.

There was a time when men and women were numerous. In some parts of the earth they were very numerous, and they were wicked; and PUND-JEL

became angry. PUND-JEL became very sulky (*Nar-eit*),* when he saw that men and women were many and very bad. He caused storms to arise, and fierce winds to blow often. In the flat lands there arose suddenly whirlwinds† of great force, and on the mountains the big trees were shaken with strong winds. PUND-JEL came down to see the men and women. He spoke to no one. He carried with him his big knife. With his knife he went into the encampments, and he cut with his knife. He cut this way and that way and men, women, and children he cut into very small pieces. But the pieces into which he had cut the men, women, and children did not die. Each piece moved as the worm (*Tur-ror*) moves. *Bullito, bullito, koor-reen, pit-ker-reen* (great, great storms and whirlwinds) came and carried away the pieces that moved like worms, and the pieces became like flakes of snow (*Kabbing*).‡ They were carried into the clouds. The clouds carried the pieces hither and thither over all the earth; and PUND-JEL caused the pieces to drop in such places as he pleased. Thus were men and women scattered over the earth. Of the good men and good women PUND-JEL made stars. The stars are still in the heavens, and the sorcerers can tell which amongst the stars were once good men and good women.

DEATH.

The Aborigines of the Murray believe not in death—in annihilation. They believe that when the body becomes motionless—in our sense of the word, dead—it may rise again and appear perhaps in the form of a white. But they have a strange account of the occasion on which death—as the word is used in the ordinary sense—was first brought into the world.

The first created man and woman were told not to go near a certain tree in which a Bat (*Bon-nel-ya*) lived. The Bat was not to be disturbed. One day, however, the woman (*Nonga*) was gathering firewood, and she went near the tree in which the Bat lived. The Bat flew away, and after that came death. Many amongst the Aborigines died after that.§

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* *Boo-ki-il* (very sulky) is the word used by the men of the Yarra, according to Mr. John Green. The negative form is *N'uther jum-buk, i.e.,* not in a mood to converse or confer with any one.

† The men of the Yarra tribe say that *Ngâr-ang,* an evil spirit, causes the whirlwind (*Wee-oong-koork*) to arise.

‡ "*Flakes of snow.*" One unacquainted with the climate of Victoria might suppose that the Aborigines could have little or no knowledge of snow, and that the simile is far-fetched. But snow falls on the mountains every year, and in winter the plains of the higher parts of the Great Dividing Range and the main spur are sometimes more than knee-deep in snow. The Aboriginals are well acquainted with snow-storms, are close observers, and have good memories; and it is probable that something more than is told in the story is meant to be conveyed by the words of the simile.

§ This story appears to bear too close a resemblance to the Biblical account of the Fall. Is it genuine or not? Mr. Bulmer admits that it may have been invented by the Aborigines after they had heard something of scripture history; but he says—"The blackfellow who told me the story was by no means sharp. I should not give him credit for inventing such a story. I believe it to be a genuine tradition of their own." Notwithstanding the similarity, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Bulmer. Some cause must have suggested itself to their minds; and why not this?

Mr. Armstrong, interpreter to the natives of West Australia, has communicated the following curious tradition:—The natives state that they have been told, from age to age, that when man

The Man with a Tail.

The Coranderrk blacks say that there is one man (*Kooleen*) under the ground (*Beek*) who has a long tail. He has a great many wives and many children. He is a very bad man, and always laughs at the blacks because they have no tails. The Yarra blacks believe also that when the kidney-fat is taken away by sorcery, and a person dies, the spirit goes to Bund-jel. The body will rise again if the deceased has drunk water belonging to *Menyan* (the Moon), but if the person has drunk water belonging to *Mongabarra* (the Pigeon), the body will not rise again.

Origin of the Sea.

The doctors or priests say that the sea was created by Bund-jel. The sea—*Bullarto warreen*—has waters different from those that flow in the creeks and rivers, and very different from those that descend from the sky. *Woo-too-no, Woo-too-no, Woo-too-no Per-reen Ngervein*—many long ages past Bund-jel was very angry with the blacks. Bund-jel was very angry with all black people, because they had done evil and wicked things; and Bun-jel *Bulgo-Lou-er-ner** many days on the earth, and all the black people were drowned, except such as Bund-jel favored, and these were caught up by him and fixed in the sky as stars. One *Koolin* and one *Baggarook*—one man and one woman—who had climbed a high tree on a mountain, escaped the flood which Bund-jel had made, and they lived; and all the people now existing are descended from these two.

How Water was first Obtained.

The Aborigines of Lake Tyers say that at one time there was no water anywhere on the face of the earth. All the waters were contained in the body of a huge Frog, and men and women could get none of it. A council was held, and

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first began to exist there were two beings, male and female, named *Wal-lyne-yup* (the father), and *Doronnop* (the mother); that they had a son, named *Bin-dir-woor*, who received a deadly wound, which they carefully endeavoured to heal, but totally without success; whereupon it was declared by *Wal-lyne-yup* that all who came after him should also die in like manner as his son died. Could the wound but have been healed in this case, being the first, the natives think death would have had no power over them. The place where the scene occurred, and where *Bin-dir-woor* was buried, the natives imagine to have been on the southern plains, between Clarence and the Murray; and the instrument used is said to have been a spear, thrown by some unknown being, and directed by some supernatural power. The tradition goes on to state that *Bin-dir-woor*, the son, although deprived of life, and buried in his grave, did not remain there, but rose and went to the west, to the unknown land of spirits, across the sea. The parents followed after their son, but (as the natives suppose) were unable to prevail upon him to return, and they consequently have remained with him ever since. Mr. Armstrong says of this tradition that it is the nearest approach to truth and the most reasonable he has yet heard among the natives, and it is certainly highly curious, as showing their belief that man originally was not made subject to death, and as giving the first intimation we have heard of their ideas of the manner in which death was introduced into the world.

* Bund-jel oceanum creavit minctione plures per dies in terrarum orbem. *Bullarto Bulgo* magnam lotii copiam indicat.

the wisest amongst all the animals enquired into the circumstances connected with this extraordinary drought. It was ascertained beyond doubt that the monster Frog had within himself all the waters that should have covered the waste places of the earth, and further, that if the Frog could be made to laugh, (*Kramban*), the waters would run out of his mouth, and there would be plenty in all parts. It was agreed that an effort should be made to cause the monster Frog to laugh. Several animals danced and capered before him, but he remained as solemn and as stupid as any ordinary Frog, even when their gestures were sufficient to make mirth anywhere. All the animals tried and failed. At length *No-yang* (the Eel) began to wriggle and distort himself, and the Frog's jaws opened. He laughed outright. When he laughed, all the waters came out of his mouth, and there was a flood (*Koorpa*). Great numbers were drowned in the flood. Many, very many, perished in the waters. The Pelican (*Booran*), who before the flood was a blackfellow, took upon himself to save the black people. He cut a very large canoe (*Gre*), and sailed among the islands which appeared here and there in the great waters, and he took the people into his canoe, and he kept them alive. By and by the Pelican had a quarrel with the people whom he had saved. He quarrelled with them about a woman, and the Pelican was turned into a stone.

The following is the tradition of the Aborigines of one part of the River Murray. Before the earth was inhabited by the existing race of black men, birds had possession of it. These birds had as much intelligence and wisdom as the blacks—nay, some say that they were altogether wiser and more skilful in all things. The Eaglehawk seems to have been a ruler—the chief amongst the birds—and next in authority was the Crow. On one occasion the Eaglehawk left his son in charge of the Crow. The young one became thirsty, and asked the Crow where he could get a drink. He was told to go to the river (*Warndwan*), and the Crow went with him. The Crow made the young one drink until he was swollen to an immense size. The Crow then threw something at him, and caused him to burst, and the waters that flowed from him overspread the country.

The Sun.

At the beginning the Sun did not set. It was at all times day, and the blacks grew weary. *Nooralie* considered and decided at length that the Sun should disappear at intervals. He addressed the Sun in these words :—

Yhuko warrie, Yhuko warrie,
Yarrarama wane dilya,
Yantha, Yanthoma wane dilya,
Tull Tull.

Which being interpreted means : "Sun, Sun, burn your wood, burn your internal substance, and go down."

The natives believe that because the Sun gives heat it needs fuel, and that when it descends below the horizon it reaches vast depths whence it procures fresh food for its fires.

The Moon.

The Moon was aberrant before her motions were regulated by *Nooralie*. *Nooralie* had much to remember and to consider before he could decide what should be the times of the appearance of the Moon, and how she should appear, but at length he addressed her in these words :—

Puk-a	*Mal-imba*	*Penah-pethanba,*	
Die	you	bone	whiten,
Penah	*Bulga*	*Bulga.*	
bone	powder	powder.	

In other words: "Die! your bones whiten—and your bones go to powder."

The Moon obeyed *Nooralie*. She dies at regular periods—and re-appears—and does her duty to the Aborigines as *Nooralie* in times long past commanded her to do.*

The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars.

The progenitors of the existing tribes—whether birds or beasts or men—were set in the sky, and made to shine as stars if the deeds they had done were mighty, and such as to deserve commemoration.† The Eagle (*Quarnamero*) is now the planet Mars, and justly so, because he was warlike, and much given to fighting. The Crow (*Wāgara*) is a star, and smaller stars are set about him, and those represent his wives.

The Moon, before he was set in the sky—(our Satellite is always regarded and spoken of as a male by the Aborigines of Victoria)—was very wicked, and

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* "Their traditions suppose that man and all other beings were created by the Moon, at the bidding of the *Moora-moora*. Finding the Emu pleasant to the sight, and judging it to be eatable (but unable, owing to its swiftness, to catch it during the cold that then prevailed), the *Moora-moora* was appealed to to cast some heat on the earth so as to enable them to run down the desired bird. The *Moora-moora* complying with their request, bade them perform certain ceremonies (yet observed, but not proper to be described), and then created the sun."—*The Dieyerie Tribe (Cooper's Creek)*, by Samuel Gason.

It is more reasonable to suppose that it was *light* and not *heat* that the blacks prayed for.

† Nearly all animals they suppose anciently to have been men who performed great prodigies, and at last transformed themselves into different kinds of animals and stones. Thus the Kaminjerar point out several large stones or points of rock along the beach whose sex and name they distinguish. One rock, they say, is an old man named *Lime*, upon which women and children are not allowed to tread; but old people venture to do so from their long acquaintance with him. They point out his head, feet, hands, and also his hut and fire. For my part, I could see no resemblance to any of these things except the hut. The occasion upon which he transformed himself was as follows:—A friend of his *Palpangye* paid him a visit and brought him some *tinwarrar* (kind of fish). *Lime* enjoyed them very much, and regretted that there were no rivers in the neighbourhood, that he might catch them himself, as they are a river fish. *Palpangye* went into the bush and fetched a large tree, and thrusting it into the ground in different places, water immediately began to flow, and formed the Inman and Hindmarsh Rivers. *Lime*, out of gratitude, gave him some *kanmari* (small sea fish), and transformed himself into rock, the neighbourhood of which has ever since abounded in this kind of fish. *Palpangye* became a bird, and is frequently near the rivers.—

went about doing as much harm as he could.* The Gippsland blacks say that the first lot of men he met he turned into ducks, and left them in that condition. On one occasion he visited the Eagle. He set his miam near that of the Eagle. The Eagle had been out in the forest catching kangaroos, when the Moon camped near his abode, and having come home with two of these animals, he offered the Moon some of the flesh. The Moon swallowed joint after joint. He left nothing. He devoured the two carcasses. He then killed the Eagle and swallowed him. After performing these feats he went upon a journey. In going through the forest he met the two wives of the Eagle. They were alarmed when they saw him, and guessed suddenly that he had swallowed their husband. The Moon asked for water, and they pointed to a well. He went there to drink, and, as he was drinking, the women struck him with the stone tomahawk (*Wallung-gwi-an*). They cut open the Moon, and extracted from his capacious stomach the body of the Eagle, who thereupon came to life again.

The Aborigines are not without some knowledge of astronomy. Mr. W. E. Stanbridge, in his paper *On the Aborigines of Victoria*, states that "All the tribes have traditions, and particular families have the reputation in their respective tribes of possessing the most exact knowledge of them. A family having this character in the *Boorong* tribe, who inhabit the Mallee country in the neighbourhood of Lake Tyrril, and who take pride in saying that they know more of astronomy than any others, state that the earth is flat, and that it was in darkness until the Sun was made by *Pupperimbul*. This person was one of the race who then inhabited the earth, and who are now called *Nurrumbung-uttias*, or old spirits. They possessed fire, and also the same characteristics as the present race, but were translated in various forms to the heavens before the present race came into existence. All the celestial bodies, as well as all appearances in space (*tyrille*) are supposed to have been made by them. They exercise all spiritual influences, whether for good or evil, upon the earth, where they are represented in a material form amongst other creatures by the *Pupperimbul* (*Estrelda-Temporalis*), to kill one of which would be avenged by a deluge of rain.

"*Gnowee* (Sun); an emu's egg, prepared and cast into space (*tyrille*) by *Pupperimbul*, before which the earth was in darkness.†

"It is said by another tribe that the emu's egg was prepared by *Berm-berm-gl*, and carried into space by *Penmen*, a small bird which they do not destroy.

* The Encounter Bay people say that the Moon is a woman, and not particularly chaste. She stays a long time with the men, and from the effects of her intercourse with them, she becomes very thin, and wastes away to a mere skeleton. When in this state *Nurrunduri* orders her to be driven away. She flies, and is secreted for some time, but is employed all the time in seeking roots, which are so nourishing that in a short time she appears again and fills out and becomes fat rapidly.—*Aborigines of Encounter Bay Tribe, South Australia.* H. E. A. Meyer, 1846.

† The Sun, the Encounter Bay tribe believe to be a female, who, when she sets, passes the dwelling-places of the dead. As she approaches, the men assemble, and divide into two bodies, leaving a road for her to pass between them. They invite her to stay with them, which she can only do for a short time, as she must be ready for her journey of the next day. For favors granted to some one among them she receives a present of a red kangaroo skin, and therefore in th[illegible]ning, when she rises, appears in a red dress.—*Ibid.*

"*Chargee Gnowee* (Venus); sister of the Sun, and wife of *Ginabong-bearp*.

"*Ginabong-bearp* (Jupiter); Foot of Day, a chief of the *Nurrumbung-uttias*, and husband of *Chargee Gnowee*.

"*Mityan* (Moon); Native Cat (*Dasyurus Geoffroyii*); who fell in love with one of *Unurgunite's* wives, and while trying to induce her to run away with him, is discovered by *Unurgunite*, when a fight takes place; *Mityan* is beaten and runs away, and has been wandering ever since.

"*Marpean-kurrk* (Arcturus); mother of *Djuit* and *Weet-kurrk*. The discoverer of the *bittur*, and the instructor of the Aborigines where to find it. When it it is coming into season with them, it is going out of season with her. The *bittur* is the pupa of the wood-ant, which is found in large communities, and of which the Aborigines are very fond. They subsist almost entirely upon it during part of the months of August and September. When she is in the north at evening, the *bittur* is coming into season; when she sets with the Sun, the *bittur* is gone, and (*cotchi*) summer begins.

"*Djuit* (Antares); son of *Marpean-kurrk;* the star on either side is his wife.

"*Neilloan* (Lyra); a Loan flying (*Leipoa ocellata*); the mother of *Totyarguil*, and discoverer of the Loan eggs, which knowledge she imparted to the Aborigines. When the Loan eggs are coming into season on earth, they are going out of season with her. When she sets with the Sun, the Loan eggs are in season.

"*Totyarguil* (Aquila); the star on either side is his wife. He was the son of *Neilloan*, and was, while bathing, killed by a Bun-yip; his remains were afterwards rescued by his uncle (*Collen-bitchick*).

"Although the Bun-yip appears to be an imaginary creature, yet it is feared by every one, and is described as having a head and neck like an emu, and as inhabiting deep holes in rivers and lakes, where it kills persons who venture therein.

"*Karick-karick* (the two stars in the end of the tail of Scorpio); a male and female Falcon.

"*Berm-berm-gl* (two large stars in the fore-legs of Centaurus); two brothers, noted for their courage and destructiveness, who spear and kill *Tchin-gal*. The eastern stars of Crux are the points of the spears that have passed through him;—the one at the foot through his neck, and that in the arm through his back.

"*Tchin-gal* (the dark space between the fore-legs of Centaurus and Crux); Emu; who pursues *Bunya* until he takes refuge in a tree, and who is afterwards killed by *Berm-berm-gl*.

"*Bunya* (star in the head of Crux); Opossum; who is pursued by *Tchin-gal*, and who, in his fright, lays his spears at the foot of a tree, and runs up it for safety. For such cowardice he becomes an opossum.

"*Tourt-chinboiong-gherra* (Coma Berenices); a flock of small birds drinking rain-water, which has lodged in a fork of a tree.

"*Kourt-chin* (Magellan Clouds); the larger cloud a male, and the lesser cloud a female Native Companion (*Grus Australasianus*).

"*War-ring* (Galaxy); the smoke of the fires of the *Nurrumbung-uttias*. Another account is, that only a part of the Galaxy is the smoke of the fires of the *Nurrumbung-uttias*, and that the other part is two *Mindii*—enormous snakes—which made the Murray (*Millee*). The existing *Mindii* are about eighteen feet long.

"*Kulkun-bulla* (the stars in the belt and scabbard of Orion); a number of young men dancing. (A corrobboree.)

"*Larnan-kurrk* (Pleiades); a group of young women playing to *Kulkun-bulla*.

"*Ghellar-lec* (Aldebaran); Rose Cockatoo (*Cacatue Leadbeateri*); an old man chanting, and beating time to *Kulkun-bulla* and *Larnan-kurrk*.

"*Ware-pil* (Sirius); male Eagle; a chief of the *Nurrumbung-uttias*, and brother of *War*.

"*Collow-gullouric Ware-pil* (Rigel); female Eagle; wife of *Ware-pil*.

"*Won* (Corona); a boomerang thrown by *Totyarguil*.

"*Weet-kurrk* (Star in Boötes, west of Arcturus); daughter of *Marpean-kurrk*.

"*War* (Canopus); male Crow; the brother of *Ware-pil*, and the first to bring fire from space (*tyrille*), and give it to the Aborigines, before which they were without it.

"*Collow-gullouric; War* (a large red star in Rober Caroli, marked 966); female Crow, wife of *War*. All the small stars around her are her children.

"*Yerrer-det-kurrk* (Achernar); *Nalwin-kurrk*, or mother of *Totyarguil's* wives.

"*Otchocut* (Delphinus); Great Fish.

"*Collen-bitchick* (double star in the head of Capricornus); a large Ant, uncle to *Totyarguil*, and rescuer of his remains from the *Bun-yip*. The double star is his fingers feeling for the bank of the river.

"*Yurree* (Castor), *Wanjel* (Pollux); two young men that pursue *Purra* and kill him at the commencement of the great heat; and *Coonar-toorung* (Mirage) is the smoke of the fire by which they roast him. When their smoke is gone, *weeit* (autumn) begins.

"*Purra* (Capella); Kangaroo; who is pursued and killed by *Yurree* and *Wanjel*.

"*Unurgunite* (a small star, marked fifth magnitude 22, between two larger ones, in the body of Canis Major). He fights *Mityan*, and makes him run away, for having tried to induce one of *Unurgunite's* wives to elope with him. The star on either side of *Unurgunite* is his wife; that farthest from him is the object of *Mityan's* affections.

"The tribes inhabiting the country extending from Swan Hill to Mount Franklin have similar names and mythological representations for the stars to those here described."

The Bun-yip.

The earliest settlers in Victoria heard from time to time, and from natives far removed from each other, accounts of a creature dreadful in aspect and voracious in its appetite for human beings, which did much hurt to black people who strayed from their miams.* This being was generally represented as resembling no known animal. It had a head and ears, and a huge body covered with fur or feathers. It always came suddenly upon the blacks when it meant to destroy them; but its groanings and bellowings were heard at certain times by all the people of a tribe when they encamped near a lagoon, or by deep water-holes, or by the sea-shore. The noises it made always terrified them very much. It was destructive. In the *Life and Adventures of William Buckley*,† the narrator states that "in this lake [Modewarre], as well as in most of the others inland, and in the deep-water rivers, is a very extraordinary amphibious animal, which the natives call Bun-yip, of which I could never see any part except the back, which appeared to be covered with feathers of a dusky-grey color. It seemed to be about the size of a full-grown calf, and sometimes larger. The creatures only appear when the weather is very calm and the water smooth. I could never learn from any of the natives that they had seen either the head or tail, so that I could not form a correct idea of their size, or what they were like. . . . . Here [on the Barwon River] the Bun-yips, the extraordinary animals I have already mentioned, were often seen by the natives, who had a great dread of them, believing them to have some supernatural power over human beings, so as to occasion death, sickness, disease, and such like misfortunes. . . . . They told me a story of a woman having been killed by one of them, stating that it happened in this way:—A particular family one day was surprised at the great quantity of eels they caught; for as fast as the husband could carry them back to their hut, the woman pulled them out of the lagoon. This, they said, was a cunning

* As the Aboriginal tribes throughout Australia have their tales of the much-dreaded "Bun-yip"—an hypothetical monster that dwells in the swamps and rivers—so the New Zealanders have their legends and songs about the terrible "Tanniwha," and the slaying of three of these monsters by brave warriors of the olden time, the ancestors of the chiefs of Roturua. These traditions are handed down by the natives with extraordinary minuteness of detail, and bear a close resemblance in many points to our own legend of St. George and the Dragon. According to the native story, the "Tanniwha" devoured men, women, and children wholesale. It lived in caverns, or at the bottom of rivers and lakes, was shaped like an enormous lizard of the size of a whale, and had sharp teeth and a flaming tongue. It took three hundred and forty brave men to despatch one of these "Tanniwhas;" at length, after a severe conflict, they destroyed him, and he stretched himself out "like a dying grub," and expired. On cutting him open they found "his belly full of bodies of men, women, and children, together with garments of all sorts, and weapons of war innumerable." —*Polynesia*, by G. F. Angas, F.L.S., p. 76.

The reader will remember that in England the peasants not long since believed in the stories of the Laidley Worm of Spindleston Heugh, and the Lambton Worm. Those were the Bun-yips and Tanniwhas of our ancestors.

† *Life and Adventures of William Buckley; thirty-two years a Wanderer amongst the Aborigines of the then unexplored country round Port Phillip, now the Province of Victoria*, by John Morgan, Tasmania, 1852.

manœuvre of a Bun-yip to lull her into security, so that in her husband's absence he might seize her for food. However this was, after the husband had stayed away some time, he returned, but his wife was gone, and she was never seen after. So great is the dread the natives have of these creatures, that on discovering one they throw themselves flat on their faces, muttering some gibberish, or flee away from the borders of the lake or river, as if pursued by a wild beast. . . . . When alone, I several times attempted to spear a Bun-yip; but had the natives seen me do so it would have caused great displeasure. And again, had I succeeded in killing, or even wounding one, my own life would probably have paid the forfeit; they considering the animal, as I have already said, something supernatural."

The Western Port blacks call the Bun-yip *Toor-roo-dun,* and a picture of the animal, made by *Kurruk* many years ago, under the direction of a learned doctor, is that of a creature resembling the emu.*—(Fig. 244.) On the Western

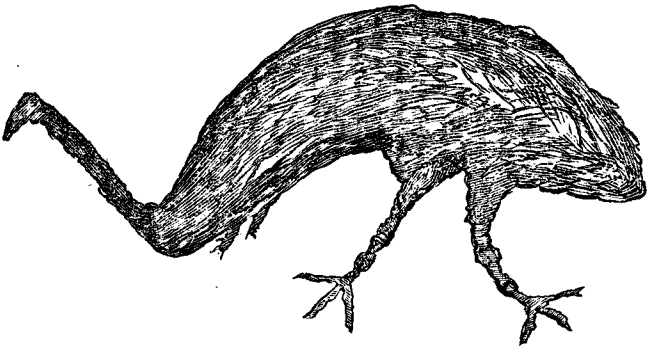

FIG. 244.

Port plains there is a basin of water—never dry, even in the hottest summers—which is called *Toor-roo-dun,* because the Bun-yip lives in that water.† *Toor-roo-dun* inhabits the deep waters, and the thick mud beneath the deep waters, and in this habit resembles the eel. The natives never bathe in the waters of this basin. A long time ago some of the people bathed in the lake, and they were all drowned, and eaten by *Toor-roo-dun.* The Goulburn blacks have the same dread of this terrible creature; but their doctors, priests, and wise men say that *Toor-roo-dun* does not eat the blacks, but contents himself with holding them in his embraces until they die. All the blacks believe in

* Mr. Stanbridge says the natives describe the Bun-yip as having a head and neck like an emu.

† There is a place now called *Toor-roo-dun* on the northern shore of Western Port Bay. It is situate on Stawell's Creek, which discharges part of the overflow of the Koo-wee-rup Swamp into an inlet of the sea. The great swamp (Koo-wee-rup) has an area of 120 square miles; it receives the waters of the Bun-yip River and the Kardinia, Toomuc, and Ararat Creeks, and its overflow is conveyed to the sea by numerous creeks and channels. It is a place where one might expect to find the seal in such a situation as to give rise to the wild stories told by the native

the existence of a huge seal-like animal, which lives in swamps and deep water-holes, and growls and bellows at night, and destroys, if he does not eat, all black people who venture near his haunts.

Fig. 245 is the picture of a Bun-yip as drawn by an Aboriginal of the Murray River, in 1848, in the presence of Mr. J. P. Main and Mr. John Clark, and which was given to the late Mr. A. F. A. Greeves by the artist. The wood-cut is a *fac-simile* of the drawing. The coating of the animal is either scales or feathers; but in truth little is known amongst the blacks respecting its form, or covering, or habits. They appear to have been in such dread of it as to have been unable to take note of its characteristics.

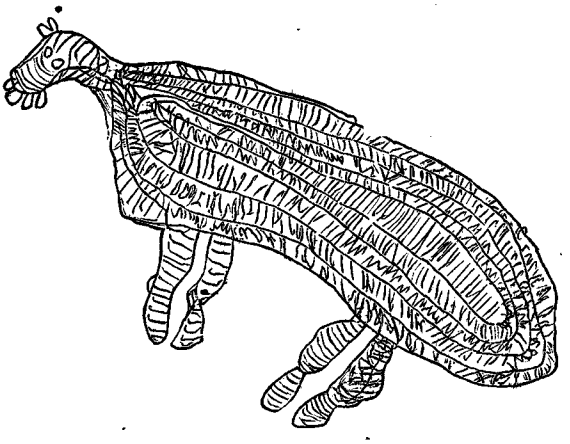

FIG. 245.

The doctors alone, says the Rev. Mr. Hagenauer, are able to point out where the Bun-yip has his dwelling. Sometimes they indicate a deep water-hole as the place of his abode, and sometimes a swamp surrounded by scrub and reeds.

What the *Myndie* was to the blacks of the North-Western district, so was the *Bun-yip* to those dwelling on the coast and near the swamps of the Western district. Both were terrible, and both have their types in existing creatures. The python (*Morelia variegata*) may be said to represent the fabulous *Myndie*, and *Koor-man* (the seal) the *Bun-yip*.

Whether the seal which the blacks have named the *Bun-yip* is the eared seal (*Arctocephalus lobatus*) or the large spotted sea-leopard (*Stenorhynchus leptonyx*), or some other animal unknown as yet to naturalists, is doubtful. That the blacks in former times ate the seals which frequented the coast is certain,* and it is probable, therefore, that some other creature was the cause of the terror which afflicted them at nights when they heard growlings and bellowings on the margins of the swamps. Seals proceed inland often for a considerable distance; many during certain seasons may have frequented the samphire-

* *Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, p. 99.

bound inlets of Western Port, and by their bellowings at night frightened the natives; but there is reason to believe that the seals known to them and to the whites were not the same as *Toor-roo-dun.*

In deep water-holes of rivers and in swamps settlers have seen occasionally a creature much resembling the *Bun-yip,* as it is described by some of the Aborigines. The *Advocate* of 13th April 1872, quoting the *Wagga Wagga Advertiser,* says:—"A few days ago a Mr. A——, driving sheep, camped near Mr. W——'s station at the Midgeon Lagoon, and saw a very fast-swimming beast hastening towards his party. It came within thirty yards, and then stopped when it saw them. It was half as long again as a retriever-dog. The hair all over its body was jet-black, and shining, and very long, say five inches. Mr. A—— says he could not detect any tail. There was too much hair to see its eyes. Its ears were well developed. They had a splendid view of it, for it leisurely surveyed them for half an hour without showing alarm, about thirty yards off, and then turned quietly round and swam away."

In a subsequent issue of the same paper the subject is again referred to:—"The *Wagga Wagga Express* states that 'the Bun-yip' has again been seen twice within the last three months in the waters of Cowal Lake, in March last [1873], by a party of surveyors, whose account can be relied upon, who were out in a boat, and saw the animal about 150 yards off. They describe it to have a head something resembling a human being—or, in their own words, 'like an old man blackfellow, with long dark-colored hair.' When seen, it appeared to be going in a straight direction, rising out of the water so that they could see its shoulders, and then diving as if in the chase of fish, and rising again at intervals of about six or eight yards, and diving again. They tried to get closer to it, but could not for the pace it was going; consequently, could give no description of it lower than the shoulders. They say the animal did not appear to be afraid of them; but most likely it must have been so intent upon its occupation that it never noticed them. Again, a blackfellow and a white man, who were out in a canoe, say they saw it about a fortnight since. They agree in giving the same description of the head and hair as that given by the surveyors. The animal was swimming straight towards them, and, when it saw them, dived and disappeared."

Lake Cowal lies about 200 miles west of Botany Bay. It is rather a swamp or a lagoon than a lake, and is fed by the Manna and Yeo Yeo Creeks. It is about eighteen miles in length and six miles in breadth. It expands and contracts its water-surface with the varying seasons.

These statements by themselves might not be accounted of much value; but others have seen an animal of the same kind. Major Couchman, the Chief Mining Surveyor in the Mining Department, says that he and Mr. Lavender saw an animal resembling a water-dog swimming in the reservoir at Malmsbury. It was large, and of a very dark color. He watched the animal for some time, when it dived and disappeared. He saw it again when it was nearer, and then knew that it was not a dog. Its head resembled that of a seal. Both Mr. Lavender and he watched it for some time, and its form and the period during which it remained under water after it had dived satisfied them that it was not

any animal known to them.* Are there fresh-water seals in Victoria, and is the *Bun-yip* a fresh-water seal?

According to Mr. Stanbridge, *Totyarguil*, now in the heavens (*Aquila*), was, while bathing, killed by a Bun-yip. His remains were afterwards rescued by his uncle *Collen-bitchick* (double star in the head of Capricornus). The double star, the natives say, is his fingers feeling for the bank of the river.

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* Speaking of Lake George, Lieut. Breton says "that no one seems to know what animals inhabit the lake, though it is pretended that a species of seal, or, as it was called, a devil, had been seen in it; but as Satan is made to personify all animals whatever, when of the nondescript or wonderful kind, it is not improbable that the creature in question may have been altogether imaginary."—*Excursions in New South Wales, &c., during the years* 1830, 1831, 1832, *and* 1833, by Lieut. Breton, R.N., p. 62.

There is no outlet to the waters of Lake George; and in 1828, when Sir Thomas Mitchell saw it, it was a sheet of water seventeen miles in length and seven in breadth. It receives "no less than four mountain streams from the hills north of it—viz., Turallo Creek, whose highest source is fourteen miles from the lake; Butmaro Creek, which arises in a mountain sixteen miles from it; Taylor's Creek, from the range on the east, six miles distant; and Kenny's Creek, from hills five miles distant. The southern shore of the lake presents one continuous low ridge separating its waters from the head of the Yass River, which would otherwise receive them. The water was slightly brackish in 1828, but very good for use, and the lake was then surrounded by dead trees of eucalyptus, of about two feet in diameter, which also extended into it until wholly covered by the water. In that wide expanse we could find no fish; and an old native female said she remembered when the whole was a forest; a statement supported *pro tanto* by the dead trees in its bed, as well as by its present state, for the whole of the basin is now (October 1836) a grassy meadow, not unlike the plains of Breadalbane."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, by Major T. L. Mitchell, vol. II., p. 313.

The Rev. Richard Taylor states that when he was living in New South Wales there had been a long-continued drought, and that Lake George was so completely dried up that the drays made a short cut through it, and the drivers dug holes by the road-side to obtain water. In these holes they frequently found large fish, encased in the dry soil, and doubtless numbers retained their vitality until the bed became again covered with water.—*Te Ika A Maui*, p. 652.

This lake in its chief characteristics resembles some of those of Victoria, and it is somewhat remarkable that the strange animal referred to in these pages should be seen in drainage areas so completely isolated. If it had been heard of only in lakes and swamps connected with the sea, it might have been safely assumed that it was a known species of seal.

The natives living near the mouth of the River Murray have a dread of a being that is said to live in the waters of the lakes. Their water-spirit is called *Mulgewanke*. "The booming sound which is heard frequently in Lake Alexandrina is ascribed to him, and they think it causes rheumatism to those who hear it. He is represented as a curious being, half man, half fish, and, instead of hair, a matted crop of reeds. I have wondered myself what the noise is really caused by which they ascribe to *Mulgewanke*. I have heard it dozens of times, and so have many other persons. It resembles the boom of a distant cannon, or the explosion of a blast. Sometimes, however, it is more like the sound made by the fall of a huge body into deep water. It cannot be the peculiar sound made by the Murray bittern, as I have often heard that too, and it is not at all like the noise in the lake. At first I ascribed it to people blasting wood on the opposite side, but since then I have been convinced that this cannot be the case. One peculiarity of the sound ascribed to the *Mulgewanke* is, that although it is sometimes louder than at others, yet it is never near, always distant."—*The Narrinyeri*, by the Rev. Geo. Taplin, p. 48.

A correspondent, an old settler and one well acquainted with the natural history of the colony, tells me it is his belief that in most cases the noise that frightens the natives is caused by the movements in the water of the musk-duck.

When on the banks of the River Wannon, I approached a dense growth of reeds, and one of these birds that had been hidden in the reeds made a dash into the water, and the noise and its

Statements respecting the appearance in our lakes and swamps of any creature at all resembling the Bun-yip are invariably ridiculed. It seems to be assumed that all living animals are known to man and described and figured in his books. Scientific men, however, are willing to enquire, and they are ready to publish and investigate facts whenever the interests of science require them to do so. In this spirit Mr. Charles Gould, F.G.S., the son of the eminent naturalist, has made known much very interesting and valuable information respecting the existence of a seal-like animal in Tasmania. The following extracts are taken from a paper read before the members of the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1872:—

"Having heard rumours, ever since my arrival in this colony, of some large and unusual animals being occasionally observed in the lakes in the great central plateau, I had often projected a trip of exploration to them, which circumstances have continuously prevented. However, I always bore the point in mind, and, therefore, when passing the evening at Constable McPartland's hut at the Picton, while on an expedition to the Cracroft, knowing that he had been for a long time stationed at the Great Lake, I made enquiry whether he had seen any strange animals in the lake. He told me instantly that he never had himself, but his son, who was much more about the lake, had done so several times, and calling him, desired him to tell me at once all about them. I find from my notes that the date of our conversation was September 1870, and that young Francis McPartland, who was an extremely intelligent and apparently truthful youth, stated that 'two years previously he had several times seen water animals in the lake at different places; he had a good view of them off the shore at Swan Bay, going from the station towards Mr. Smith's Neck. They were within a stone's throw of the shore, and seemed to be three or four feet long; they were three or four in number, and seemed to be playing about; they did not jump out, but were splashing about, and sometimes threw the water seven or eight feet up in the air. They showed their backs above water; also their heads, which were round, round like a bull-dog. They were darkish in color; he had seen them several times—once one alone, but generally two together; they swam about, keeping the head above the water; you can also see the shoulders; they show the back when they are splashing.' These were always seen by McPartland in some part or other of Swan Bay; sometimes near the shore, sometimes in the middle. Immediately on my

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appearance, I thought at the time, would create alarm in the dusk of evening; but it is scarcely credible that so many strange tales should arise from this source. The natives are good naturalists, and are probably better acquainted with the habits of this duck than we are.

The Bun-yip is mentioned by Grey in his work on North-West and Western Australia. He says:—"The *Wan-gul* is an imaginary aquatic monster, residing in fresh water, and endowed with supernatural power, which enables it to consume the natives, although it generally attacks females. The person it selects for its victim pines away almost imperceptibly, and dies."

The belief in the existence of some strange creature in the inland and shore waters is spread over the continent. Mr. Earl says that the natives of Port Essington speak of a monster inhabiting the waters, which is regarded by them much as the Bun-yip is by the natives of the south. The Port Essington Bun-yip is supposed by the whites to be the dugong.

return I asked Mr. John Forster to favor me with a few lines to the chief constable of the Lake district, and through his hands I received the following statement:—

"'Steppes, 25th October 1870.

"'Sir,—With regard to your memo. of the 23rd of September last, relative to animals reported to have been seen in the Great Lake by young McPartland, and supposed to be seals, having made their way from the sea up the Derwent and Shannon Rivers, I now beg to inform you that I have made enquiries amongst the shepherds in the vicinity of the lake, and I find that several of them have seen an animal swimming in the lake very much resembling a black sheep-dog with only its head above the water. I cannot find that more than one has been seen at a time. I do not think it possible for seals to make their way from the sea to the Great Lake, in consequence of a very considerable waterfall being in the Shannon, near its junction with the Ouse, unless, being amphibious, they could escape the fall and reach the river above by land.

"'The people that have seen this animal in the lake maintain that it is not a platypus, but twice as large and much darker; but as it has never been very plainly seen, and considering the difficulty of any sea animal getting as far as the lake, I think it must undoubtedly be a very large platypus. Mr. Headlam's shepherd saw one at the very top of the lake, which he says was four or five feet long, with a very large black head. A shepherd of Kermode's also saw one. Ryan saw one at Swan Bay in the moonlight. Ridgers, the contractor, has also seen them; and I am told Mr. Kenrick Flexmore saw one at the sandbanks.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

James Wilson, Chief Constable.

John Forster, Esq., Hobart.'

"Mr. Morton Allport having informed me that Mr. Charles Headlam had seen such a beast in the lake, proceeded to correspond with that gentleman, from whom I furnish the society with the following note. I need hardly say the testimony of so well-known a gentleman as Mr. Charles Headlam is unimpeachable:—

"'Egleston, Macquarie River, Tasmania,
29th April 1872.

"'Dear Sir,—Yours of the 25th instant I have, asking for information in reference to an animal I saw in the Great Lake some years ago. I have looked over my journal, which I have kept for the last thirty-two years, and find that it was on Monday, 25th January 1863, that I saw the animal. My son Anthony was the only person with me at the time; the time of day was about eleven o'clock. The lake was very rough, and we were pulling our boat against a strong head sea, when my oar nearly came in contact with a large-looking beast, about the size of a fairly-developed sheep-dog. The animal immediately started off at great speed towards an island in the Great Lake known as Helen Island.

It appeared to have two small flappers, or wings, which it made good use of, as I should think it went at the rate of thirty miles per hour. We watched it as far as the eye could reach, and it appeared to keep on the face of the water, never appearing to dive. I never remember seeing such an animal before or since. My sons have just returned from the Great Lake, and crossed over the lake twice in the boat, but saw nothing of our strange friend. It was in the middle of the lake where we saw the animal, and in deep water. Should I ever fall in with the beast again, I will not fail in securing him if I can, and you shall then see him in person.

I remain, yours sincerely,
CHARLES HEADLAM.

Morton Allport, Esq., Hobart Town.'

"Having arrived thus far, I was much gratified by seeing in the *Mercury* of the 26th of April 1872 an extract from the *Wagga Advertiser*, which I copy as follows :—[The substance of this is given in another place.] And I was still more interested by the spontaneous information received a few days back that several townsmen of this city had seen a remarkable beast in Lake Tiberias, while on a shooting expedition. My information is from Mr. Howe, market gardener, of Campbell street, a keen sportsman and a lover of natural history, evidently a good observer, and not likely to mistake a tadpole for a crocodile, who states that, in company with Messrs. Shadwick and Currie, of New Town, and five others, he was at the Lake Tiberias on the 17th July last, and that while on the shore at the north-east end he observed swans, and, creeping to the edge of the lake, fired at them. Immediately on the report of the shot a great splash was seen, and some large beast started off in the water from a point about 100 yards distant, dashing towards some rushes, and forming a great wave by his passage through the water. The rushes swayed about violently as he passed through them, and one of the party, who had the opportunity of seeing the beast more distinctly than the other, estimated the length at five or six feet, and the breadth of back at nearly two feet. About one hour afterwards the party saw what they believed to be the same beast behind the rushes and out in the lake, splashing up the water to a height of ten or twelve feet. This was noticed several times. Enquiries made by Mr. Howe of persons in the neighbourhood elicited no information beyond that loud roarings had been heard at night.

"Mr. John Butler, of Shene, Bagdad, informs me that when on a visit to Lake Echo, in company with the Rev. H. D. Atkinson, some years back, they several times saw water thrown eight or ten feet high in the air, without any obvious cause. This happened right out in the lake, and was considered by them unaccountable. The only other information is from Mr. Morton Allport, to the effect that some aquatic beast, as big as a calf, was reported several times last summer as being in the deep pools of the Jordan River.

"The evidence then shows that in the Great Lake, possibly in Lake Echo, certainly in Lake Tiberias, some unusual animals of large size have been seen at various times, answering in general description to a seal, but not corresponding with any species hitherto described.

"In regard to Mr. Headlam's estimate of the rate of speed of the animal seen by him, and which might be considered an exaggeration, I append an extract from a popular account of seals, contained in the *Museum of Animated Nature*, at page 222 :—'The common seal can remain under water for about five minutes, and swims so rapidly that, if alarmed, it will proceed nearly half a mile during that period.'

"While the description of the ursine seal, 'lowing like a calf,' and of the sea elephant, 'in which the voice is deep, hoarse, and terrific,' may give the clue to the mysterious sounds said to have been heard at night issuing from many of the Victorian lakes, and notably, if my memory serves me correctly, from Lake Werribee [Modewarre].

"Now even should the animals, whose existence seems proved upon such good testimony, simply prove to be known seals, a good and substantial foundation for the Bun-yip story will have been arrived at. The mysterious appearance and horrible sounds will be fully accounted for, and a very interesting and novel page in the chapter of seals supplied to us. How much more interesting then will be the discovery should they prove to differ specifically or even generically from any hitherto described form, and to be some fresh-water-inhabiting mammal, analagous or allied to 'the otter-like or seal-like animal' whose existence in the rivers and lakes of the mountain districts of New Zealand has recently been established by Dr. Haast without doubt.—(*See Hochstetter's New Zealand*, page 161.) Dr. Haast writes, in June 1861:—'At a height of 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, I frequently saw its tracks on the Upper Ashburton River, in a region never before trodden by man. They resemble the tracks of our European otter, only a little smaller. The animal itself, however, was likewise seen by two gentlemen who have a sheep station at Lake Heron, not far from the Ashburton, 2,100 feet high. They describe the animal as dark-brown, of the size of a stout cony. On being struck at with the whip, it uttered a shrill yelping sound, and quickly disappeared in the water among the sea grass.'

"I may, in conclusion, mention that, while on a recent visit to Sydney, I saw in the Museum a young specimen of a species of seal entirely new to me, of which the color was black, like that of the Wagga individual, but concerning which Mr. Gerard Krefft was unable to give me further information than that it was caught near Newcastle, New South Wales. Mr. Krefft also tells me that one seal in that collection had lived on platypuses, and must have been a great distance from salt water."

The following letter, corroborative of the statements in Mr. Gould's paper, was read to the Royal Society at a meeting held in October 1872 :—

"Black Brush, 6th September 1872.

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge receipt of a letter from Mr. Charles Gould, soliciting information from me of a strange animal seen in the pools of the Jordan. My reason for not complying with the request before was that I was not able to see the parties in consequence of the dreadful state of the weather and the flooded state of the River Jordan. I have since obtained the information required, and will now state what I know of the affair.

"It was first seen about two years ago in the large pool at Mr. Munday's farm, at the Black Brush, by Mr. Munday himself. He states that it was like a seal, with round head and two flippers, and plunged into the river. It was afterwards seen by the Messrs. Tonks further up the river; it was then seen by the Cox family near their house; and by several others afterwards in the large lagoon under the rocks opposite my house, and by Mrs. Chaplin on the bank of the river, close to the cows in the meadow. When approached, it bounded into the river. She describes it as having a round head and flippers; that it was about four feet long, of a dark-grey color, and made a noise like 'hu,' 'hu.' I have myself seen the water thrown up, but could not account for it. Others have seen the same—Mr. Gunn and the Messrs. McLaren. It was afterwards seen farther up the Jordan by Mr. Collis's shepherd, who states that it was lying by a log, and when disturbed it went into the river. It has not been seen lately; my impression is that it has made its way up the Jordan, perhaps as far as Lake Tiberias. At night was the time it was heard to make a noise. It very much alarmed one of Mr. Cox's sons when watering his horses at the Jordan. He thought it was one of the cattle which had fallen in the river; he has seen nothing of it since. Should I hear anything further, I will communicate with you.

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD CHAPLIN.

Morton Allport, Esq.

"*P.S.*—Tuesday morning, 10th September.—Mr. Fane Cox was at my house this morning, and informs me that going home a few nights since, when passing by the rocks opposite the lagoon by my land, some large animal went down the rocks into the river, making a loud noise and throwing up the water. He waited some time, thinking it would make its appearance again; it did not, and he could not tell anything about its description. He thought it was a beast of some kind; it made, he says, a loud gurgling noise, like that a horse would make.—E. C."

These statements show that the natives have grounds for the alarm they exhibit when necessity compels them to camp near deep water-holes or lagoons at night, and for the stories they tell respecting the Bun-yip. It is scarcely creditable to us that we have not correctly ascertained the facts; but surely, sooner or later, the minds of naturalists will be set at rest as regards the creature which has given rise to so much speculation.

MYNDIE.

The natives of the Melbourne district say that *Myndie* is a great snake—very long, very thick in the body, and very powerful. He is under the dominion of PUND-JEL. When PUND-JEL commands him, *Myndie* will destroy black people—young or old. He can do nothing of himself. PUND-JEL must first order him. He is known to all tribes, and all tribes are known to him; and when any tribe is very wicked, or when any tribe fails to overtake and kill

wild blackfellows, then PUND-JEL makes *Myndie* give them diseases, or kills them, as he thinks fit. *Myndie* is not quite like a snake. He has a large head, and when he hisses and ejects poison, his tongue appears, which has three points. *Myndie* inhabits a country named *Lill-go-ner*, which lies to the north-north-west of Melbourne—a long, long way from Melbourne. He lives near a mountain which is called *Bu-ker-bun-nel*,* and drinks only from one creek named *Neel-cun-nun*. The ground for a great distance around the place where *Myndie* lives is very hard; no rain can penetrate it. It is hard ground (*Kul-ke-beek*). No wood but *Mullin* can grow near it. The ground is covered with hard substances, small and white, like hail. Death or disease is given to blacks who venture near this ground. *Myndie* can extend or contract his dimensions when ordered by PUND-JEL. *Myndie* can ascend the highest trees, and hold on to a branch like a ring-tail opossum, and stretch his body across a great forest a great length, so as to reach any tribe.

Myndie has several little creatures of his own kind, which he sends out from time to time to carry diseases and afflictions into tribes which have not acted well in war or in peace. These little ones are very troublesome, but their visits are not so much dreaded as the visits of *Myndie* himself, who is very large, very powerful, and from whom no one can escape. All plagues are caused by *Myndie* or his little ones. When *Myndie* is known to be in any district, all the blacks run for their lives. They stop not to seize their weapons or bags or rugs. They stop not to bury their dead. They set the bush on fire, and run as fast as they can. Some, as they run, are afflicted by *Myndie*, and become sick, and lie down, and some die. Some, when they are made sick, attempt to rise, but they fall down again. Those that run swiftly and escape are always quite well and never suffer from sickness. *Mun-nie Brum-brum* can arrest and put back the *Myndie* with a wave of his hand or a movement of his finger; but no one knows his secret. No one can arrest *Myndie* but *Mun-nie Brum-brum*.†

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* *Bu-ker-bun-nel*, or *Bukra-banyule*, is a granitic mountain, situated about eighteen miles north-west of Wedderburn, and about twenty-four miles west of the Avoca River. It is but a small area of granite, and lies closely adjacent to the Murray Tertiaries which occupy the whole of the Mallee country. The *Mullin* in the text is probably but another name for the Mallee (*Eucalyptus oleosa* and *E. dumosa*). In describing this country, the Aborigines no doubt included the whole area occupied by them and their families, and that embraced plains called *Kow*. These plains are found in the sandy tracts of the north-west. They are clay-pans—dried-up basins of old lagoons or lakes—and on the surface of them are found crystals of sulphate of lime and broken and powdered gypsum and selenite. These fragments of sulphate of lime are "the hard substances, small and white, like hail." The nearest *Kow* is about twenty miles to the west of *Bukra-banyule*.

Mr. Skene, the Surveyor-General, informs me that a tribe inhabiting the country near Pitfield, northward of Lake Korangamite, told him, many years ago, that *Myndie* had his abode in a water-hole near the town now known as Pitfield. The blacks at that time were very much afraid of *Myndie*, and when Mr. Skene proposed to pitch his camp near the water-hole, they fled, and prophesied disasters to him and his party, who had approached so near the favored abode of this dreadful serpent.

† A family named *Mun-nie Brum-brum* was the only one that ever set foot on the territory occupied by *Myndie*.

A sorcerer, celebrated as a man possessing great power, a very old black, and a member of the same tribe as that to which *Mun-nie Brum-brum* belonged, was a prisoner in the Melbourne gaol

This (Fig. 246) is a picture of *Myndie* as drawn by an Aboriginal, and it tallies with pictures made by men of other tribes :—

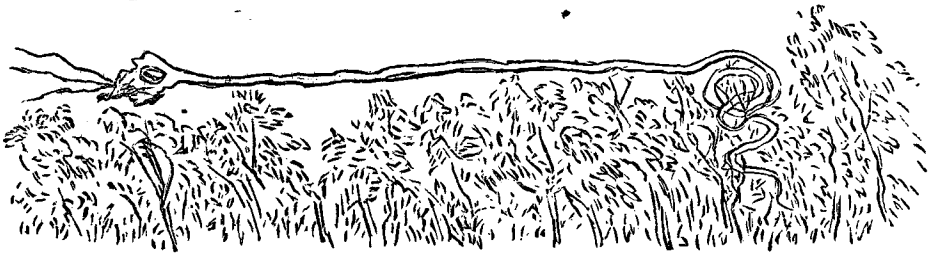

FIG. 246.

All the evils that have ever afflicted the blacks of the southern and south-eastern tribes have come, they believe, from the north-north-west.

KUR-BO-ROO.

The Native Bear, *Kur-bo-roo*, is the sage counsellor of the Aborigines in all their difficulties. When bent on a dangerous expedition, the men will seek help from this clumsy creature, but in what way his opinions are made known is nowhere recorded. He is revered, if not held sacred. The Aborigines may eat him, but they may not skin him as they skin the kangaroo and the opossum. A long time ago *Kur-bo-roo* stole all the

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many years ago. He had committed some depredations on the flocks of the settlers. The news of his arrest was carried to near and far-off tribes—to tribes more than 200 miles from Melbourne. The men were greatly distressed. Telegraph fires were lighted, and night after night these could be seen in all directions. Messengers from seven tribes were sent to my blacks. My blacks importuned me day after day to liberate the black stranger. Finding that I would not liberate him, they urged me and all the settlers with whom they were friendly to leave the district and go to Van Diemen's Land or Sydney. Some hundreds of blacks of many different tribes were in Melbourne when the man of the tribe of *Mun-nie Brum-brum* was imprisoned, and they all fled, exhibiting the greatest terror, as they expected that the captive would move PUND-JEL to let *Myndie* loose. *Myndie* they believed would spare no one. None of the people returned until the prisoner was set at large, which was some months after the first gathering and flight.—*The late Wm. Thomas's MS.*

Mr. E. S. Parker's pamphlet on the Aborigines of Australia contains a curious statement respecting the *Myndie*. He says :—"In the latter end of the year 1840, the Aborigines of all the neighbouring districts were in a fearful state of excitement in consequence of the forcible capture and temporary incarceration of some hundreds of their number by the military and police authorities. Two lives were sacrificed on the spot, and several sickly people subsequently died through the effects of the fright and excitement. On that occasion, several of the natives informed me confidentially that destruction was coming upon the white population, not even excepting those whom they knew to be their friends. It was known that they were practising secret incantations with this object. The effects were described graphically enough as producing dreadful sores, dysentery, blindness, and death. The *Mindi* was to come. I did not at the time regard the prediction as of much import. But, subsequently, ascertaining that the scars of the small-pox were termed *lillipook Mindi*, the scale of the *Mindi*, and the plague itself, which was to come in the dust, as *monola Mindi*, the dust of the *Mindi*, I was able to identify the threatened agent of destruction as the small-pox, of the ravages of which in former times there are traditions and traces among the natives of the interior. It is believed to be in the power of the large serpent *Mindi*, the supposed incarnation of the destroying spirit, to send this plague forth in answer to the appeals and incantations of those who seek the destruction of their foes."

drinking vessels (*Tarnuk*) belonging to the Aborigines, and he drained the creeks, and made such a scarcity of water that all the women and young children cried aloud. The men, women, and children had no water to drink; *Kur-bo-roo* had taken it all. Much distressed and perplexed, the Aborigines gave way at length to extreme despair, for no help came to them. *Kur-ruk-ar-ook* seeing all these things, came down from the sky, and enquired into the causes of this sorrow. *Kur-ruk-ar-ook* called all the bears to her and heard their complaints, and she heard also all that the Aborigines had to say, and she settled the quarrel thus: The blacks might eat the flesh of the bear, because it was good, but they might not skin it as they skinned common animals; and the bears were commanded not to steal the *Tarnuk*, the *No-bean tarno*, or the waters of the creeks; and all of them, blacks and bears, became friends by means of the counsel given by *Kur-ruk-ar-ook*. Thenceforth the bear became well disposed towards the blacks, and ever ready to give advice and help to them.*

Another version of this story is given by the men of the Upper Yarra. The bear by them is called *Koob-boor* or *Koob-borr*, and they say that *Koob-borr's* father and mother died when he was about four years old. The tribe that he was left with were not kind to him. At one time water was very scarce everywhere, and poor little *Koob-borr* could not get any. No person would give him any water. On a certain day all the tribe went out to hunt, and they forgot to take little *Koob-borr* with them. All the people left the camp, some on one errand and some on another, and *Koob-borr* was left alone. The people had forgotten to hang up their *tarnuks*—they were full of water—and for once *Koob-borr* had more than enough to drink. But that he might have always plenty, and also avenge the wrongs which had been done to him, he took all the *tarnuks* and hung them up on the boughs of a little tree. Having done this, he next brought all the water of the creek and put it into the *tarnuks*, and finally he climbed the tree and seated himself beside the *tarnuks*. The tree suddenly

* "I can vouch for their superstition on this head. I sadly wanted a bear's skin to make a cap, but I could never get it. One day a black of the Yarra tribe, who had brought in a bear early, before the rest of the blacks had returned to the encampment, was importuned by me to skin it. He refused to skin it; but at length, by giving him presents, and showing him that no harm could come of the act, because all the sorcerers and all the blacks who could communicate with the sorcerers and other chief men were absent, he took off the skin and gave it to me. I took the skin to my tent, and meant to make it into a cap; but the young man became very restless. Remorse overtook him. He could not put the skin on again, nor indeed, had he wished to do so, would I have given it up. He said, 'Poor blacks lose 'em all water now,' and he became so much alarmed, and exhibited such contrition and terror, that the old doctors came to enquire into the cause. He told all. Much excitement followed. I said that the blacks had nothing to fear. I laughed at their terrors; but at length I was obliged to give them the skin. The skin and the bear were buried in the same manner in which a black man is buried. Though the bear was actually roasting, his body was taken away and buried with the skin. This ceremony they all believed would propitiate the bears, and avert the calamity of a loss of water."—*The late Wm. Thomas's MS.*

"*Kur-bo-roo*, a well-known Western Port black, and held in high esteem as a sorcerer, a dreamer, and diviner, was named 'The Bear,' under the following circumstances. *Kur-bo-roo* was born at the foot of a tree, and during his mother's trouble a bear in the tree growled and grunted until *Kur-bo-roo* was born, when he ceased his noise. By this, it was said, the bear intended to show that the male child born at the foot of the tree should have the privilege of consulting the bears, and the child was called *Kur-bo-roo*. *Kur-bo-roo* attained to some excellence in his profession,

became very large—as large as a great many trees—and *Koob-borr* sat in the tree until evening; and evening brought back the blacks. The blacks were very thirsty; the day had been hot; and they had not found any water in the places where they had been. The first man that reached the camp cried out, "My *tarnuk* is gone!"—(*Tarnoeek koonga-tool*); and another came and said, "My *tarnuk* is gone!" And they all came, and they found that all the *tarnuks* had been taken away. They searched for them. Some went to the creek, thinking that they might have been left there, but they could not find them. Worse than the loss of the *tarnuks* was the discovery that the creek was dry. Presently one of the men saw the big tree. "Ky!" said he, "what is that?" —(*Ky! Anging-je-kobbee?*); and they all looked, and they saw their *tarnuks* hanging on the high boughs, and little *Koob-borr* sitting in the midst of them. "Wah!" says one, "is that you?"—(*Wah! ke noogarra?*). Have you any water there?"—(*Nga boona paun kolen-noo?*). "Yes," replied *Koob-borr*, "here am I, and I have plenty of water; but I will not give you one drop, because you would not give me any when I was nearly dying for the want of water." Some now proposed to ascend the tree, but they were afraid to attempt it, because it was so high. They were all very thirsty; something they determined to do; and two of the men at length commenced to climb the big tree. *Koob-borr* laughed at them, and let fall a little water on them, and they loosened their hold of the tree, and fell to the ground and were killed. Two men again attempted to climb to the bough on which *Koob-borr* was seated, but he treated them in the same way, and they too fell down and were killed. Two more attempted to climb, and again they fell down and were killed, and two more, until nearly all the men of the tribe were killed. Then men of other tribes came, and two by two they attempted to ascend, and *Koob-borr* spilled water on them, and they fell down and were killed. At length *Ta-jerr* and *Tarrn-nin* (the sons of PUND-JEL) came to the relief of the blacks. They proposed a plan of ascending the tree, which proved successful. They climbed round and round,

and was regarded by all as a very wise man and doctor. When a black man dreams of bears, it is a sad omen. All the people are afraid when any one dreams of bears. One time, when there were about two hundred blacks at *Nerre-nerre-Warreen* (on the Yarra), including about eighteen children attending the school, *Kur-bo-roo* had a dream. He dreamt that he was surrounded by bears. He awoke in a great fright about one o'clock in the morning, and at once aroused the whole encampment. It was half an hour or more before I could discover the cause of the great excitement everywhere apparent. Fires were suddenly set ablaze. The young blacks climbed the trees, cut down boughs, and fed the fires. The men, women, and children rushed hither and thither, displaying the greatest terror. I reasoned with them, sought to soothe them, endeavoured to control them; but all my efforts were useless. They fled from the spot where they had so long lived in comfort. By eight o'clock in the morning the forest was a solitude—not a soul remained; and all because of a dream of *Kur-bo-roo*."—*The late Wm. Thomas's MS.*

"The Laplanders will call the bear 'the old man with the fur coat,' but they do not like to mention his name."—*Tylor*, p. 145.

The Father of the Stairs is made to say, in *Episodes in an Obscure Life*, that in Labrador "They're very frightened o' makin' bears angry, both whites and blacks; they think there's a deal of knowingness, like witches, in 'em. They're a queer lot, them Esqueemaws. . . . ."—P. 166.

The curious reader may refer for further information respecting the bear and the fables connected with him to the anthropological treatises of Blumenbach (Anthropological Society's volume, 1865, p. 80), and to the various works there quoted. But our beast is not a bear, and the natives,

just in the line which a creeping plant takes. *Koob-borr* laughed as he laughed at the others, until they had ascended to a great height, and then he took water and let it fall, but the men were no longer in the same place, but higher up, and it did not fall on them. *Koob-borr* ran and got more water, and poured it where he had last seen the men, but again it did not touch them; and finally *Ta-jerr* and *Tarrn-nin* reached the high boughs. *Koob-borr* now began to cry, but they heeded not his cries. They seized him and beat him until all his bones were quite soft. They then threw him down, and other blacks beat and tried to kill him. He did not die. He became in form and appearance what he is now, and he ran up another tree. *Ta-jerr* and *Tarrn-nin* cut down the big tree in which the *tarnuks* and all the water were; and the water came out of the tree, and flowed into the creek (*Kala-derra*),* and there has been ever since plenty of water.

From this time *Koob-borr* became food for the people; but it is a law amongst the people that they must not break his bones when they kill him, neither take off his skin before they roast him. If the law were broken, *Koob-borr* would again become powerful, and he would dry up the waters of the creeks.

Koob-borr keeps always near the banks of the creeks, and near water-holes, so that if the law be broken he may at once carry away the water. No one has roasted *Koob-borr* without his skin or broken his bones in killing him since the law was made.

When any one ascends a tree in which *Koob-borr* is sitting, he cries always in the same manner as he cried when *Ta-jerr* and *Tarrn-nin* climbed the tree and threw him down.†

Mirram and Warreen.

Mirram (the Kangaroo) and *Warreen* (the Wombat) were once men, and they dwelt in the same place; but *Warreen* had a good camp (*willum*) made of bark, but *Mirram* had none. *Mirram* lived day and night in the open air. This was very good for *Mirram* when the weather was fine, and very good for *Warreen*, too, who often slept in the open air with *Mirram*. They were very good friends. At length a great rain fell.‡ *Warreen* went to his *willum*,

* A creek not always running—a creek that is dry in the summer—is called *Koorr-nong*.

† The native bear moans and growls when any one molests him in his leafy retreats. I have often observed his habits in the forest. He is always found near water. At the present day the Aborigines carefully conform to the law as laid down by their forefathers. They will not skin a bear or break its bones until it is roasted. In what way the native bear comes to be connected with droughts it is impossible to say.

‡ How rain first came to fall is thus told by H. E. A. Meyer (Encounter Bay tribe):—"Near the Goolwa lived an old man named *Kortuwe*, with his two friends, *Munkari* and *Waingilbe*. The latter, who were considerably younger than *Kortuwe*, went out fishing, and as they caught *Kuratje* and *Kanmari*, they put the *Kuratje*, which is not so good as the *Kanmari*, aside for *Kortuwe*. The old man, perceiving this, commenced a song—*Annaitjeranangk rotjer tampatjeranangk* (in the Encounter Bay dialect it would be *Ngannangk Kuratje tampin*)—"For me they put aside the *Kuratje*," upon which rain began to fall. *Kortuwe* then went into his hut, and closed it with bushes, and *Munkari* and *Waingilbe* were obliged to remain outside, and they got wet as a punishment. The three were transformed into birds, and as often as *Kortuwe* makes a noise it is a sign that rain will follow.

made a good fire, and lay down comfortably in front of it, well sheltered by his covering of bark. The rain fell so heavily that *Mirram's* fire was put out, and he became wet and very cold. He sat a long time, the cold rain falling upon him, thinking that *Warreen* would ask him to go into the *willum*, but this *Warreen* did not do. At last, quite overcome with the wet and the cold, and when he could not any longer bear the suffering, he went to the *willum*, and asked *Warreen* to allow him to go in and sit down in a vacant corner. *Warreen* said, "I want that corner for my head;" and he turned over and laid his head there. *Mirram* said, "Never mind, this place (pointing to an unoccupied spot) will do." *Warreen* moved and laid his feet over that spot, and said, "I want that place for my feet." *Mirram* spoke again: "This place will do," pointing to the spot where *Warreen's* feet had been. *Warreen* answered, "I cannot give you that place; I want to lie this way," and he raised himself and lay down in front of the fire. *Mirram* grew very angry. He could bear such treatment no longer, and he went away and got a stone, and came back quietly and struck *Warreen* on the forehead with the stone, and made his forehead quite flat. *Mirram*, when he had done this, said, "Now, your forehead will always be flat, and you shall remain in a dark hole." Ever since poor *Warreen* has had to live in a dark hole in the ground; and his forehead is flat at this day, as it was made flat when *Mirram* struck his head with the stone. But *Warreen* was at length in a position to retaliate. One day he took his spear and threw it at *Mirram*. It hit him, and stuck fast at the lower end of his back-bone. "Now," says *Warreen*, "that will always stick there, and will be a tail (*Moo-ee-bee*) for you, and you will have to use it when you run, and never shall you have *willum*." This is how *Mirram* came to have *Moo-ee-boo*, and why he has always to use it when jumping and running, and why he has to sleep in the open air.

Boor-a-meel.

The fat of the emu—*Boor-a-meel* or *Burri-mul*—is sacred. When it is taken from the bird, it is not handled carelessly. Any one who might throw away the flesh or fat of the emu would be held accursed. It is believed that the fat of the emu was once the fat of the black man. If one black gives a piece of the fat of an emu to another, he hands it to him gently and reverently. The late Mr. Thomas observed on one occasion, at Nerre-nerre-Warreen, a remarkable exhibition of the effects of this superstition. An Aboriginal child—one attending the school—having eaten some part of the flesh of an emu, threw away the skin. The skin fell to the ground, and this being observed by his parents, they showed by their gestures every token of horror. They looked upon their child as one utterly lost. His desecration of the bird was regarded as a sin for which there was no atonement.

The Emu and the Crow.

The Crow one day went to seek for the eggs of the Emu, which he greatly desired to eat. He at length found the nest of an Emu, and he began

forthwith to take the eggs. But at the very time when he was doing this the Emu returned to her nest. The Crow then commanded the Emu to go away. She refused to go away. The Crow then, very angry, took his spear and killed her. He carried away the eggs. His friends took the body of the dead Emu, and prepared to roast it for food. They cut the choicest pieces for the Crow, but he took only the head, which he carried up into a high tree, and there he talked to the head. He told the head all that was proper for an Emu to do in time of danger, when man threatened the Emu, and that an Emu could not save her eggs when any man wished to take them. All that was told by the Crow was heard by the Emu; and to this day the bird attempts not to defend its nest.

The Eagle, the Mopoke, and the Crow.

Many of the traditions of the Aborigines of the River Murray and of those of Gippsland are very similar in their outlines; but the Mopoke occupies a more prominent position in the stories of the Gippsland people than in the legends of the Murray tribes. The Murray blacks say that the Crow killed the son of the Eagle. This deed made the Eagle very angry; and, to be revenged, he dug a large hole, and made a trap, and carefully covered it up, so as, if possible, to catch his enemy. Attaching a string to his trap, he retired to a distance and waited. At length the Crow approached the trap, and entered it; the string was pulled, and he was caught. The Eagle killed the Crow. After a time the Crow came to life again and disappeared. The Gippsland people say that the Eagle left his son in charge of the Mopoke while he with his wives went to hunt kangaroos. The Mopoke put the young one in a bag, and sewed up the bag and left him The Eagle during his hunting excursion became uneasy about his son, and finally returned to ascertain how he had been treated. When he came to know what had been done, he grew very angry. He at once made a search for the Mopoke, and found him, after some trouble, sitting in a tree. The Eagle, when he saw his enemy, used guile. He exhibited no anger. He spoke gently. He determined to kill him by subtlety. He slyly requested the Mopoke to go into a hole in the tree to look for an opossum. The Mopoke obeyed, but returned without any. He was told to go again, and he obeyed; and as soon as he was in the hole, the Eagle closed the hole, and made the Mopoke a prisoner. The Mopoke cried aloud when he found himself fastened up, and he used these words :—

Wun-no nat jel-lowen gnong-ona wok-uk,
When I cut a hole Mopoke,

which means, "When will the Mopoke cut a hole?" He was determined to get out, and, finding all means fail him, he at length, in great sorrow, broke his leg and took out one of the bones, and very patiently bored a hole sufficiently large to creep through. He got free. Again the Eagle met him, and they spoke together, and the Eagle and the Mopoke made a solemn agreement and a treaty of peace. The conditions were as follows :—The Eagle was to

have the privilege of going up into the topmost boughs of the trees, so that he might from so great a height see better where kangaroos were feeding; and the Mopoke was to have the right to occupy the holes of trees. Thus ended the disputes between the Eagle and the Mopoke.

Mornmoot-Bullarto Mornmoot.

The first hurricanes and whirlwinds were caused by magpies.* They were larger magpies than any seen now. They came from the north-west. The number was very great—so great as to darken the air—far exceeding in number the greatest number of cockatoos ever seen on the wing. The sun was hidden when the magpies were passing. Behind the magpies there was a rushing wind and a noise like thunder (*Wan-du-bul*).† A number of bags were seen as the noise like thunder was heard. At first the bags were extended and empty, but they filled as they travelled through the air, and bag after bag burst high in the air, and the noise of the bursting bags was dreadful. Ever after, in certain seasons, there came great storms, hurricanes, whirlwinds,‡ and squalls in all the lands where the blacks dwelt.

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* Piping crow—*Gymnorhina leuconota*. The Australian magpie, as he is seen in the forest, hopping and half-flying, and now and again taking to flight, somewhat resembles the English magpie. His voice is most musical, and at early morning and at night he is active, and his rich notes are delightful. He is easily domesticated, and can be taught to say many words with distinctness. He is not shy. He seems to love companionship with man. He follows the farmer, and takes up his abode near his homestead. But he is pugnacious. In the breeding season the birds will attack any traveller who approaches near to the spot where they have made their nests. They will fly above him, and dart down and strike him on the face or the head with their bills, and unless he is provided with a stick or a whip, they will injure him. Even when domesticated they will fight when provoked. I could quote a number of statements in which the sagacity and courage of this bird are recorded.

† *Ngin-da-bil*: Upper Yarra. *Drum-bul-a-bul*: Western Port.—(*See "Language."*)

‡ On a calm day, when the sky is cloudless, and the solar radiation effective, whirlwinds are seen sometimes in numbers. On a wide open plain, at such times, six or seven may be observed at one time. Near them you see the wind carrying upwards all light things, such as dust, leaves, bark, feathers, and withered grass. At some distance away the thin column of dust looks scarcely thicker than a thick rope; it bends slightly to the breeze aloft, but rises steadily and slowly, and at a height of perhaps a thousand feet the dust it carries is dispersed. A faint yellowish mist, at a great altitude, shows that the dust is being distributed. Whirlwinds of very great violence occur sometimes, but they are not very common in Victoria.

A whirlwind of an unusual character is thus described in the *Portland Guardian* of the 20th June 1872:—"On Tuesday evening last, about half-past four o'clock, a whirlwind of extraordinary violence, tearing up immense trees by the roots and twisting and scattering branches about in a manner that created the greatest alarm in the district, occurred. A number of people at lunch in the Condah home-station of Mr. C. P. Cooke were first alarmed by a strange rushing roaring noise, and rushed out under the impression that the house was on fire. An eye-witness says:—In coming out of the house, at about two miles distance, I could see the storm coming in a straight line apparently for the house, and immediately the women and children were removed. Its course was marked by the falling and crashing of trees, which were torn up by the roots, the trunks in many cases being whirled for thirty or forty yards, and lying about in heaps, whilst the branches and *débris* were tossed into the air, and carried forward at a great height with singular rapidity. Fortunately, the storm, which kept in a straight line from the south-west, passed about 300 yards to the south of the Condah home-station, and passed directly over the Condah Lake, into which some of the tree limbs of immense size were carried a distance of 400 to 500 yards. But the passing

LOO-ERRN.

(A Myth relating to the country lying between the River Yarra and the River La Trobe.)

The name of the country is *Marr-ne-beek*. The country belonged to one called *Loo-errn*. *Loo-errn* is to some an evil spirit, and to others a good spirit. *Loo-errn* had his house at *Wamoom* (Wilson's Promontory). If any one not belonging to his country passed through it without his consent, he died as soon as he arrived at the end of his journey; and if any one of a strange tribe, or any one of a tribe an unauthorized stranger might visit, gave such a native anything to eat or to drink, he too died. *Loo-errn* was

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over the lake was not the least remarkable part of the phenomenon. The water was raised in a sheet or column, and carried all the way across its surface at a height which was averaged by the terror-stricken onlookers at 300 or 400 yards. After passing the lake, the storm kept its course over the stones which separate Condah from the Eumeralla. From our informant we learn that no damage so far as he could ascertain, save the destruction of the trees, had occurred, and that in a thickly-populated district it was wonderful that the houses escaped. The rate at which the storm travelled is estimated at twelve miles an hour, and in its direct course for about fifty yards wide nothing was left standing. Language can but imperfectly convey an idea of the noise and confusion and the terror inspired by this singular visitation."

I have seen the effects of a storm of this kind in the forests of the Western district. In a straight line some miles in length, and perhaps thirty or forty chains in width, huge trees were uprooted and torn limb from limb; and the stronger or better protected trees which had not been uprooted were stripped of their branches, and were standing naked and dead in a wilderness of broken boughs and withered shrubs. These giants, divested of their bark, bleached to a greyish-white, and standing far apart, were ghostly in their aspect when seen in the twilight. The Aborigines were no doubt strongly impressed with these phenomena when they were witnessed in past times and before the whites came amongst them with their more or less unintelligible explanations.

Since this note was written I have found the following account of a great storm in the Western district in the *Hampden Guardian* (5th July 1872):—"The storm that passed over the district early last Monday morning has left ample proof of its power in the neighbourhood of Terang. Within half a mile east of that township, on the Camperdown main road, the wind appears to have passed along in a regular hurricane. For some miles in length by about fifteen chains in breadth the trees and everything else that stood in the way have been swept down before the fury of the blast; and for the space that we have mentioned the telegraph poles were snapped off close to the ground like so many twigs—the wires of course disarranged and the insulators broken. Large gum-trees were torn up by the roots, or where they were so firmly planted in the ground as to offer resistance, were twisted round, and the tops of the trees screwed off and carried some distance away from the trunks. At one point a very substantial three-rail fence enclosing Mr. Niel Black's paddock was actually blown out, and the heavy rails carried by the sheer force of the hurricane several yards across the road. A four-roomed wooden house just caught the end of the whirlwind, and was turned round (so says our informant) several inches from the square, and the family were thrown out of bed, expecting that nothing but an earthquake was upon them. The storm seems to have come down by way of the south end of Lake Keilambete, and crossing the main road at the point mentioned, passed on down to Black's River in the direction of the Big Bend. For a time all communication by telegraph was stopped, but by Monday evening the line was again got into working order."

The extensive plains of the Western district, some eight thousand square miles in extent, and everywhere destitute of trees or shrubs, are no doubt the cause of the storms which so suddenly break over the adjacent districts. The atmosphere lying over these plains, which are exposed to the full power of the sun, must occasionally be subjected to changes of temperature sufficient to account for the whirlwinds and storms which devastate the forests on the margin of the plains. Whirlwinds are frequently mentioned in the *Folk-lore of the Australian Tribes.*

great and very powerful. *Loo-errn's* permission to enter his territory was granted in this way: If any blacks—say from Geelong—wished to visit the blacks at Western Port, they were to repair to some part of the mouth of the River Yarra, wait there for the Yarra blacks, and, having found them, tell them where they proposed to go. If their proposal was approved of, they were conducted over the river, but always with their backs towards the side to which they were going. When they had crossed over, they were made to sit down with their backs towards *Wamoom.* A large fire was kindled in front of them, and they had to sit there a whole day without moving, and without food or water.* This was done to let them know in what manner *Loo-errn* would roast them if they offended in any way against the laws of his country. At sun-down, or perhaps a little before sun-down, one of *Loo-errn's* young men would bring some water in a *tarnuk,* holding in his hand a reed. The *tarnuk* full of water was placed near the lips of the first amongst the strangers, and just as the lips of the half-roasted and perspiring creature touched the wooden vessel, the reed was passed between his lips and it, and the *tarnuk* was taken to the next man, and the same ceremony repeated. This was done to all the strangers; and then the *tarnuk* was taken away. After this some meat would be brought, and the smallest piece that could be cut was given to each. These things were done to show in what manner *Loo-errn* would treat them if they offended against the laws of his country in any way. After sun-down the travellers would be permitted to leave their places, and to eat and drink as much as they might think good for them. Next day each would have handed to him a piece of bark and also boughs to get a light from the fire at which they had been half-roasted. With this fire in their hands, they would be conducted to the place where they wished to go; but they were required to keep their eyes on the ground all the way. If a halt were made, each would have to sit with his back towards *Wamoom.* Thus they would be conducted, day after day, holding in their hands the bark or boughs lighted at *Loo-errn's* fire until they reached the tribe they desired to visit.

Loo-errn's country—that which was peculiarly his own—was that tract of heavily-timbered ranges lying between Hoddle's Creek and Wilson's Promontory. The higher parts and the flanks of these ranges are covered with dense scrubs, and in the rich alluviums bordering the creeks and rivers the trees are lofty, and the undergrowth luxuriant; indeed in some parts so dense as to be impenetrable without an axe and bill-hook. Any Aboriginal who dared to penetrate this country without the permission of *Loo-errn* died a death awful to contemplate, because the torments preceding death could never be described. Before any black could see *Loo-errn* it was necessary not only to undergo the roasting but to wash two or three times a day for several days, and then to paint the body. These things were usually done at some point about a day's journey from *Wamoom.*

When a company of strangers had been conducted by *Loo-errn's* young men to some resting-place at a proper distance from *Wamoom,* the whole party

* Other particulars are given which need not be recorded.

would retire to rest; but before the faintest color of morning was seen in the east, when the note of the earliest bird was heard, when the first cold breeze began to stir the mists of the swamps, and when the stars were glittering and melting in the steel-blue of the western sky, the conductors would awake the strangers and recommence the journey. All but the initiated keep their eyes on the ground. No unnecessary conversation interrupts the journey through the tall damp ferns, past the ghost-like forms of the grass-trees, through the deep mazes of the tangled reeds and tea-tree. When they gain a height, and when they are in sight of *Wamoom*, the strangers turn their backs towards it. The conductors gesticulate. They enquire whether *Loo-errn* will show himself. A joyful cry is heard. *Loo-errn* is pleased, and will show himself to the strangers! Yes, he will show himself, but at a great distance! One of the conductors takes his *kur-ruk* (throwing-stick), and orders the strangers to fix their eyes on the point of it. "Look well!" he cries, as he moves the *kur-ruk* slowly towards *Wamoom*, where *Loo-errn* is standing. Their impatient eyes follow the slow movement of the weapon, and in a moment they all see *Loo-errn*. Clothed in mist, and regarding with unnatural but human eyes these intruders on his domain, *Loo-errn*, awful and majestic, permits for a few seconds his form to be visible. It is over. The strangers depart. *Loo-errn* indicates through his young men that he is pleased with the strangers. They have been obedient to his laws. Ever after, by the power of *Loo-errn*, the strangers can kill all enemies except those belonging to *Loo-errn's* country.

Wi-won-der-rer.

There is a range with a well-marked culminating point lying to the north-east of Western Port, which, the Aborigines say, is inhabited by an animal resembling in form a human being, but his body is hard like stone. The mountain is called *Narn*, and the strange animal is named *Wi-won-der-rer*. Formerly this animal used to kill many blacks. So many indeed were killed by *Wi-won-der-rer* that at last it became necessary to consider in what way those remaining might be preserved. A council of aged and wise men was held, and much debate ensued, and many suggestions were made. Finally it was agreed that the most cunning doctor, with other learned doctors and priests, should visit *Narn* and ascertain the condition of *Wi-won-der-rer*, and, if possible, kill him and his people (of whom there were a good many). The wise men explored the mountain ranges very carefully. Armed with spears, stone hatchets, and waddies, they sought to find and slay the strange creatures with bodies like stones. And they found them at length; but their weapons, when they assaulted them, made no impression on them. It was reported, however, that these creatures were vulnerable in the eyes and the nostrils. One doctor said he had thrust his spear into the eye of a *Wi-won-der-rer*, and had killed him, and another said that he had killed one by thrusting his spear into his nostril.

The blacks will not visit this range. A settler was lost many years ago in the neighbourhood of *Narn*, and though every inducement was offered to

the blacks to explore the range, and, if possible, track him, they would on no account go near it. They said the settler had been caught and killed by *Wi-non-der-rer*.

Buk-ker-til-lible.

About two miles east of Narneian or Brushy Creek (a tributary of the River Yarra), and adjacent to a small outlier of dense hard black basalt, there occurs in the Upper Silurian rocks a stratum of limestone rich in fossils. It crops out about half-way between the Brushy Creek and the Running Creek. Receiving the storm-waters which fall on the basaltic ridge, it has undergone decomposition, and the waters, percolating the limestone, have carried away some parts of the rock, and formed a cave or deep chasm about 120 feet or more in depth. The occurrence of limestone in the Silurian rocks of Victoria is not common, and still less common are caves or pits such as this near Narneian. The Aborigines have a legend relating to this natural opening. They call it *Buk-ker-til-lible*. They say that it has no bottom. They throw stones into it; the stones give forth a hollow, dull sound as they strike against and rebound from the sides of the chasm, and the blacks fail to catch the last dull thud as the stones fall on the bottom. If you tell them that the bottom can be found at a great depth, they say that there is a small hole not easily found which leads to greater depths—depths without end. Pund-jel, they say, made this deep hole. He was once very angry with the Yarra blacks. They had committed deeds not pleasing to him, and he caused a star to fall from the heavens and to strike a great many blacks, and to kill them; and the star fell deep into the earth, and made the chasm which is to be seen near Narneian.

The River Murray.

The River Murray was made by a Snake. He travelled from the head of the river to the mouth, and as he went along he formed the valley and the bed of the river. The Snake, however, in making this great excavation, disturbed the Crow. The Crow was sitting in a tree, and, disliking the business, at length became wrathful, and cut the Snake into small pieces.

Nrung-a-Narguna.

A mysterious creature, *Nargun*—a cave-dweller—inhabits various places in the bush. He haunts especially the valley of the Mitchell in Gippsland. He has many caves; and if any blackfellow incautiously approaches one of these, that blackfellow is dragged into the cave by *Nargun*, and he is seen no more. If a blackfellow throws a spear at *Nargun*, the spear returns to the thrower and wounds him. *Nargun* cannot be killed by any blackfellow. There is a cave at Lake Tyers where *Nargun* dwells, and it is not safe for any black to go near it. *Nargun* would surely destroy him. A native woman once fought with *Nargun* at this cave, but nobody knows how the battle ended. *Nargun* is like

a rock (*Wallung*), and is all of stone except the breast and the arms and the hands. No one knows exactly what he is like. *Nargun* is always on the look-out for blackfellows, and many have been dragged into his caves. He is a terror to the natives of Gippsland.*

KOOTCHEE.

The following account of the Evil Spirit that torments the natives of the Dieyerie tribe (Cooper's Creek) has been communicated to me by Senior Constable James. *Kootchee* has great power. The doctor (*Koonkie*), Gason says, is a native who, when a child, has seen the Devil, and the Devil is called *Kootchee*. *Kootchee*, strange to say, gives power to the doctors to heal all sick. The Dieyerie people live in dread of *Kootchee* notwithstanding. Mr. James's statement is as follows:—Nearly every sickness or death that results from natural causes is ascribed by these blacks to *Kootchee*, and the old men practice many rites and ceremonies to charm away the sinister influence exercised by *Kootchee*. I am not acquainted with the charms, but know that certain human bones, red-ochre, and clay form the principal ingredients used in working the charms. I may add that none but evil influence is ever assigned to *Kootchee*. When it thunders, "*Kootchee* growl" (*i.e.*, is angry or fights), say the blacks; and if the thunder be loud and near, the whole camp rushes out in a body in the direction the thunder is heard, and, elevating the hands in front of the chest, fingers upward and palms outward, make sudden vigorous movements, as if pushing a physical opponent away, and cry, "*Hoo, hoo*," at each push. They say this is to drive *Kootchee* away. If they hear wild pigeons cooing in the night, they are dreadfully frightened, and ascribe it to *Kootchee*. I have often been called from my bed at night by the station blacks calling to me to come and kill *Kootchee* for them. They would call out, "Massa, come on, you shoot-um *Kootchee;* him big one growl along-a blackfellow. You hear um?" Listening, I would hear the cooing of the pigeons; and generally succeeded in pacifying them, and allaying their fears by telling them (what they knew, if not excited) that it was merely the pigeons. I noticed that such alarms would never arise if the camp of blacks was a strong one and contained many fighting-men. They also ascribe the whirlwinds to *Kootchee;* and as on the open plains of the interior they can be traced by the clouds of dust they raise, they have ample opportunities of seeing the course taken by the whirlwinds. Should one come near the camp, it is a bad omen; should one pass right over it, it is worse. In this case the whirlwind or *Kootchee* should be destroyed by throwing boomerangs at it; but to fight thus is, they think, highly dangerous.† I once knew a young

* How *Bungil Bottle* behaved when he came in sight of a cave at Dead-cock Creek in Gippsland, and what kind of a being *Nargun* is, and where he dwells, and how he behaves, are well told by Mr. Alfred Howitt.—*See Third Report of Progress, Geological Survey of Victoria*, p. 220.

† Shooting at the storm is practised by other savages.

"During the terrible thunderstorms which occasionally pass over the country, the Namaquas are in great dread of the lightning, and shoot their poisoned arrows at the clouds, in order to drive it away. As may be imagined, there is no small danger in this performance, and a man has been

black, about twenty-two years of age, strong, active, and healthy, who started from the station, and ran in pursuit of a whirlwind to kill it with boomerangs. He was away about two or three hours, and on his return was very much exhausted. He said he had killed *Kootchee*, but that "*Kootchee* growl along-a me. Me tumble down by'm bye." He described where he had run to, a place about eight miles off. As the weather was very hot, and he had had no water until his return to the camp, he doubtless suffered much from his over-exertion; be that as it may, he was so firmly persuaded that he was supernaturally injured, that he got downhearted, gave up hunting, &c., and moped about the camp; finally lying up altogether, and dying about eleven months after his encounter with *Kootchee*. Of course he was looked on as a hero by the whole tribe, and his achievement was made the theme of a new corrobboree, as they invariably distinguish special services or events thus, and, as far as I can learn, hand them down from father to son by that means. They appear to ascribe many forms to *Kootchee*. Sometimes he is like a big blackfellow; then a whirlwind; at times he is *Womă* (a snake); but generally they ascribe no definite form to him, alleging he can take any; but they appear firmly persuaded that he is tangible, and can be fought with physical weapons equally well as with charms. I never heard good ascribed to *Kootchee;* the nearest approach to it was when they saw the "Aurora Australis" in 1869, they said then "*Kootchee* make old-man fire," *i.e.*, big fire.

Fire.

The manner in which fire was first obtained is thus described by the Aborigines of Gippsland:—There was a time when the Aborigines had not fire. The people were in sad distress. They had no means of cooking their food, and there was no camp-fire at which they could warm themselves when the weather was cold. *Tow-er-a*—fire—was in the possession of two women who had no great love for the blacks. They guarded the fire very strictly. A man who was friendly to the blacks determined to get fire from the women; and, in order to accomplish this difficult feat, he feigned amity and affection, and accompanied the women on their journeys. One day, seizing a favorable opportunity, he stole a fire-stick, which he hid behind his back, and, making some slight excuse, he left the women, carrying with him the fire. He returned to the blacks, and gave them that which he had stolen. This man was ever afterwards regarded as a benefactor. He is now a little bird. The little bird has a red mark over his tail, which is the mark of the fire.

killed by the lightning-flash, which was attracted by his pointed arrow. Other tribes have a similar custom, being in the habit of throwing stones or other objects at the clouds."—*J. G. Wood*, vol. I., p. 306.

It would be interesting and valuable to put together all the practices of savage nations in some sort of order, classifying them, and thereby laying sure foundations for a science. At present our knowledge of primitive man, as represented by living races of savages, is found in paragraphs scattered through thousands of volumes and pamphlets. When shall arise a William Smith who will do as much for ethnology as he did for geology?

The story told by the Aborigines of the River Yarra is as follows:—*Kar-ak-ar-ook*, a female (now the Seven Stars), was the only one who could make fire (*Weenth*).* She would not give any one any of it. She kept it in the end of her yam-stick. But *Waung* (the Crow) fell on a plan to get it from her. *Kar-ak-ar-ook* was very fond of ants' eggs, and *Waung* made a great many snakes, and put them under an ant-hill, and then invited *Kar-ak-ar-ook* to come to the nest to dig up the eggs. After she had dug a little, she turned up the snakes, and *Waung* told her to kill them with her yam-stick. She accordingly struck the snakes, and fire fell out of the yam-stick. *Waung* picked up the fire, and went off with it. *Kar-ak-ar-ook* was afterwards set in the heavens by *Pund-jel* (the Maker of Men). *Waung*, however, was nearly as selfish as *Kar-ak-ar-ook*. He would not give fire to any one, but he would cook food for the blacks—always keeping the best pieces of the meat for himself. Because of this, *Pund-jel* was very angry with *Waung*, and he gathered together all the blacks, and caused them to speak harshly to *Waung*, and *Waung* became afraid. To save himself and to burn them, he threw the fire amongst them, and every one picked up some of the fire, and left. *Tchert-tchert* and *Trrar* took some of the fire, and lighted the dry grass around *Waung*, and burnt him. *Pund-jel* said to *Waung*, "You shall be a crow to fly about, and shall be a man no more." *Tchert-tchert* and *Trrar* were lost or burnt in the fire. They are now two large stones at the foot of the Dan-den-ong mountain.

The *Boon-oo-rong* tribe, who inhabited the district lying to the south-east of Melbourne, give this legend:—Two women were cutting a tree for the purpose of getting ants' eggs, when they were attacked by several snakes. The women fought stoutly and for a long time, but they could not kill the snakes. At last one of the women broke her *kan-nan* (fighting-stick), and forthwith smoke came from it. *Waung* (the Crow) picked up the fire and flew away with it. Two young blacks, *Toordt* and *Trrar*, both very good young men, flew after the Crow and caught him. The Crow, much frightened, let fall the fire, and a great conflagration followed. The blacks generally were much afraid when they saw this. *Toordt* and *Trrar* disappeared. *Pund-jel* came down from the sky and said to the blacks—"Now you have fire, do not lose it." *Pund-jel* allowed them to see *Toordt* and *Trrar* for a moment, and then he took them away with him, and set them in the sky, where they now appear as stars. By-and-by the blacks lost the fire. Winter came on. They were very cold. They had no place whereat they could cook their food. They had to eat their food raw and cold like the dogs. Snakes multiplied and everywhere abounded. At length *Pal-yang*, who had brought forth women from the water, sent down from the sky *Kar-ak-ar-ook* to guard the women. [She is represented as a sister of *Pal-yang*, and is held in respect unto this day by the black women.] This good *Kar-ak-ar-ook*, who was a very fine and very big woman, with *nerrim-nerrim kan-nan* (a very, very long stick), went about the country killing a multitude of snakes (*Ood-yul-yul Kornmul*), but leaving here and there a few. In striking one, her big stick broke, and therefrom came fire.

* *See* Stanbridge, *supra*, *Karick-karick*.

Waung (the Crow) again flew away with it, and for a length of time the blacks were in great distress. One night, however, *Toordt* and *Trrar* came down from the sky, and mingled with the blacks. They told the blacks that *Waung* had hidden the fire on a mountain named *Nun-ner-woon*. *Toordt* and *Trrar* then flew upwards. *Trrar* returned safely with the fire, having, during his journey, pulled bark from off the trees to keep the fire alive, as is usually done by the Aborigines when they are travelling. *Toordt* returned to his home in the sky, and came back no more to the blacks. It is said that he was burnt to death on a mountain named *Mun-ni-o*, where he had kindled a fire in order to keep alive the small quantity he had procured. He made a fire hard by a tree called *Mello-an* on that mountain.

Some of the sorcerers or priests affirm that he was not burnt to death on that mountain, but that *Pund-jel*, for his good deeds, changed him into a fiery star, and they now point to Mars as the good *Toordt*.

The good *Kar-ak-ar-ook* had told the women to examine well the stick she had broken, and from which came the smoke and fire, and never to lose the gift; but, as this was not enough, *Trrar* took the men to a mountain, whereon grows *Djel-wuk* (of the wood of which they could make *weenth-kalk-kalk, i.e.*, fire-sticks), and he showed them how to form and use *Boo-bo-bo* and *Bab-a-noo*, so that they might always have the means at hand to light a fire. He left them no spark of fire at that time. He flew away upwards and was seen no more.

Mr. Stanbridge says that the Boorong tribe, who inhabit the Mallee country in the neighbourhood of Lake Tyrril, have preserved an account of the *Nurrum-bung-uttias*, or old spirits, a people who formerly possessed their country, and who had a knowledge of fire. The star Canopus (*War, i.e., Waung*) he says is the male Crow, the brother of *Ware-pil*, and the first to bring fire from space (*tyrille*), and to give it to the Aborigines, before which they were without it.

Another account of the mode in which fire was first procured by the Aborigines of Australia is thus given by Mr. James Browne :—* "A long, long time ago a little bandicoot was the sole owner of a fire-brand, which he cherished with the greatest jealousy, carrying it about with him wherever he went, and never allowing it out of his own special care; so selfish was he in the use of his prize, that he obstinately refused to share it with the other animals his neighbours; and so they held a general council, where it was decided that the fire must be obtained from the bandicoot either by force or strategy. The hawk and pigeon were deputed to carry out this resolution; and after vainly trying to induce the fire-owner to share its blessings with its neighbours, the pigeon, seizing as he thought an unguarded moment, made a dash to obtain the prize. The bandicoot saw that affairs had come to a crisis, and in desperation threw the fire towards the water, there to quench it for ever. But, fortunately for the black man, the sharp-eyed hawk was hovering near the river, and seeing the fire falling into the water, he made a dart towards it, and

* *Canadian Journal*, vol. I., p. 509, quoted by Wilson.

with a stroke of his wing knocked the brand far over the stream into the long dry grass of the opposite bank, which immediately ignited, and the flames spread over the face of the country. The black man then felt the fire, and said it was good."

Mr. Meyer states that the Aborigines of Encounter Bay were once, according to their own account, without fire. Their ancestors, they relate, were a long time ago assembled at Mootabaringar, and having no fire, they were compelled to perform their dances in the day-time. They sent messengers—*Kuratje* and *Kanmari* (fabulous beings, who subsequently became fishes)—towards the east, to *Kondole*, to invite him to the feast, as they knew that he possessed fire. *Kondole*, who was a large, powerful man, came, but hid his fire, on account of which alone he had been invited. The men, displeased at this, determined to obtain the fire by force; but no one ventured to approach him. At length one named *Rilballe* determined to wound him with a spear, and then take the fire from him. He threw the spear, and wounded him in the neck. This caused a great laughing and shouting, and nearly all were transformed into different animals. *Kondole* ran to the sea, and became a whale, and ever after blew water out of the wound which he had received in his neck. *Kuratje* and *Kanmari* became small fish. The latter was dressed in a good kangaroo skin, and the former in a mat only, made of sea-weed, which is the reason, they say, that the *Kanmari* contains a good deal of oil under the skin, while the *Kuratje* is dry and without fat. Others became opossums, and went upon trees. The young men who were ornamented with tufts of feathers became cockatoos, the tuft of feathers being the crest. *Rilballe* took *Kondole's* fire and placed it in the grass-tree, where it still remains, and can be brought out by rubbing.

The following *Legend of the Origin of Fire and of the Apotheosis of Two Heroes, by the Aborigines of Tasmania, as related by a native of the Oyster Bay Tribe,* is extracted from a paper by Joseph Milligan, Esq., F.L.S., in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania:*—

"My father, my grandfather, all of them lived a long time ago all over the country; they had no fire. Two blackfellows came; they slept at the foot of a hill—a hill in my own country. On the summit of a hill they were seen by my fathers, my countrymen—on the top of the hill they were seen standing: they threw fire like a star—it fell amongst the black men, my countrymen. They were frightened; they fled away, all of them; after a while they returned; they hastened and made a fire—a fire with wood; no more was fire lost in our land. The two blackfellows are in the clouds; in the clear nights you see them like two stars.* These are they who brought fire to my fathers.

The two black men stayed awhile in the land of my fathers. Two women (*Lowanna*) were bathing; it was near a rocky shore, where mussels were plentiful. The women were sulky, they were sad; their husbands were faithless, they had gone with two girls. The women were lonely; they were swimming in the water, they were diving for cray-fish. A sting-ray lay concealed

* Castor and Pollux.

in the hollow of a rock—a large sting-ray! The sting-ray was large, he had a very long spear; from his hole he spied the women; he saw them dive: he pierced them with his spear—he killed them, he carried them away. Awhile they were gone out of sight. The sting-ray returned; he came close in shore, he lay in still water, near the sandy beach; with him were the women, they were fast on his spear—they were dead!

The two black men fought the sting-ray; they slew him with their spears; they killed him; the women were dead! The two black men made a fire—a fire of wood. On either side they laid a woman; the fire was between: the women were dead!

The black men sought some ants, some large blue ants (*Pugganyeptietta*); they placed them on the bosoms (*Paruggapoingta*) of the women. Severely, intensely were they bitten. The women revived—they lived once more.

Soon there came a fog (*Maynentayana*), a fog dark as night. The two black men went away; the women disappeared: they passed through the fog, the thick dark fog! Their place is in the clouds. Two stars you see in the clear cold night; the two black men are there—the women are with them: they are stars above!

How Fire was first obtained.

(*According to the belief of the people of Lake Condah.*)

A man threw up a spear—upwards, towards the clouds—and to the spear a string was attached. The man climbed up with the help of the string, and brought fire down to the earth from the sun.

A long time after this all the people went up to the other world by the same means, except one man, and from the one man that was left all the people on the earth came. The name of this man was *Eun-newt*. He is now the Bat. It was the Crow who sent the first rain.

Priests and Sorcerers—Wer-raap.

Wer-raap (a doctor) is made by the spirits (*Len-ba-moorr*) of deceased doctors.

The *Len-ba-moorr* meet the man whom they intend to make a doctor in the bush, and instruct him in all the arts and devices proper for him to know, in order that his influence in the tribe may be powerful; but from time to time they visit him subsequently, and give him aid and information. Sometimes they visit *Wer-raap* in the night, tell him that some one is sick, and furnish him with the means of cure. If the kidney-fat of any man has been taken away, *Len-ba-moorr* will communicate the fact, and take the doctor to the black who has possession of it. If the wicked man has not eaten it, *Len-ba-moorr* will give power to the doctor to get it and bring it back, and cure the sick man.

Wer-raap flies away with the *Len-ba-moorr*, who have given wings to *Wer-raap;* and sometimes *Wer-raap* does not return for two, three, or five days.

When the people of the tribe see *Wer-raap* again, he is covered with feathers. He has had a long flight. He visits the sick man, and if after a time the sick man gets well, *Wer-raap* relates all the facts connected with the recovery of the kidney-fat; but if the man dies, *Wer-raap* tells them that the wicked black had eaten the kidney-fat before he could fly to him.

If any one has a pain in the chest, the doctor examines him. He probably finds that the *Wer-raap* of another tribe, instructed by other *Len-ba-moorr*, has put a piece of opossum rug in the body. The man is taken away from the camp by the doctor, who lays him upon the ground, puts his mouth to the part affected, and at intervals sings songs taught by his own *Len-ba-moorr*. In these songs he conjures the *Len-ba-moorr* to enter into the part, and put out whatever is causing the pain or sickness. This sometimes is continued for many hours. At length the doctor gets out something, which he shows to the sick man, and to others subsequently. If the doctor succeeds in extracting all the substances put into the body by the strange *Wer-raap*, the man gets well. Sometimes the strange *Wer-raap*, instructed by his own *Len-ba-moorr*, is too strong for the doctor, and in that case the man dies.

Some fifteen years ago, *Wonga*, a principal man of the Yarra tribe, was afflicted with ophthalmia, and he went into the Melbourne Hospital, where he remained for several weeks. When he came out he could see nothing. But *Tall-boy*, a celebrated *Wer-raap* belonging to the Goulburn tribe, which at that time was encamped on the Yarra, undertook to cure him. *Tall-boy* took out of *Wonga's* head behind his eyes several rotten straws (which *Wonga* carefully preserved for several years), and on the second morning after the operation *Wonga* could see the ships in the Bay, and on the third morning he could see the mountains at the head of the Yarra. No one doubts the power of a skilful *Wer-raap*.

The spirits (*Len-ba-moorr*) instruct the doctors as to the best mode of killing a man of a strange or hostile tribe. If it is desired to compass his death by slow degrees, that may be done in several ways. One method is thus described:—A piece of bark is taken in the hand, and hot ashes are thrown towards the point of the compass where the tribe is known to be encamped, and a song is sung, and all the birds of the air are required to carry the ashes, and to let them fall on the doomed man. The ashes cause the flesh to dry up, and the man withers and becomes as a dead tree. He is not able to move about, and at length he dies.

If it be wished by the tribe that any man of another tribe should be made sick and put in great pain, the *Wer-raap* makes a model in wood of that part of the body in which the pain is to be seated. The model is hung near a fire and made very hot, and the wild black a long way off by this means has that part made hot too, and he suffers accordingly. The singing of songs is never neglected in these practices.

And again there is another way of afflicting an enemy. Something belonging to the doomed man is secured. It may be a spear perhaps. It is broken or cut by a tomahawk into small pieces; the pieces are put into a bag, and the bag is hung near a fire. A song is sung; the *Len-ba-moorr* are implored to

convey the heat to the wild black (*Waragal Cooleenth*), so that he may wither and die. Hair from the head of an offender is treated in the same way, and with the same results.

The bag (*Belang*) in which *Wer-raap* carries his magic bones (bones of the emu, *Kalk-barramill Mull-bang-goo-weet*), and white stones (*Warra-goop*), is never out of sight. His treasures are sacred, and very valuable. As long as he keeps them he can never become sick; but sometimes his *Len-ba-moorr* become dissatisfied with him, and make his relics leave the bag and go into the bag of some other *Wer-raap*, and then, thus despoiled, he becomes sick and dies.

The doctor sometimes uses hot ashes and leaves of trees as a cure for pains. Sometimes he treads on the patient, and by strong pressure expels the noxious things that hurt him; but, as a rule, he can cure only by the help of his attendant spirits, *Len-ba-moorr*.

Some years ago a number of Aborigines encamped on the Yarra had amongst them some men who were in the habit of indulging in intoxicating liquors to excess. One of them, *Barak*, having indulged like the rest, became very sick. He could eat scarcely at all, and was indeed very ill. He attributed his illness, however, not to his bad habits, but to sorcery. *Punty*, a black from Gippsland, at this time visited the tribe, and *Barak*, on seeing him, requested him to go back to Gippsland and bring away his spears, which he said the Gippsland blacks were using in some way to his hurt. *Punty* said that he knew nothing of the spears, and would not go back. *Barak* immediately got behind *Punty*, and cut off some of his hair, and threatened that if he did not go back and fetch the spears he would kill him by treating the hair in the manner prescribed by the *Wer-raap*.* *Barak* and *Punty* fought, and the disturbance caused Mr. Green to interfere. Mr. Green told *Barak* that he had been tipsy, and had lost his spears. He took *Punty's* hair from *Barak*, and offered some of his own, in order that *Wer-raap* might make him (Mr. Green) sick;

* Mr. F. M. Hughan, who has had much intercourse with the Aborigines, has favored me with the following interesting anecdote:—"On one occasion, whilst travelling with sheep from a back run to the Murray frontage, I observed that the black boy Jimmy, who was driving the ration-cart, occupied himself in pulling single hairs from his head and burning them slowly in fire, which was ignited at the ends of two pieces of bark laid together. This was continued for so long a time that I became more than curious as to the why and wherefore, particularly as Jimmy kept up a constant succession of moaning undertones—interesting, doubtless, to the performer, but anything but cheering to me. At last I looked at the boy and said, 'Jimmy, what for you do like it that?' upon which he replied, 'Bale you yabber! You think it no good. You see bine-bye.' I did not ask him anything further until we got into camp; but I must confess to having wondered more than ever as to what his object tended. After supper, and whilst drawing away at my pipe, I tackled Jimmy again, and, after a good deal of verbal sparring, the secret oozed out. It appeared that some time previously a relative—brother, if I do not forget—of Jimmy's died, his death being caused, as the members of his tribe implicitly believed, by some one connected with another, and, of course, a hostile one; and it was to compass the decease of the unknown slayer of his relative that Jimmy had laid himself out, for he assured me that as the hair he burnt was consumed, so did the secret destroyer gradually pine away, till at last he would 'tumble down'—the blacks' expression for 'die'—and to bring about this glorious end Jimmy had resorted to the plan alluded to; and as he went at it with unabated perseverance the next day, I can only suppose that he was gloating over the speedy downfall of a hidden foe."—*MS.*, 11th Dec. 1871.

but *Barak* would have none of it. He said that he could not manage to get a white man made sick. Mr. Green still retains the hair. *Barak* speedily got well, and reformed his life. Poor *Punty* died some years ago.

Even now the old people believe firmly in the efficacy of the remedies prescribed by the doctors, and in their powers to do injury to enemies. The doctors gain influence generally by much self-laudation, much talking, and some adroit depreciation of others; but sometimes by accident. On one occasion an old doctor told the Rev. Mr. Hagenauer that he had gained his influence by a misadventure. He was cutting a branch of a gum-tree at a great height from the ground, and was stupidly sitting on the part of the branch which he was severing from the trunk, when it broke, and he fell with it to the ground. He was not hurt, and he at once was made a doctor. Whether the doctor was telling a true story, or sarcastically illustrating the mode in which honors and titles are sometimes gained amongst the whites, cannot now be ascertained.

The Rev. Mr. Hagenauer says that the Aborigines of Gippsland believe in the existence of a good and superior Being, whom they name *Mamengorook* (*Mamen*, father, and *gorook*, our); but they seem to regard him but little, and are unwilling to say more than that he lives at a distance from them. He is described as being white, very clean, and in *Keledia* (great brightness or glory).

Of evil spirits they can speak fluently. One called *Ngatya* does harm to them continually, and of him they stand in dread. In all evils which befall them *Ngatya* has a part. Great fires and great floods, as well as sickness and death, have their origin in *Ngatya*. If a man dies, *Ngatya* is blamed: he has come underground in the depth of the night, and has caused their warrior to close his eyes.

It is generally believed that the corrobboree is held to satisfy *Ngatya;* but Mr. Hagenauer suggests that this dance is a mere bodily enjoyment, and is an imitation of the playing of young emus and the curious dances of the native companions (*Grus Australasiensis*) on the large plains.

Sorcery.

The blacks are very often attacked by the evil spirits, who are supposed to inflict injuries and give diseases by such simple means as the thrusting of twigs and small pieces of wood into the eye or the ear. The late Mr. Thomas was witness to some of the panics which from time to time overtake the tribes. He says that on the 12th December 1845, when several Aborigines were encamped near him, three young male blacks, belonging to the native police—severally named *Quandine*, *Tom-boko*, and *Yeaptune*—who were sleeping together in one miam, awoke suddenly in the early morning, and declared that they were seized with the disease called *Tur-run*. They stated that thin twigs of she-oak had been thrust into their eyes, and that this had been done by some sorcerers; and they despaired; and dismay spread amongst the people; and there was great confusion in the encampment. But presently nine female doctors approached. They led the young men to a large fire made wholly of bark, which they had prepared specially for them, and in a suitable place away

from the main encampment. Each of the nine females held in one hand a piece of burning bark, and in the other a bunch of twigs gathered from the *Pallee*. Each female tapped the patients on the head with the twigs. The female doctors then walked round the fire, well warming the leaves of the twigs in the flames, and the hot leaves were rubbed on the breasts of the patients, and on the place where the *Marm-bu-la* is lodged, and on the navel. And they quickened their pace, and heated the leaves more and more, and they rubbed the leaves violently on the brows, heads, and hands of the patients, repeating all the time strange songs and wild notes of sorrow and defiance. When this was done, each female threw her bunch of twigs into the fire. They next took *Kun-nun-der* (charcoal-powder), and each female doctor made a black streak from the navel to the breast of each patient, and again a black streak from each corner of the mouth to the ear. When all this was done, the patients were taken back to their miam apparently much exhausted; but so great was the faith of the patients in this method of cure, that they soon recovered, and followed shortly after their usual pursuits. During the trial, and when the female doctors were very busy, *Quandine*, the stoutest of the three blacks, fainted, and he was supported and tended by one of the female doctors.

Krum-ku-dart Buneit—evil spirits—take possession of the bodies of even aged and wise men. *Tuart*, an old black, was lying comfortably asleep one night in the encampment on the south bank of the River Yarra, when, about midnight, an evil spirit entered into him, and he became mad. Mr. Thomas was awakened by loud shouts—"*Kom-ar-gee Marm-in-arta U-ree!*"—"Get up quickly, father!"—"an evil spirit has entered *Tuart*." Blazing fires were made, lights flitted and sprang up in all directions, and the encampment was a scene of fearful confusion. Mr. Thomas approached the aged *Tuart*, and found him dancing like a maniac, foaming at the mouth, and exhibiting every symptom of dangerous madness. Mr. Thomas was about to seize him, but was held back by the blacks, who declared that *Tuart* was possessed of an evil spirit, and would injure him. After capering wildly for about three-quarters of an hour, the old man fell down exhausted, and was carefully and tenderly carried to his miam by his friends. Quietness fell on the camp—all, including *Tuart*, fell asleep, and no more was heard of the evil spirit.

When a black is ill, or when a black dies, they believe that the sickness or the death is due to eminent powers of witchcraft. In the case of death, they blame some one—and they seek revenge. They say that some men have strange gifts: that they can make any black sick if they think fit. A black will bear the most excruciating pain if he knows the cause—as, for instance, if he has been wounded. But if sickness overtakes him—such as occurs frequently from over-eating, from hunger, from drinking cold bad water when heated by exertion—he grows alarmed. He fancies that some wizard has designs upon him; and this fear so deadens his faculties, makes him so helpless, that the disease—slight as it may be—does not infrequently terminate fatally.

The blacks, as has been stated, like the whites, have doctors. But their priests, sorcerers, seers, or doctors (*Māk-ega*)—all of them are impostors. They pretend to the knowledge of all things above the earth and under it. They

pretend that they know, and they not seldom describe to the members of their tribe, everything that is being done by some distant tribe. They claim the power of causing diseases—and they say that they can cure any man, how much soever he may have been hurt in battle or brought down by sickness. They are very indolent. They seldom hunt or fish, or do work of any kind. They make strange noises in the night, wander about, and seek to terrify their people. They are willing to receive gifts, and indeed live on the superstitions and fears of their less profligate relations. The men are afraid of offending them, and the women regard them as beings altogether superior to the common order of the species. They believe that the sorcerers can wound them, take their kidney-fat, cause barrenness, or kill their children. The sorcerers pretend that they are unlike other men. They cultivate tastes different from those of their tribe; they eat differently and at strange times; they sleep when others are awake; and they pretend to make long journeys when all in the camp are slumbering. By their wits and their cunning, and also by the knowledge they gain of events by keeping watch during periods when others are asleep, they preserve an ascendency over the members of the tribe; and they contrive to live comfortably on the profits of their strange practices.

The doctor, who in most cases is the principal man of the tribe, takes part in dividing the country. When a male child is born, he is supposed to have the right to designate the part of the country which shall belong to him when he arrives at maturity. Whether this division of land amongst the persons composing a tribe results in their claiming exclusive rights to any portion is doubtful. This subject is dealt with elsewhere.

The Aborigines of Gippsland, like those of all other parts of Australia, have a firm belief in the influence and power of their doctors. In every tribe the doctor has the blacks entirely in his hands, and he can do what he likes with them. The Rev. Mr. Hagenauer informs me that their wanderings and their great gatherings are ordered by the doctors. If a black is sick, the doctor is sent for. After a tedious examination, the patient is ordered to paint his face white, and the doctor sits beside him until midnight, when, according to the statements of the blacks, the doctor pulls out the substance which has caused the sickness. If the patient gets well, the doctor is complimented and rewarded, just as amongst ourselves; but if he gets worse, then *Ngatya* is blamed, whose influence is great.

The doctors have great power. They can command the winds and direct the course of tempests. They can make the clouds descend in rain.* They

* The making of rain is said to be one of the grandest ceremonies of the Cooper's Creek tribe. Mr. Samuel Gason says, "that when there is a drought or dry season, frequent in the Dieyerie country, the natives have a hard time of it. No fresh herbs, no roots, nothing but ardoo have they to subsist on. The parched earth yielding no grass, the emu, reptiles, &c., are so poor as to be nearly valueless for food; it is therefore easily perceived that to the natives rain is the supremest blessing. Believing they have the power of producing it, under the inspiration of *Moora-moora*, they proceed as follows:—Women, generally accompanied by their paramours (each married woman is permitted a paramour), are despatched to the various camps to assemble the natives together at a given place. After the tribe is gathered, they dig a hole, about two feet deep, twelve feet long, and from eight to ten feet broad. Over this they build a hut, by placing stiff logs about

can designate the personal enemy of any man; but they never give more than a general description of the enemy when called upon to be explicit. The enemy is usually called *Ngallin-yook*.

Mr. Hagenauer says that he has had some three or four *Ngallin-yooks* in his school at one time. These would not sit near each other, nor look one another in the face. When questioned, each would say that "that one would do something to me." "What would he do to you?" asked Mr. Hagenauer. "Oh, I do not know, but he would do something to me."

In some parts the doctors forbid the burning of any old garments, skins, or baskets, or the burning of old camps and miams.

The doctors can extract the blood of any man, and thus destroy him. The most effectual means of causing death or giving diseases is known only to the priests or sorcerers, but some methods of inflicting pain and communicating fatal illnesses are known to most men. The late Mr. Thomas, many years ago, attended a female who was ill of a fever. He administered medicines, and gave her hopes of a favorable termination to her sickness. She listened to him, and was grateful to him for his kindness, and was willing to believe that all he said might prove true; but at the same time exhibited a deep melancholy. The secret of this depression of spirits she disclosed. She told Mr. Thomas that, "some moons back, when the Goulburn blacks were encamped

three feet apart, filling the spaces between with slighter logs, the building being of conical form, as the base of the erection is wider than its apex; then the stakes are covered with boughs. This hut is only sufficiently large to contain the old men; the young ones sit at the entrance or outside. This completed, the women are called to look at the hut, which they approach from the rear; then dividing, some one way and some the other, go round until they reach the entrance, each looking inside, but passing no remark. They then return to their camp, distant about five hundred yards. Two men, supposed to have received a special inspiration from the *Moora-moora*, are selected for lancing, their arms being bound tightly with string near the shoulders, to hinder too profuse an effusion of blood. When this is done, all the men huddle together, and an old man, generally the most influential of the tribe, takes a sharp flint, and bleeds the two men inside the arm below the elbow, on one of the leading arteries, the blood being made to flow on the men sitting around, during which the two men throw handfuls of down, some of which adheres to the blood, the rest floating in the air. This custom has in it a certain poetry, the blood being supposed to symbolise the rain, and the down the clouds. During the preceding acts, two large stones are placed in the centre of the hut; these stones representing gathering clouds, presaging rain. At this period the women are again called to visit the hut and its inmates, but shortly after return to the camp. The main part of the ceremony being now concluded, the men who were bled carry the stones away for about fifteen miles, and place them as high as they can in the largest tree about. In the meanwhile the men remaining gather gypsum, pound it fine, and throw it into a water-hole. This the *Moora-moora* is supposed to see, and immediately he causes the clouds to appear in the heavens. Should they not show so soon as anticipated, they account for it by saying that the *Moora-moora* is cross with them; and should there be no rain for weeks or months after the ceremony, they are ready with the usual explanation, that some other tribe has stopped their power. The ceremony considered finished, there yet remains one observance to be fulfilled. The men, young and old, encircle the hut, bend their bodies, and charge, like so many rams, with their heads, against it, forcing thus an entrance, re-appearing on the other side, repeating this act, and continuing at it, until nought remains of their handiwork but the heavy logs, too solid for even their thick heads to encounter. Their hands or arms must not be used at this stage of the performance, but afterwards they employ them by pulling simultaneously at the bottom of the logs, which, thus drawn outwards, causes the top of the hut to fall in, so making it a total wreck. The piercing of the hut with their heads symbolises the piercing of the clouds; the fall of the hut, the fall of rain."—*The Dieyerie Tribe*,

near Melbourne, a young man named *Gib-ber-ook* came behind her and cut off a lock of her hair; that she was sure he had buried it, and that it was rotting somewhere." "Her hair," she said, "was rotting somewhere, and her *Marm-bu-la* (kidney-fat) was wasting away, and when her hair had completely rotted, she would die." She stated further that her name had been lately cut on a tree by some wild black, and that that was another token of death.

Murran,* which signifies a leaf, was the name of the young woman; and Mr. Thomas says that he ascertained afterwards that the figures of leaves had been carved on a gum-tree, as described by the girl. She died. The sorcerers said that the spirit of a wild blackfellow had cut the figures of leaves on the gum-tree.†

The blacks believe that the spirits of the dead (*Yambo kane*) go about the earth and visit the camps of the blacks. Mr. Bulmer gives a somewhat amusing account of the way in which the spirits may be made useful. An old woman—a widow—got up one morning, and declared that her deceased husband had appeared to her in the night, and asked her when she was going to get married again. He told her that unless she got married to a certain man of the tribe whom he named he would visit her every night. She related her experiences at some length, but whether or not the sly old lady succeeded in obtaining the man she coveted is not recorded.

MARM-BU-LA.

When an Aboriginal is alone and far distant from his encampments, he is liable to have his kidney-fat taken from him by the spirit of a wild black. The kidney-fat (*Marm-bu-la*) is taken away in some secret manner, and death is certain in the most of such cases, and scarcely to be avoided under the happiest circumstances.‡

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* *Marron* is the word for "leaf" in Bunce's vocabulary.

† An Australian black is always very unwilling to tell his real name, and there is no doubt that this reluctance is due to the fear that through his name he may be injured by sorcerers. Backhouse observed that the Tasmanians also disliked their names to be mentioned. "How the name," says Tylor, "is held to be part of the very being of the man who bears it, so that by it his personality may be carried away, and, so to speak, grafted elsewhere, appears in the way in which the sorcerer uses it as a means of putting the life of his victim into the image upon which he practices. Thus King James, in his '*Dæmonology*,' says that 'the devil teacheth how to make pictures of wax or clay, that by roasting thereof, the persons that they bear the name of may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness. A mediæval sermon speaks of baptizing a 'wax' to bewitch with; and in the eleventh century, certain Jews, it was believed, made a waxen image of Bishop Eberhard, set about with tapers, bribed a clerk to baptize it, and set fire to it on the Sabbath, the which image burning away at the middle, the bishop fell grievously sick and died." Tylor refers also to the belief of the Moslems that the "great name" of God is known only to prophets and apostles, who by pronouncing it can work miracles; and to the concealment of the name of the tutelary deity of Rome, which was enjoined in order that an enemy might not be afforded the opportunity of summoning the god, and tempting him by offers of a greater place to withdraw his protection from the city.

‡ "The Idolatrous Nations of old offered the kidney-fat, and the fat that covered the loins, extracted from human victims, as a peculiarly acceptable gift to the gods; and the Jews used the same parts of animals typically.—(Leviticus, c. iii., verses 3 and 4.) The same custom prevailed with the ancient Greeks. Thus 'the fat of victims, which his friends bestow,' was indispensable.—(*Virgil's Æneid*, b. vi., lines 121, 122.)"—*Remarks on the probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales*, by a Colonial Magistrate, 1846, p. 22.

The late Mr. Thomas* has given an account of this strange malady and the effects of it as observed in the case of a Goulburn black, who was attacked by the spirit of a wild black while on a hunting expedition. The man said that he believed his kidney-fat had been taken away from him. He became, according to his own account, very weak, and was scarcely able to crawl back to the encampment where his friends were. He began to tell his story as soon as he had seated himself near his miam. All the men assembled and sat down beside him. His brother and a friend supported him in their arms, as he became rapidly very weak, and they kept his head raised. A dead silence fell on the assembly. The women took the dogs in charge, and muffled them in their rugs. When Mr. Thomas, at this stage, approached the encampment, he saw only a few glimmering lights on the ground. There was no sound to be heard, where, under ordinary circumstances, mirthful voices, the crackling of branches, the barking of dogs, and all the other sounds of a great encampment would have met his ear. An old black named *Kollorlook* having noticed the arrival of Mr. Thomas at a spot beyond the creek on which was the encampment, crossed it, and approached Mr. Thomas, and warned him against visiting the miams at a time when a man had had *Marm-bu-la* taken from him by a wild black. Mr. Thomas's own servants had been prevented from crossing the creek, and it was everywhere evident that a solemn and serious business was being transacted by the natives. When Mr. Thomas insisted on crossing the creek, *Kollorlook* told him that he must not speak, that he must tread lightly —that there must be no crackling of branches nor any unseemly noise made. Mr. Thomas complied with these injunctions, and, on reaching the camp, found the blacks seated in circles around the sick and, as they believed, dying man— the oldest men forming an inner circle, the next in age an outer circle, and the young men a third. A small fire, formed of smouldering bark, but at which no flame was permitted to rise, was made to the right of and about three yards from the sick man; and at a distance of about two hundred yards in the direction of the spot where he had lost his fat there were placed at short distances apart smouldering pieces of bark, which looked like huge fire-flies on the ground. One man attended to these pieces of bark, kept the fire alive, but at the same time prevented any of them from bursting into flame.

Malcolm, a wizard—a most learned doctor—who believed he could fly and cut the air as well as any eagle, now commenced his labors. He disappeared in the darkness; boughs cracked and rustled as he took his supposed flight through the trees towards the sky. Malcolm's voice was heard. "*Goo-goo-goo*" was the sound heard in the still night, and the men holding the body responded "*Goo-goo-goo.*" Malcolm could not at once find the wild black who had taken the kidney-fat, and he was at last compelled to take what he made the blacks believe was a lengthened flight. He was absent about three-quarters of an hour. When, by the rustling of branches, Malcolm's return was announced, the old men seated near the sick person cried "*Goo-goo wandududuk mo-thur ma-lar-voit marm-bu-la woo-re-mup*"—each syllable being pronounced slowly,

* The late Wm. Thomas, Esq., MS., 26th August 1840.

distinctly, and solemnly. They said in these words—"Come, bring back the kidney-fat—make haste." Malcolm appeared, and, without speaking a word, seized the dying man in a savage manner, and rubbed him violently; devoting his attentions mostly to the sides of the poor wretch, which he pushed and beat unmercifully. He then announced that the cure was complete. All the men jumped up. There was joy and noise in all parts of the camp, where previously there had been silence and mourning. The sick man arose, lighted his pipe, and smoked composedly in the midst of his friends.

The men told Mr. Thomas with triumph, and with much scorn of his unbelief in native remedies, how easily a doctor of their people could cure diseases which white doctors would regard as incurable; and they pointed to the patient with not unjustifiable pride, as a proof of the power of the Flying Doctor.

The blacks firmly believed that Malcolm had flown as the hawk flies, had stooped on the wild black who had stolen the kidney-fat, and had taken it from him, and had replaced it in the body of the patient—and nothing that Mr. Thomas said to them had the slightest effect on their minds.

They believe that if the wild black who has stolen kidney-fat eats any, even the smallest portion of it, the man whom he has deprived of it will surely die.

The following accounts of some beliefs and curious practices of the natives have been given to me by Mr. Alfred W. Howitt, the well-known explorer, and now a Police Magistrate in Gippsland. The existence of the *Birra-arks* and the *Barrn* is well known to old blacks. Mr. Howitt says he has endeavoured to find a *Birra-ark*, but without success. He thinks one may be found perhaps in other parts of Victoria. The belief in the existence of the *Birra-arks* is universal; and that which he has written down, he says, is believed by all the Gippsland natives.*

Mr. Howitt has written down also some of the myths of the natives, and has given a singularly interesting account of *Bolgan*, whose bones were found in the manner described in the native language in another part of this work.

Bowkan, Brewin, and Bullundoot.

"The Aboriginal natives of the neighbourhood of the Mitchell River, and of the Lakes in North Gippsland, believe in three spiritual beings—*Bowkan*, a beneficent spirit; *Brewin*,† a malignant spirit; and with *Brewin* is associated

* It is generally supposed that the blacks have no idea of religion; but it is pretty certain that they have strong superstitions of some sort. It is well known that they will often cower in the most abject terror in their mia-mias at the supposed entrance of some spirit; and they will not venture to eat without first casting some peace-offering to him over their shoulders; nor can the boldest of them be induced to venture out in the dark if he imagines that this spirit is anywhere about.—*Mr. H. B. Lane, MS.*, 30th October 1862.

† The native sorcerers, according to Grey, are named *Boyl-yas* in Western Australia, and they have a mighty influence on the minds and actions of the natives. "The *Boyl-yas* are natives who have the power of *Boyl-ya*; they sit down to the northward, the eastward, and southward. The *Boyl-yas* are very bad; they walk away there (pointing to the east). . . . . The *Boyl-yas* eat up a great many natives—they eat them up as fire would. . . . . The *Boyl-yas* move stealthily —you sleep and they steal on you; very stealthily the *Boyl-yas* move. These *Boyl-yas* are dreadfully revengeful. . . . . They come moving along in the sky. . . . . The natives cannot

Bullundoot—the term *Bullun* being 'two,' signifying a dual existence. *Bowkan* is also sometimes called *Bullun-Bowkan.* They are said to live in the clouds; and sudden attacks of illness are often attributed to *Brewin. Bowkan* is invoked to relieve from the influence of *Brewin,* who inflicts upon the blacks, as they believe, various forms of disorder, which are called, for instance, *Toondung,* seemingly a chest affection; violent pains in the abdomen, &c.; these may be caused by *Brewin* with the hooked part of the throwing-stick (*Murrawun*), or by actually passing down the afflicted person's throat. In the latter case it is attempted to drive out the intruder by shouting out abusive and threatening words to him.

One form of charm used is this :—

Toondunga Brewinda
Nandu-unga Ugaringa
Mrew murrawunda
Toondunga, &c., &c.

It is sung to a monotonous chant, and may be rendered, 'Oh, *Brewin!* I expect you have given *Toondung,* or the eye (sharp hooked end) of the *Murrawun* (throwing-stick).'

Besides this belief in *Bowkan, Bullundoot,* and *Brewin,* there is also one in the *Mrarts.* The *Mrarts* are believed to be the spirits of departed blackfellows, and they are considered to live in the clouds. They are mostly well disposed towards the natives, but some do them injury, frightening them, and carrying off children and grown-up people to devour. These evil *Mrarts* wander about, particularly at night, carrying a net-bag, like the one used for catching small fish in swamps, into which they are supposed to thrust the children.

Brookgill, near Boul Boul, on the Lakes, seems to have been a place infested by these evil *Mrarts,* for several stories are current about them there.

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see them. The *Boyl-yas* do not bite, they feed stealthily ; they do not eat the bones, but consume the flesh. The *Boyl-yas* sit at the graves of natives in great numbers. If natives are ill, the *Boyl-yas* charm, charm, charm, charm, and charm, and by-and-by the natives recover."

The *Brewin* of Mr. Howitt must have been a *Boyl-ya.*

The name *Boyl-ya* calls to recollection at once the word *Bulotu* (Hades) in the Tonguese Mythology, and the *boliauns,* or *boughe-lawns,* mentioned in *Irish Folk-lore.* On one occasion, Lageniensis, the author of the work (as quoted in the *Athenæum,* No. 2236, 3rd September 1870, p. 299), assisted at the performance of some mysterious quackery practised by a noted *Sheogue* doctor, called *Paddy the Dash,* who was supposed to hold friendly communication with the "good people," for his cabin adjoined one of their raths. The wizard's assistance was invoked in the case of an old woman who had fallen into a decline. "We were but wee bit bodies at the time," says the author, "and have only an indistinct recollection of Paddy drawing out of his *coatmore* pocket a large black bottle, with two or three packages of brown paper, containing dried herbs and a bunch of *boughe-lawns,* or *boliauns,* on which the fairies are said to ride occasionally through the air. The blossoms and tops of these *boughe-lawn* weeds were put in a porringer, filled with water, that had been left simmering on the kitchen fire. Some unaccountable flourishes were made over the sick woman, then some strokes on her back and forehead, with three shakes—'in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost'—when helped to an upright sitting posture by female friends assisting."

A Gippsland *Birra-ark* could have done no more than the *Sheogue* doctor.

It is pleasant to pass from south to north—from the blacks to the whites—in dealing with these superstitions.

One is that when the blacks were camped there many years ago, the camp was roused at night by the shouts for help of a blackfellow, who was found by those who ran up lying on his back in his camp, with his wife holding him. He was 'shaking as if with cold,' and said that he 'was awoke by a *Mrart* pulling him out of his camp by the leg.' Another account is of a *Mrart* who was seen at that place in the day-time by a large number of blacks. He, they say, was running along the edge of the tea-tree, carrying the net-bag. One blackfellow who spoke of this said he was a little boy at the time, and remembers how his mother ran into the lake with him, and that the blackfellows fled in all directions with terror. He says the *Mrart* was like a very tall blackfellow, and that his eyes were flames.

Mrarts appear also to the blacks often when asleep. One blackfellow has told me that when he was camped on the Mitchell River, near Iguana Creek, a few years ago, assisting to gather wild cattle, two *Mrarts* appeared to him in the night as he slept. They were tall, and had long hands; they stood side by side at his fire, and were about to speak, when he awoke; then they were gone. But he saw on the spot where they stood a *Bulk* (one of the magical stones used by the Aborigines). He kept the *Bulk* as a potent charm.

Connected with the *Mrarts* are the *Birra-arks*. There are no *Birra-arks* now living. The last one, *Dinna Birra-ark*, was a blackfellow who was shot near the Lakes when the country was first settled. *Dinna Birra-ark* is rendered as meaning *The Birra-ark*. Many blacks now living remember these people, and the following particulars are condensed from the account given to me by several Aborigines:—A *Birra-ark* was a blackfellow who was in communication with the spirits of the dead—of the *Bungil Wour-kunyey* (the old blackfellows). Any blackfellow may be made a *Birra-ark* who is found by *Mrarts* in the bush; but he must at the time be wearing one of the small bones of the kangaroo's leg, called *Goombert*, through the hole pierced in his nose. The *Mrarts* carry him off, it is said, up a ladder, which swings up into the clouds. There he is instructed, and when he returns to his friends he is a *Birra-ark*. The *Mrarts* teach him the corrobboree songs and dances, and he in his turn instructs the blacks. He seems to be the poet and magician of the tribe. Many of the songs used here were composed by the *Dinna Birra-ark* I have spoken of—the last of the bards. He was also consulted about many things—for instance, of the whereabouts and well-being of some friend whom the questioner had not heard of for a long time; or as to whether any strange blacks (*Borajerack*) were coming down 'on the war path;' and, when the country was first being settled, as to where cattle were to be found in the mountains. The mode of procedure was this: On the evening fixed, a little after dark, the *Birra-ark* goes out of the camp into the bush. All the blacks in the camp keep quiet, very frightened; one only 'cooyes' very loud for a long time; then a noise is heard. (The narrator here struck a book against the table several times to describe it.) This is *Bullun-Bowkan* (the great spirit) coming first. Then a loud whistle is heard up in the air at one side of the camp, then another loud whistle in the air on the other side; then is heard the sound of *Mrarts* jumping down on the ground one after the other. They can

be heard talking together, but they cannot talk plainly. Next you hear the *Mrarts* marching past the camp after each other, and a voice calls out, 'Do not make a bright fire, or we shall go back.' Questions are now put to them, which they answer, and the replies are always found to be true.

When the *Mrarts* go away, which they do when no more questions are put, saying 'Now we are going back,' the blackfellows go out and find the *Birra-ark*, sleeping on the ground where the *Mrarts* had been talking; but sometimes he is found left in the top of a tree; in one case on the top of a tree-stem where the head had been broken off high up; and in all such cases it is in some tree very difficult to climb, and up which there are no marks of any one having climbed. The blackfellows have had sometimes the greatest difficulty in getting the *Birra-ark* down again from the places where the *Mrarts* have left him.

A *Murla-mullung* is a doctor; a blackfellow becomes a *Murla-mullung* by being visited in the night by some departed relative—as a father, uncle, or brother. The vision shows him the causes of disease, such as *Toondung*, the inner bark of a variety of ironbark, which is supposed to get into the chest; *Bulk*, an egg-shaped quartz pebble; *Groggin*, quartz fragments, to which may be added *Bottle*, that is broken glass; *Murrawun*, the magical throwing-stick, made of ironbark wood.

For these and other ailments various charms and their appropriate tunes are taught, and the sleeper on awakening is a *Murla-mullung*. He can now charm out the *Toondung* by singing the appropriate remedy over the patient; and, placing his hand on the chest under the 'possum rug, draws out the offending *Toondung* in the shape of some of the inner bark of the ironbark called *Yowut;* it is said always to have blood on it. In the same way other cures are performed. If, for instance, the patient has had some quartz fragments or broken glass placed in his legs or arms by the enchantment of some enemy, the *Murla-mullung* straightens out the limb, smooths it down with his hands, and then, after singing his chant, sucks the quartz or glass out of the place, and removing it from his mouth, shows it to the patient, who is then cured.

As an example of what the *Murla-mullung* does, the following may serve:—One of the blackfellows had some magical substance called *Kru-gullung* in a bag; it was obtained from some Melbourne blacks. In the bag he kept a waddy, and by this means the strength of the *Kru-gullung* was supposed to pass into the waddy. One day, being drunk, he fancied to beat his gin, and running after her, brandishing the waddy, he struck himself such a blow on the side of the head that he inflicted a deep cut. The *Kru-gullung* passed out of the waddy into his head, and the wound defied the skill of the English doctors at Sale. A *Murla-mullung* at Bairnsdale, however, cured it. He sang his song and sucked the wound, and extracted the *Kru-gullung*, which resembled a glass marble.

Women may become *Murla-mullungs* as well as men; but if a *Murla-mullung* is stung by a bulldog-ant, or by a nettle, he feels his power gone from him, and can cure no more till again visited by the spirit of a deceased relative in his sleep.

Barrn is the name of the he-oak* (forest oak), but it also means a certain kind of bewitchment by which the victim is killed. The mode of doing this is called 'making *Barrn*,' or 'to catch some one with *Barrn*.' There is a lesser and a greater process. The less is done by finding a place where the intended victim has sat on the ground—the place must be still 'warm.' The spot is then beaten with a *Barrn*, which is a piece of he-oak about an inch diameter and four inches long, cut to a blunt point at each end; an appropriate song is chanted at the same time. The *Barrn* thereupon goes mysteriously into the body of the victim, and unless got rid of by a *Murla-mullung*, kills him. One counter charm against *Barrn* is this:—

Noomba jellen Barrnda,

which means, 'The sharp *Barrn* is not to catch me,' and is sung over and over again. The other process is as follows:—A number of blackfellows join together to get rid of some person. They are called *Bungil Dowa-gunney*, and do as follows:—A place is found where a suitable he-oak grows, about six inches in diameter. The branches are cut off, so as to leave the stem smooth and pointed; the bark is chipped off smoothly; on the ground an extended figure of the victim is drawn, with the he-oak growing out of his head. Sometimes the outline is formed with he-oak branches, buried under the surface of the ground. A *Murrawun* is stuck into the figure. Three or four trees are then joined by lines marked on the ground from one to the other, and sometimes by stringybark cords, enclosing an area of perhaps eight or ten paces in the side; the surface, inside, is cleared up, and the grass and rubbish piled over the *Yambo-ganey* or 'double' of the victim, marked under the *Barrn* tree. This tree is also called *Tschu-duck*. Everything being thus prepared, the *Bungil Dowa-gunney* go to the place about two o'clock in the afternoon. They must be perfectly naked, rubbed with charcoal, and with their heads, bodies, and limbs wound round with stringybark cords. They hold the small *Barrns* I have spoken of in their hands. They then chant for several hours some song which is to have the effect of bringing the victim to the spot. It is believed that when the incantation has been strong enough, the victim finds himself impelled, by a power he cannot resist, to get up wherever he may be, and walk towards the *Barrn*. He is said to walk like a man asleep; he staggers from side to side, and his eyes goggle out of his head. One song describes them as being *Woorburru-mrew-nurrundu*, or a 'cranky eye like the moon.'

One of the songs used is this:—

Moon-aug ngi-ay [here comes the name];
Bee-ar lounganda-Barrnda;

which may be rendered thus:—

He is coming along [naming the person];
The *Barrn* is swinging him about.

So soon as he comes in sight of the *Barrn*, he walks straight to it, and on entering the marked space the *Bungil Dowa-gunney* throw their *Barrns* at him.

* *Casuarina leptoclada*: Miquel.

He falls on his back; they then draw his tongue out of his mouth and separate it at each side from the throat. It is now put back, and he is roused. He stands stupidly looking about him. One of the *Bungil Dowa-gunney* says to him, 'You are only to live two days'—or whatever the time may be—to which he nods assent, not being able to speak. They then send him home, sometimes giving him a 'possum to eat on the road. At the end of the time he dies, as ordered.

Sometimes it is said they amuse themselves by throwing big 'sow-thistles,' which grow wild in places in the bush, at him; they go right through him, but are pulled out before he goes home, though the poison remains in him.

The last blackfellow reported to have been killed by *Barrn* was called *Bruthen-mungie;* but *Barrn* has been made for the purpose of 'catching' one of the Bony Point blackfellows during the past year. My informant says that *Barrn* trees have been several times found lately, but that the blackfellows finding them cut them up and throw them away.*

The *Murrawun* is the magical throwing-stick, made of ironbark wood. The person who has learned to make these, and to render them, as the blackfellows describe it, 'big fellow poison,' is called a *Bungil-Murrawun.* He is said to make it 'carry poison' by rubbing kangaroo marrow on it, and by singing over it. The *Murrawun* is used to injure blackfellows by pointing at them, making a hissing noise at the same time; by tying a piece of some one's hair on it with some kangaroo fat and an eaglehawk's feather, and roasting the hair, &c., before the fire; in fact it is believed of potent effect in many ways.

I have spoken of a belief that quartz or broken glass can be put into a person's legs or arms. The mode is described as follows:—The track of the person is found; a cross is marked on it with a sharp quartz fragment or a piece of bottle glass; round the cross are stuck in the ground some of the

* There are numerous strange practices in all parts of the world which have their origin in superstitions like those mentioned.

Tylor states, in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind,* that those as to hair and nails belong to Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Moslem lore; and that they are alive to this day in Europe, where, for instance, he who walks over nails hurts their former owner; and the Italian does not like to trust a lock of his hair in the hands of any one, lest he should be bewitched or enamoured against his will.

"The Peruvian sorcerers are said still to make rag dolls and stick cactus-thorns into them, and to hide them in secret holes in houses, or in the wool of beds or cushions, thereby to cripple people, or turn them sick or mad. In Borneo, the familiar European practice still exists of making a wax figure of the enemy to be bewitched, whose body is to waste away as the image is gradually melted, as in the story of Margery Jordane's waxen image of Henry VI. The old Roman law punished by the extreme penalty the slaying of an absent person by means of a wax figure. The Hindoo arts are thus described by the Abbé Dubois:—'They knead earth taken from the sixty-four most unclean places, with hair, clippings of hair, bits of leather, &c., and with this they make little figures, on the breasts of which they write the name of the enemy; over these they pronounce magical words and mantrams, and consecrate them by sacrifices. No sooner is this done, than the *grahas,* or planets, seize the hated person, and inflict on him a thousand ills. They sometimes pierce these figures right through with an awl, or cripple them in different ways, with the intention of killing or crippling in reality the object of their vengeance.' Again, the Karens of Burmah model an image of a person from the earth of his foot-prints, and stick it over with cotton-seeds, intending thereby to strike the person represented with dumbness. Here we have the making of the figure combined with the ancient practice in Germany known as the 'earth cutting' (erdschnitt),

kangaroo bones called *Goombert* and a *Murrawun*. The quartz or broken glass is then supposed to find its way into the person who made the track, and he becomes crippled. It is also believed that by throwing quartz-powder towards a person he can be mutilated in a terrible manner."

A native of Gippsland has related the following story to Mr. A. W. Howitt, showing how a *Mrart* was outwitted by a blackfellow:—"A long time ago, before 'you and me father been dead boy,' a blackfellow went to pick *Goornung* (kangaroo apple) at a place near the Lakes, Gippsland, called *Kin-tall-a Mrart* (jumping devil). While he was busy picking off the fruit, a *Mrart* came by and popped him into his bag. *Mrarts* carry bags 'more big than house—like it woolpack.' He caried off the poor blackfellow a long way, and being tired, took him out of the bag to give him a drink. He scooped up some water from a hole in the ground, and offered it to the blackfellow, who refused it. He said, '*Den-bun-bo-buk*,' which means, 'The water's no good.' That was the way 'old-man blackfellow' spoke long ago. We now say, '*Din-din-yarn*,' only at that time they said '*Den-bun-bo-buk*.' The *Mrart* being good tempered, threw out the water, and went to get some more. When he came back his prisoner said, '*Den-bun-bo-buk*'—'The water's no good.' There was no water near, so the *Mrart* had to go down into a deep gully. This was what the blackfellow wanted, and he ran off and escaped. If anybody makes an excuse, we say to him '*Den-bun-bo-buk*.'"

Aboriginal Legend of a Deluge.

"A long time ago, 'when father belonging to you and me been alive,' there was a very great flood; all the country was under water, and all the blackfellows were drowned except a man and two or three women, who took refuge

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cutting out the earth or turf where the man who is to be destroyed has stood, and hanging it in the chimney, that he may perish as his foot-print dries and shrivels."—*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, by Edward B. Tylor, 2nd edition, pp. 121–2, 1870.

The author of *The Last of the Barons* has told us how Friar Bungey made a waxen counterpart of the Earl of Warwick for the Duchess of Bedford, so that when her grace might be pleased to stick pins and needles into it the stout Earl would become affected in the parts punctured. It seems but yesterday that these and similar practices were common in a country whose people would be incredulous if they were told now that their progenitors were savages—having practices like those of existing rude nations, who, in the belief of some persons, are not inferior, but simply different. The *Barrn*—as described by Mr. Howitt—would have been useful to the Duchess of Bedford.

Those who are inclined to amuse themselves with what are generally regarded as the foolish superstitions of the Australian natives may find enjoyment also in perusing the histories of witchcraft in England. Our natives have strange beliefs, and are cruel; but none of their superstitions are so gross, or lead to such brutal murders, as those which have received the approval of the most eminent persons in England. From the time of Henry the Eighth, when a statute was enacted declaring all witchcraft and sorcery to be felony without benefit of clergy (33 Hen. VIII., 1541), up to the 4th September 1863, when a poor old paralyzed Frenchman was ducked as a wizard at Castle Hedingham, Essex, and died in consequence of the treatment he received, our civilized communities have boldly set examples that the Aboriginal natives of Australia would be too humane to imitate. Barrington estimates the judicial murders for witchcraft in England alone in two hundred years at 30,000.

The laws against witchcraft were repealed by 10 Geo. II., 1736; but the belief in witchcraft in England, and in English-speaking communities, if not as widely spread, is as strong as ever.

in a mud island near Port Albert. The water was all round them. The Pelican, sailing about in his bark canoe, saw these poor people, and went to help them. One of the women was so beautiful that he fell in love with her. When she wanted to get into the canoe, he said, 'Not now—next time;' so that, ferrying the others one by one to the mainland, she was left to the last. She became frightened, and being a cunning woman, she wrapped a log of wood up in her ''possum rug,' laid it by the fire to look like herself, and then swam ashore and escaped. When the Pelican came back, he said, 'Come on now.' Receiving no reply, he became angry, and, going to the supposed woman lying by the fire, he gave her a kick, when he at once found out the trick that had been played upon him. Then he was very angry, and began to paint himself white, 'to look out fight' with the blackfellows. When he was half-painted, another Pelican came by, and not knowing what such a queer black and white thing was, struck the first Pelican with his beak, and killed him. Before that, Pelicans were all black—now they are black and white, and that is the reason."

The Port Albert Frog.

"Once, long ago, there was a big Frog—*Tidda-lick*. He was sick, and got full of water. He could not get rid of all this water, and did not know what to do. One day he was walking near where Port Albert is now, when he saw a sand-eel dancing on his tail on a mud flat by the sea. It made him laugh so much that he burst, and all the water ran out. There was a great flood, and all the blackfellows were drowned except two or three men and a woman, who got on a mud island. While they were there, a Pelican came by in his canoe. He took off the men one at a time, but left the woman to the last. He wanted to get her for himself. She was frightened, and so put a log in her 'possum rug, like a person asleep, and swam to shore. When the Pelican returned, he called to her to come. No answer. Then he was angry, and kicked the 'possum rug. There was in it a log. Then he was very angry, and went off to paint himself with *Marloo* (pipeclay), to go and 'look out fight' with the blackfellows. Before that time, Pelicans were all black. When he was partly painted with *Marloo*, another Pelican came by, and not liking the looks of him, hit him with his beak, and killed him. That is the reason that Pelicans are partly black and partly white to this day."

How the Blackfellows Lost and Regained Fire.

"Once *Bowkan* was very angry with the blacks, and took their fire from them, but the *Bimba Mrit* (the fire-tail finch) went off and stole fire from *Bowkan* without his knowing it, and brought it to the blackfellows, and that is why his tail is red."

Another account is this:—"Once upon a time the blacks were down at the Lakes—a 'big lot of them;' they were 'driving fish with their net' (*Lawn*). The gins would not give any of the fish to *Bowkan*. He was very wild with

them, and took all their fire. All the mob of black gins ran after him, but could not get the fire back. A crow was there, and caught up a black snake (*Thoon-ya-rack*), which he threw at *Bowkan*. *Bowkan* was so frightened that he dropped the fire, and the gins recovered it."

The Native Dog.

"Some blackfellows were once camped at the Lakes, near Shaving Point. They had been successful at fishing, and were sitting in their camp cooking and eating what they had caught. Just then a native dog came up and looked in. They took no notice of him, nor did they give him anything to eat. He became cross, and said, 'You blackfellows are no good—you have lots of fish, but give me none.' So he changed them all into a big rock; and this is quite true, for the big rock is there to this day, and I have seen it with my own eyes."

Another version of the dog and the natives at Shaving Point, as related and explained by *Toolabar*:—

"Near Shaving Point, at the Lakes, a big mob of blacks were fishing with the big grass-nets. They were fishing all night, and came to the camp in the morning where the women were. They said, 'Oh, we have got plenty of fish.' The women said *Yacka-torn* (very good). One of the dogs belonging to the women sang out *Yacka-torn* also. Then they were all made into *Wallung* (a rock). If a dog belonging to you or me were to talk like that, then we should be changed directly into stone. Once at Swan Reach I heard a dog sing out very loud. My father and I heard him. I was a very little boy. We ran away very fast. If he had been near to me we should have been 'like it *Wallung* (stone).' All the blackfellows sang out and ran away. I could only hear the dog say '*Bring*' (bone). I think he was saying *Bringu tarnu ginganunga*."

The History of Bolgan.

"About the year 1861, '*Bolgan*' was a young girl of perhaps fifteen years of age. She was the daughter of '*Bookur*,' or, as the whitefellows called him, 'Edward.' At the time I speak of a number of the Murray River and Lake blacks had agreed to go up the coast as far as Twofold Bay, and they were to be guided by 'Jackey the Whaler,' who had been there years before 'spearing whales.' It was also determined that they should accept the invitation of a blackfellow, 'Tommy,' to visit him on the way. This Tommy was in the service of some whites who had a small cattle station in the middle of the great wilderness of country lying between the Snowy River and Cape Howe. It was to this station, to visit Tommy, that the party were to proceed, and of this party were Edward, his wife, his daughter *Bolgan*, and his little eight or nine years old son, Charley. How many blacks went I know not, but there were, so far as I can ascertain, some ten or a dozen—men, women, and children —all more or less related to or connected with each other. In due course they arrived at the station, having followed up a river from the coast until it became

rocky, when they walked. They camped about a quarter of a mile from the station, at the edge of the dense jungle through which the river flows—a jungle about a quarter of a mile wide in places, and utterly impenetrable except on foot; dense masses of acmenia and other umbrageous trees being bound together with climbing vines and creepers.

Here the blacks remained for a few days, and some of the men took a job to strip bark for the owners of the place. These were two young men of from sixteen to eighteen, so far as their ages can be ascertained from the accounts given by the blacks. Tommy and these two whites were the only residents there; the nearest station was thirty to thirty-five miles distant, and the whole surrounding country, with the exception of the way to this station, is an almost impenetrable scrub.

One morning before noon, when the blacks were about their camp—some sitting by the fire, others preparing to go out to hunt for the day—Tommy came down in company with the two white men. He had a poncho over his shoulders, and his two companions were armed with guns. Edward was sitting by the fire with his brother 'Curlip Tom' on his left hand, and his little son Charley on his right.

From this point I more especially quote 'Curlip Tom,' the previous particulars being derived from several informants:—Curlip Tom, sitting by the side of Edward, heard a noise like the crack of a stockwhip, and Edward threw up his arms and fell back. Curlip Tom jumped up and saw Tommy just behind them with a small pistol with a square barrel in his hand; smoke was coming out of it. He seized his spears, and was in the act of fitting one to the *Murrawun* to spear Tommy, when the white men covered him with their guns. He let fall his spear and ran into the scrub. All the other blacks had already disappeared into the same shelter, and none remained but Edward (lying on the ground), Tommy, and the two white men. After a while these latter went off, and the blacks came out of the scrub. They found poor Edward not dead, but badly wounded; he had been shot in the back of the neck, and the bullet could be felt under the left ear 'like a stone.'

Hastily the wounded man was placed on a sheet of bark. The men of the party carried him along the edge of the scrub, while the women and children followed a parallel course in the thick river-scrub for safety. After some miles, they found carrying Edward on the sheet of bark became impossible, and his brother stripped a canoe, and, being accounted the best canoeman in the country, took charge of the wounded man down the river, while the others pursued their flight; the men skirting the edge of the jungle, and the women and children travelling in it as before.

In the afternoon the pedestrians had got ahead of the canoe on account of the difficulties attending the navigation of such a small stream from the constant occurrence of logs and large trees fallen across its course. The party, therefore, camped at a little open bend where the jungle was on only one side of the stream, and awaited the canoe bearing the wounded man.

Bolgan and her mother and Charley were sitting by a small fire, when all at once Tommy and the two white men came up on horseback armed as before.

Tommy got off his horse at a little distance, and his two comrades held it. He went up to the women. He said to *Bolgan*, 'You come with me.' On her not obeying, he presented the pistol at them. Her mother said, 'I would not let you have her if I were not afraid you would shoot me as you did her father, Edward.' Then *Bolgan* got up and went with him. He put her on his horse, tied her feet under its belly, and, holding the bridle, walked off in the direction of the station. The two white men with their guns came last.

Very soon after the canoe came down stream, and the flight was continued till dark. Then they had reached a part of the river where a ledge of rocks crossed it, and they camped. In the night the wounded man died. The following morning the body was placed in the canoe, and conveyed to the west side of the river. The canoe was then cut in two, the corpse rolled in it, and carried a short distance up the hill side. A grave was dug with their tomahawks by a big log where two small stringybark saplings were growing, one on each side at the head, and one other sapling at the feet. While they were burying poor Edward, some 'Bidwell' blacks—a man and woman and two boys—came up, who were related to some of the Snowy River men present, and they cried very much over poor 'Ned.'

The funeral being performed, the sad party plunged westward into the dense scrubs lying between them and their own country, and suffered great hardship, and were nearly starved from want of food before they reached the Snowy River. How long elapsed from this time I know not, till a party set out to revenge the death of Edward; I think it was not many months.

The brother of the murdered man, together with a number of the men of the tribe, made up a 'war party,' went up the coast, revisited the scene of the murder, and traced out the murderer to the Genoa River, where they found him camped with *Bolgan* as his 'gin,' not 200 yards from the station occupied by his white accomplices. When they first saw him he was looking for horses near the station. '*Wuck wuckun*' (the Wonga pigeon) speared him, and he ran off towards the station. The blacks pursued. The white men came out armed, and threatened to shoot the blacks. These said, 'Never mind; if you shoot, we will shoot you,' for they had many guns. The white men were not 'game,' and *Dairy Mungee* shot Tommy in front of the station. Then they carried off *Bolgan* in triumph.

Of the two whites who are alleged to have been the participators in this murder, one is said to have committed suicide some years ago, the other, the younger one, still lives in the district.

When an enquiry was instituted—the story having become public after some years—the brother and son of the murdered man were unable to find the spot where he had been buried. Great fires had swept over the place and obliterated the land marks; the log—the young saplings—seemed to have disappeared. Nor could they identify the alleged murderer when placed face to face with him.

I have, however, no doubt that the main facts, as stated, are true. The tale told by all the blacks who were present, and some of whom I have questioned, agree circumstantially. And in following out in the locality itself, step by step,

the course taken by the blacks before and immediately after the shooting of Edward, I found that the narrative given me quite accorded with the features of the country; and, what is more important, that the locality of the camp, the tree from which the canoe was stripped, the ledge of rocks at which they camped and where Edward died, could all be identified.

No doubt the usual accurate memory of the blacks for places would be disturbed by haste of the interment and dread of a possible re-appearance of their pursuers. The bush-fires of nine or ten years would, no doubt, have consumed the 'big log,' and the three saplings could no longer be identified as trees. The difference between a beardless youth and a bushy-bearded man might also account for the blacks not identifying the alleged murderer, whom they had before indicated by many concurrent minute circumstances.

What was *Bolgan's* history from the time when she was carried back to her tribe until I saw her as the wife of 'Paddy Policeman' I do not know. A few years ago—about 1869 or 1870—*Bolgan*, or, as she was known to the whites, 'Hopping Kitty,' and Paddy Policeman, were missing, and soon dark rumours became current among the blacks of foul-play. A search was made, but without result. At length, months afterwards, during the dry summer, when the lagoons about Boul Boul were drying up, a party of blacks were travelling along the coast, and one of the men, in crossing a lagoon, pushed his feet along in the mud, feeling with his toes for eels. He found a bone, and, lifting it out with his foot, saw that it was not, as he supposed, a kangaroo but a human bone. He called his companions, and they found the remains of a human being pegged down in the mud by three or four tea-tree stakes. This is a practice used by the Aborigines to secrete a body. The head was in this case bent under the breast.

At an enquiry which was held, medical evidence showed that the remains were those of an Aboriginal native—a woman—and that her right thigh had been broken and badly set. Further, that the head had been severed from the body by the cut of some sharp instrument, which had severed part of one of the vertebræ. There could be no doubt that it was the missing Hopping Kitty—poor *Bolgan*—whose life and whose death had been equally tragic.

Before long a rumour became current among all the blacks as to the manner of the death of Paddy Policeman and Kitty. It seems that the last that was known of their movements was that they, together with two brothers, Charley and William, had gone down the Lakes in a boat together, with a fisherman and his wife. Another addition to the party was a keg of spirits, which was on tap. The consequence was, that in crossing the Lakes all the party were more or less drunk, and that the keg was 'planted' in a reed-bed by the blacks, who soon returned and had a grand carouse. As is usual in such cases, there can be little doubt that in this instance the blacks, when drunk, were no better than mad savages.

Many years before, it seems that Paddy Policeman, when in the native police—whence his name—had been instrumental in shooting a brother of Charley and William. It is said by the blacks that this old feud broke out, and that they quarrelled with and killed Paddy. Kitty escaped, and was

making her way through Boul Boul to the Lakes' entrance, and thence intending probably to go to the Mission Station, when she was overtaken by the murderers of Paddy, and cut down from behind by a blow of a tomahawk, and then secreted in the manner described.

Such is the story current among the blacks, and it seems to be highly probable. The two men, Charley and William, were certainly the last persons known to be with the deceased, and one, if not both, is capable of perpetrating the greatest atrocities.

No traces of Paddy were ever found. I expect he was too carefully pegged down in the Lakes ever to come to light before the conger eels disposed of him. But one of the blacks thought he had found Paddy's bones. It was thus: He had, he said, been down at the edge of the Lakes (on the opposite side to where Kitty was found), and had climbed up a tree to look in a hole, to ascertain if a 'possum were there. He heard a strange whistle. 'Hallo,' he said, 'name that?' The whistle was repeated. The blackfellow—*Tanko-willun*—looked all round about. At last he looked down on the ground, on the opposite side of the tree to that on which he had climbed up. The whistle was repeated again. '*Ko-ki! Bring*' (Hallo! bones). The whistle was again heard. *Tanko-willun* climbed down the tree, and looked at the bones, '*Ko-ki! Bringa Kurni*' (Hallo! blackfellow's bones). Then he know what it all meant—it was his brother (cousin) Paddy whistling to him to tell him where his bones were lying. He said it must be so, because 'He know 'em that one whistle belonging to Paddy.'

I believe he thought the whitefellows very stupid when a medical man who examined them said they were blackfellow's bones, but must have been lying exposed many years.

Whatever might have been the fate of Paddy Policeman, that of Kitty could scarcely be matter for doubt. Her life seems to have been a chain of tragical events. When a small child, her tribe were hunted by the whites in revenge of the murder of a stockman, 'Dan,' at the Murray River, and a bullet which passed through and wounded her mother also broke poor *Bolgan's* thigh. She was always afterwards lame, and hence her English name—Hopping Kitty. Her father was shot, and she herself carried off by Tommy. Her captor was shot when she was rescued by her relatives, and, finally, she fell a victim, there can be little doubt, in the revenging of an old blood feud."

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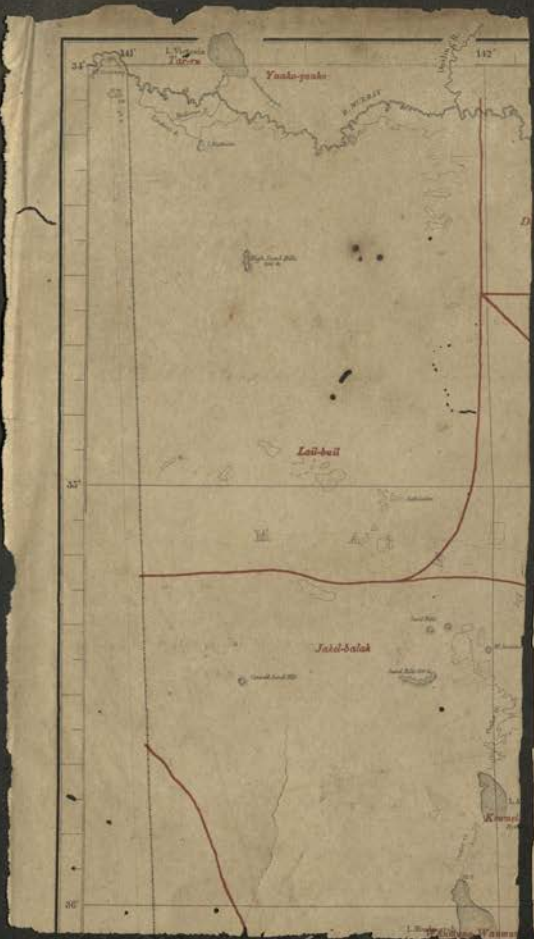

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Lail-bull
Jakel-balak

Yairy-yairy
Litchy-litchy
Waiky-waiky
Watty-watty
Lake Tyrrell
Boorong
White-wurn-dink
Wamba wamba

Meiringgo
DISCOVERY

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Murra-murra-barap
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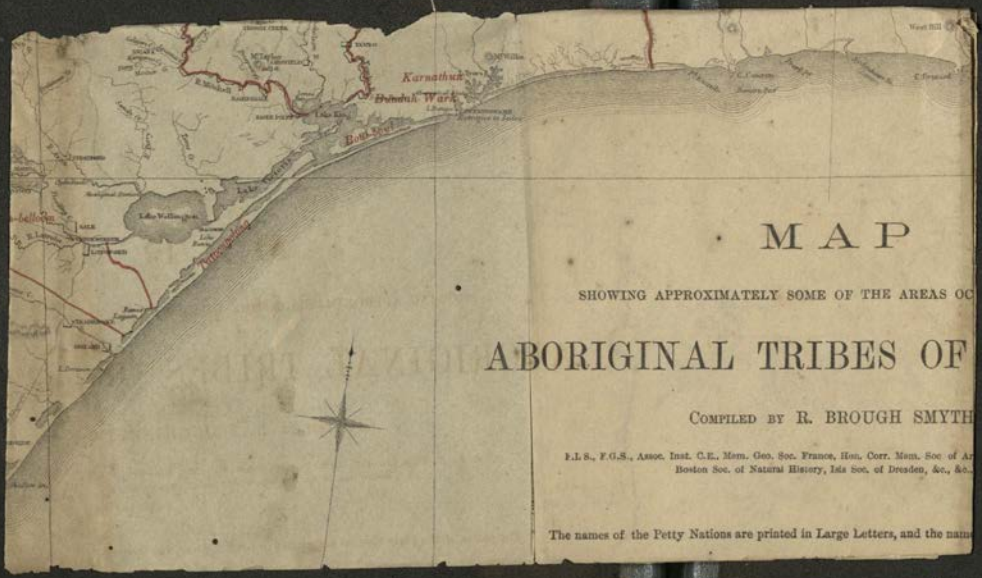
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